

OXFORD EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS

The series provides reliable working texts of important early Christian writers in both Greek and Latin. Each volume contains an introduction, text, and select critical apparatus, with English translations *en face*, and brief explanatory references.

Titles in the series include:

**Justin, Philosopher and Martyr**

*Apologies*

Edited by Denis Minns and Paul Parvis

**Priscillian of Avila**

The Complete Works

Edited by Marco Conti

**The Case Against Diodore and Theodore**

Texts and their Contexts

Edited by John Behr

**Jerome's Epitaph on Paula**

A Commentary on the *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*

Edited by Andrew Cain

**The Life of Saint Helia**

Critical Edition, Translation, Introduction, and Commentary

Edited by Virginia Burrus and Marco Conti

**Nonnus of Panopolis**

Paraphrasis of the Gospel of John XI

Edited by Konstantinos Spanoudakis

**Damasus of Rome**

The Epigraphic Poetry

Edited by Dennis Trout

**Greek and Latin Narratives about the Ancient Martyrs**

Edited by Éric Rebillard

**Adrian's Introduction to the Divine Scriptures**

An Antiochene Handbook for Scriptural Interpretation

Edited by Peter W. Martens

**Faith in Formulae**

A Collection of Early Christian Creeds and Creed-related Texts

Edited by Wolfram Kinzig

# Leontius of Byzantium

*Complete Works*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED,  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY  
BRIAN E. DALEY, SJ

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of  
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Brian E. Daley 2017

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First edition published in 2017

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the  
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted  
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics  
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the  
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the  
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016943361

ISBN 978-0-19-964523-7

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and  
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials  
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.



68/001595

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks, however haltingly and briefly, to some of the many people who have helped me, in so many different ways, to bring this work, which began as a doctoral dissertation at Oxford in the 1970s, to a slow completion. I am grateful, first of all, to the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris, and particularly to Père Joseph Paramelle, SJ, of the Section grecque, for allowing me to use the Institut's photocopies of the manuscripts of Leontius for so many years undisturbed. I am grateful, too, to all the librarians who have given me their assistance, particularly to Msgr Paul Canart and Dr Salvatore Lilla of the Vatican Library for their readiness to answer my questions about Vat. Gr. 2195 and the Columnenses back in the 1970s, and to P. Edmond Lamalle, SJ, librarian of the Jesuit Curia in Rome, and P. Mario Scaduto, SJ, of the Jesuit Historical Institute, for their help in tracing the manuscripts of Francisco Torres. I am grateful to Miss Maryse Waegeman, of the University of Ghent, for so kindly sending me a copy of the excerpt from Leontius in Athen. 1431; to my long-time friend, Fr Joseph Munitiz, SJ, of Campion Hall, Oxford, for his encouragement and critical suggestions; and to my friend Philip Pattenden, fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, for his constant willingness to look out for manuscripts of Leontius while pursuing his own research. I am grateful to the late Fr Joseph Gill, SJ, a colleague at Campion Hall, Oxford, both for his good example and wise advice, and for spending so many hours in the cheerless task of proofreading my original Greek text, to save it from containing many more errors than it does. And I am grateful, too, to the Merton College Boat Club, and more recently to the Notre Dame Boxing Club, for keeping me in good health and good spirits through the years of my research and revision. For friendship, interest, and support, however, I owe my thanks above all to the Master and Community of Campion Hall, and to my fellow Jesuits in Cambridge, Mass. and in South Bend—my “friends in the Lord”—who have made the years of work on Leontius years of human and religious growth as well.

I am grateful, too, to Prof. Giles Constable and the staff and fellows of Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, DC, for their support when I was correcting and revising the text; to my colleagues at the Weston Jesuit School of Theology, in Cambridge, Mass., for believing that this task would come to a happy conclusion; and especially to my friend there, Fr John O'Malley, SJ, for always asking perceptive questions about Leontius. More recently, I am grateful to friends and colleagues in the Department of Theology here at Notre Dame, for

their confidence and support, and to my students here over the last eighteen years, for their unfailing expressions of interest in the obscure issues of late patristic Christology. And I am grateful to a number of our doctoral students here for their patient and skilled help in putting the text of Leontius and the rest of this volume into final form: to Richard and Kelly Klee and to Robert McFadden, for their invaluable help in digitalizing the original typescript, and to my friend Fr Brian Dunkle, SJ, for lending his wise and critical eye to read the final draft.

There are four individuals, however, without whom—in the hackneyed but here fully justified phrase—this edition could never have been made, and whom I want to thank especially. The first two are my Oxford supervisors from the 1970s: Nigel Wilson, fellow of Lincoln College and a friend of many years, who guided me through Leontius's palaeographical and linguistic shoals, and who always gave unstintingly of his time and his encouragement; and the late Dr Henry Chadwick, Dean of Christ Church during my years at Oxford, who helped me past my first misgivings about undertaking this edition, who wisely and kindly saw me through the final stages of its production, and who continued to urge me, through the years that followed, to complete its publication. The third person who deserves mention is the late Aloys Cardinal Grillmeier, SJ, my former professor and ever-kindly mentor at the Hochschule Sankt. Georgen in Frankfurt, who awakened my interest in Leontius, and in all of patristic Christology, while I was still his student, and whose irrepressible enthusiasm and generous support continued to spur me on in the years that followed. And the fourth is the late Abbé Marcel Richard, who first actually suggested to me (over a pint of ale in an Oxford pub) that I edit Leontius's works, who put his own transcriptions and notes at my disposal, answered my uninformed questions about manuscripts and florilegia, and supported me as long as he lived with his advice, hospitality, and paternal interest. If it is appropriate for an edition also to bear a dedication, I should like to think of this one, in Leontius's words, as a *λήθης φάρμακον καὶ μνημῆς ἐμπύρευμα*—a very inadequate memorial to these four great scholars and friends.

University of Notre Dame  
Feast of St Ignatius Loyola, 2014

## Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| <i>Key to the Apparatus of Leontius's Florilegia</i>   | viii |
| <i>Abbreviations</i>   | xv   |
| <b>Introduction</b>  | 1    |
| I. <i>The Author and his Times</i>   | 1    |
| II. <i>The Works</i>   | 25   |
| A. <i>The Six Treatises</i>  | 25   |
| B. <i>The Florilegia</i>   | 54   |
| III. <i>Leontius the Theologian</i>  | 72   |
| IV. <i>The Manuscripts</i>   | 78   |
| V. <i>The Scholia</i>  | 94   |
| VI. <i>Earlier Editions</i>  | 96   |
| VII. <i>This Edition</i>   | 100  |
| VIII. <i>Select Bibliography</i>   | 102  |
| <b>Text and Translation</b>  | 111  |
| 1. <i>Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos</i> (Λόγος α')   | 125  |
| Appendix I (Scholion)  | 266  |
| Appendix II (Scholion)   | 267  |
| 2. <i>Epilyseis</i> (= <i>Solutiones Argumentorum Severi</i> )   | 269  |
| 3. <i>Epaporēmata</i> (= <i>Triginta Capita contra Severum</i> )   | 313  |
| 4. <i>Contra Aphthartodocetas</i> (Λόγος β')   | 337  |
| 5. <i>Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos</i> (Λόγος γ')  | 411  |
| 6. <i>Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum</i>  | 525  |
| 7. <i>Fragmenta Incerta</i>  | 572  |
| Appendix III ( <i>Excerpta Leontina</i> )  | 578  |
| Appendix IV (A tabular comparison of the extracts in Leontius's florilegia with the florilegia of other ancient authors) | 585  |
| <i>Index to Introduction</i>   | 607  |
| <i>Index to Works of Leontius</i>  | 611  |
| <i>Greek Terms</i>   | 615  |

## Key to the Apparatus of Leontius's Florilegia

### 1. Editions of the Original Texts, outside of the Patristic Corpora

- Amphilochius of Iconium, Works: ed. Cornelius Daterna, CCG 3 (Leuven, 1978); (cf. F. Cavallera, "Les Fragments de saint Amphiloque dans l'Hodegos et le tome domatique d'Anastase le Sinaïte," *RHE* 8 (1907), 474–97).
- Antiochus of Ptolemais, Fragments: cf. C. Martin, "Un florilège grec d'homélies christologiques des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles sur la Nativité (Paris Gr. 1491)," *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 17–57.
- Apollinarius of Laodicea, Works and Fragments: ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904).
- Basil of Caesarea, Letters: ed. Y. Courtonne (3 vols.) (Paris, 1957–66).
- Cyril of Alexandria, *In D. Joannis Evangelium*: ed. P. E. Pusey (3 vols.) (Oxford, 1872).  
*Epistolae Tres Oecumenicae; Libri Quinque Contra Nestorium; XII Capitum Explanatio; XII Capitum Defensio Utraque; Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*: ed. P. E. Pusey (Oxford, 1875).  
*De Recta Fide ad Imperatorem; De Incarnatione Unigeniti Dialogus; De Recta Fide ad Principissas; De Recta Fide ad Augustas; Quod Unus Sit Christus Dialogus; Apologeticus ad Imperatorem*: ed. P. E. Pusey (Oxford, 1877). (For *On the Incarnation* and *That Christ is One*, see also: Cyrille d'Alexandrie, *Deux Dialogues Christologiques*, ed. G. M. de Durand; SChr 97; (Paris, 1964).
- Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*: ed. W. K. Reischl and J. Rupp (2 vols.) (Munich, 1848–70).
- Diodore of Tarsus, Fragments: ed. R. Abramowski, "Der theologische Nachlass des Diodor von Tarsus," *ZNW* 42 (1949), 19–69;  
 cf. also R. Abramowski, "Untersuchungen zu Diodor von Tarsus," *ZNW* 30 (1931), 234–62.
- Ephrem Syrus et Graecus, *Opera omnia quae exstant graece, latine, syriace*: ed. J. S. Assemani (6 vols.) (Rome, 1732–43).
- Flavian of Antioch, Fragments: ed. F. Cavallera, in *S. Eustathii Episcopi Antiocheni in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham homilia christologica ...* (Paris, 1905), 103–10.
- Gelasius of Caesarea, Fragments: ed. F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117: Rome, 1938), 44–9.
- Gregory Nazianzen, Epp. 101–102, 202: ed. Paul Gallay, SChr 208 (Paris, 1998).  
*Orationes* 1–3: ed. Jean Bernardi, SChr 247 (Paris, 1978).

*Orationes* 27–31: ed. Paul Gallay, SChr 250 (Paris, 1978).

*Orationes* 38–41: ed. C. Moreschini, SChr 358 (Paris, 1980).

- Gregory of Nyssa, *Opera*: gen. ed. W. Jaeger; particular works ed. W. Jaeger, F. Mueller, J. McDonough, P. Alexander, H. Langerbeck, H. Musurillo, J. P. Cavarinos, V. W. Callahan, G. Heil, A. Van Heck, E. Gebhardt, A. Spira, H. Hörner, O. Lendle, E. Mühlenberg (10 vols. to date, with supplement) (Leiden, 1952–).
- Hippolytus, Fragment *De Libro Primo Regum, Quae de Helcana et Samuele*: cf. G. Jouassard, "Une citation et un ouvrage de saint Hippolyte sous le nom de saint Irenée?" *RevSR* 17 (1937), 290–305.
- Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistolae*: ed. P. Éviex: SChr 422 (Paris, 1997); 454 (Paris, 2002).
- Nestorius, Fragments: ed. F. Loofs, *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius* (Halle a. S., 1905).
- Paul of Samosata, Fragments: ed. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (Louvain, 1929<sup>2</sup>). Cf. also J. W. Feuerlein, *Dissertatio de haeresi Pauli Samosatani* (Göttingen, 1741); J. G. Ehrlich, *Dissertatio de erroribus Pauli Samosatani* (Leipzig, 1745); M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae* (Oxford, 1814).
- Proclus of Constantinople, *Homilies* 1–5: ed. N. Constan, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2003); for fragments, cf. C. Martin, "Un florilège grec d'homélies christologiques des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles sur la Nativité (Paris Gr. 1491)," *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 17–57.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, Fragments of Christological Works: ed. H. B. Swete, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii* II (Cambridge, 1882), Appendix A, pp. 289–322.
- Timothy of Berytus, *Ad Homonium*: ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904), 277–9.
- Valentinus Apollinaristes, *Capita Apologiae*: ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904), 287–91.

### 2. Florilegia Containing Parallel Texts

(The works are published in Greek unless otherwise noted.)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Anast. Sin., <i>Hod.</i>                         | Anastasius of Sinai, <i>Hodegos</i> : ed. K.-H. Uthemann, CCG 8.  |
| Arnobius Junior, <i>Confl. cum Serap.</i> [Lat.] | Arnobius Junior, <i>Conflictus cum Serapione</i> : ed. K. Daur, CCL 25A.  |
| Cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 14669 [Syr.]                | A fifth- or sixth-century manuscript, containing part of a translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's <i>De Incarnatione</i> : ed. and tr. E. Sachau, <i>Theodori Mopsuesteni Fragmenta Syriaca</i> (Leipzig, 1869). |
| Cod. Novar. 30, Flor. [Lat.]                     | Florilegium in cod. Novariensis 30: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO IV, 2, 74–96.  |



- Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.* Council of Chalcedon, *Acta: Allocutio ad Marcianum*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO II, 1, 3, 110, 1. 10–116, 1. 12.
- Coll. Sangerm. [Lat.] *Collectio Sangermanensis*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO II, 5.
- Conc. Eph., *Coll. Ath.* Council of Ephesus, *Acta: Collectio Atheniensis*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 1, 7, 17–167.
- Coll. Cas. [Lat.] *Collectio Casinensis*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 3–4.
- Coll. Pal. [Lat.] *Collectio Palatina*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 5, 1, 3–215.
- Coll. Vat. *Collectio Vaticana*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 1, 1–6.
- Conc. Const. II [Lat.] Second Council of Constantinople (553), *Acta*: ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub, ACO IV, 1–2.
- Conc. Const. III [Gk. And Lat.] Third Council of Constantinople (680–1), *Acta*: ed. R. Riedinger, ACO, Series Secunda.
- Ctr. Cal. Anonymous tract *Contra Calumniatores Duplicis Naturae* (πρὸς τοὺς τὴν δυνάδα διαβάλλοντας ὡς διαιρετικὴν), in *Doctr. Patr.* 30, III, 220.
- Cyr. Alex., *Ad Mon. Aeg.* Cyril of Alexandria, Ep. 1, *ad Monachos Aegypti*, in Conc. Eph., *Coll. Vat.*: ACO I, 1, 1, 10–23; cf. also PG 77, 9–40.
- Adv. Nest. *Blasph.* id., *Adversus Nestorii Blasphemias*: ed. P. E. Pusey (Oxford, 1875), 54–239; cf. also PG 76, 9–248.
- De Sect. Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium (Theodore of Raithu?), *De Sectis*: ed. M. Waegeman (in preparation); cf. incomplete edn. in PG 86, 1193–268.
- Doctr. Patr. *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*: ed. F. Diekamp (Münster, 1907; repr. 1981).
- Ephr. Am., *Def. Cyr.* Ephrem of Amida, *Defensio Cyrilli Epistulae Secundae ad Succensum* in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 229: ed. R. Henry IV (Paris, 1965), 126–35; cf. also PG 103, 972–81.
- Ad Domn. Et Joan. *Ad Domnum et Joannem*, *ibid.*: ed. R. Henry IV, 142–59; cf. also PG 103, 988–1008.
- Ad Or. Mon. *Ad Orientis Monachos*, *ibid.*: ed. R. Henry IV, 159–74; cf. also PG 103, 1008–24.
- Eulog., Or. Eulogius of Alexandria, *Orationes*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 230: ed. R. Henry V (Paris, 1967), 8–64; cf. also PG 103, 1024–68.
- Def. *Defensiones* (Συνρηγορίαι), in *Doctr. Patr.* 29, XIII and XV, 209–13.
- Euth. Zig., *Pan.* Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*: PG 130, 33–1360.
- Fac. Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* [Lat.] Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum, ad Justinianum*: ed. J.-M. Clément and R. Vander Plaetse, CCL 90<sup>a</sup>, 3–398; cf. also PL 67, 527–82.

- Flor. B. M. Syr. Add. 12154 [Syr.] A monophysite florilegium in a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century; cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum II* (London, 1871), 976–89. (f. 18<sup>r</sup> publ. by J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* IV (Paris, 1883), 183).
- Flor. B. M. Syr. Add. 12155 [Syr.] A monophysite florilegium in an eighth-cent. manuscript; cf. Wright II, 921–55. (f. III<sup>v</sup> publ. by J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* IV, 183).
- Flor. B. M. Syr. Add. 12156 [Syr.] An anti-Chalcedonian collection compiled before 562, incorporating florilegia of Timothy Aelurus (q.v.). cf. Wright II, 639–48; E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 117–32.
- Flor. Cyr. Florilegium Cyrillianum (*Le Florilège Cyrillien réfuté Par Sévère d'Antioche*): ed. R. Hespel, *BMus* 37 (Louvain, 1955).
- Flor. Edes. [Syr.] Florilegium in cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 12156, ff. 69–80: ed. I. Rucker, *Florilegium Edessenum Anonymum*, SBAW (1933), 5.
- Flor. Len. 131 Florilegium in cod. Moscow Lenin 131 (Fund. 339), ff. 15<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>.
- Flor. Marc. 573 Florilegium in cod. Marcianus Graecus Z573 ff. 30<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>.
- Fulg. Rusp., Ep. [Lat.] Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Epistulae*: ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 91, 189–444; cf. also PL 65, 303–498.
- Gelasius, *De Duab. Nat.* [Lat.] Pope Gelasius I, *De duabus naturis in Christo, adversus Eutychem et Nestorium*: ed. A. Thiel *Epistulae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae* I (Braunsberg, 1868), 530–57; cf. also E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma* (ABAW NF 10: Munich, 1934), 85–106.
- Geo. Kaph., Ep. ad Minā [Syr.] George of Kaphrā, *Ep. ad Minā*: tr. O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados* (Stuttgart and Vienna, 1900), 348–71.
- Innoc. Mar. [Lat.] Innocent of Maroneia, *Ep. ad Thomam Presbyterum, de collatione cum Severianis habita*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO IV, 2, 169–84.
- Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.* [Gk. and Syr.] John of Caesaraea, *Apologia Concilii Chalcedonensis*, *Fragments*: ed. M. Richard CCG 1, 6–58.
- Adv. Aphthart. *Adversus Aphthartodocetas*: *ibid.* 69–78.
- Ctr. Mon. *Capitula XVII contra Monophysitas*: *ibid.* 61–6.
- Joan. Cass., *De Inc. Dom.* [Lat.] John Cassian, *De Incarnatione Domini*: ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17; cf. also PL 50, 9–272.
- Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.* John Damascene, *Contra Jacobitas*: ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des hl. Johannes von Damaskos* IV (Berlin, 1981), 109–53.

- Joan. Max., *Lib. Fid.* [Lat.] John Maxentius, *Libellus Fidei*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO IV, 2, 3–10; cf. also PG 86, 79–86.
- Just., *Ctr. Mon.* Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas* (Schreiben an Alexandrinische Mönche): ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians* (ABAW, NF 8 (Munich, 1939), 5–43); cf. also PG 86, 1104–45.
- Conf. Rect. Fid.* *Confessio Rectae Fidei* (Edikt über den rechten Glauben): ed. E. Schwartz, *ibid.* 72–111; cf. also PG 86, 993–1035.
- Ctr. Tr. Cap.* *Contra Tria Capitula*: ed. E. Schwartz, *ibid.* 47–69; cf. also PG 86, 1041–95.
- Leo, *Tomus I* Pope Leo I, *Tomus ad Flavianum* (= Ep. 28): in Conc. Chalc., *Acta*, ed. E. Schwartz, ACO II, 1, 1, 10–20; cf. also PL 54, 755–82.
- Tomus II* [Flor. in Lat] *Tomus ad Leonem Augustum* (= Ep. 165): *ibid.*, ACO II, 4, 113–31; cf. also PL 54, 1155–90.
- Leont. Byz., CNE Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*: this vol., pp. 1–74.
- AFA *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*: this vol., pp. 201–25.
- CA *Contra Aphthartodocetas*: this vol., pp. 109–44.
- DTN *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*: this vol., pp. 145–200.
- Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.* Leontius of Jerusalem, *Contra Monophysitas* PG 86, 1769–901.
- Max. Conf., Ep. 15 Maximus Confessor, Ep. 15, *ad Cosmam Diaconum*: PG 91, 544–76.
- Nest., *Sermones* Nestorius, *Sermones*: ed. F. Loofs, *Nestoriana: die Fragments des Nestorius* (Halle, 1905).
- Niceph., *Antirrh. II* Nicephorus the Patriarch, *Antirrhetica II*: ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense I* (Paris, 1852), 302–70.
- Antirrh. IV* *Antirrhetica IV*: part 1: *ibid.* 371–503; part 2: *ibid.* IV (Paris, 1858), 292–380.
- Pamph. Pamphilus of Jerusalem, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*: ed. José Declerck, CCG 19.
- Pelagius II, Ep. 3 *ad Episc. Histr.* [Lat.] Pope Pelagius II, *Epistula 3 ad Episcopos Histriae*: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO IV, 2, 112, 1. 15–132, 1. 37; cf. also PL 72, 715–38.
- Petrus Diaconus et al., *Epist. ad Episc.* [Lat.] Peter the Deacon and others, *Epistula ad Episcopos* (included among the works of Fulgentius of Ruspe): ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 91<sup>a</sup>, 551–62; cf. also PL 65, 442–51.
- Ps.-Joan. Mar. [Syr.] Pseudo-John Maron, *Libellus Fidei*: ed. Michael Breydy, CSCO 497–8 (Leuven, 1988).

- Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* Pseudo-Leontius of Byzantium, *Florilegium de Corruptibili et Incorrutibili*, in cod. Vatopedi 236: for contents and partial publication, cf. M. Richard, *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 249–73.
- Rust. Diac., *Syn.* [Lat.] Rusticus Diaconus, *Synodicon* (= *Coll. Cas.*): ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 3–4.
- “*Sermo maior de Fide*” Pseudo-Athanasius, “*Sermo maior de Fide*” (florilegium in cod. Laur. Gr. IV, 23): ed. E. Schwartz, SBAW (1924), 6.
- Sev. Ant., *ad Neph.* [Syr.] Severus of Antioch, *Orationes ad Nephaliun*: ed. and tr. J. Lebon, CSCO Script. Syr. IV, 7 (Louvain, 1949).
- Ad Serg.* [Syr.] *Epistulae ad Sergium*: ed. and tr. J. Lebon, CSCO Script. Syr. IV, 7 (Louvain, 1949).
- Antiljul.* [Syr.] *Antijulianistica* (La Polémique Antijulianiste) I–III: ed. and tr. R. Hespel, CSCO Script. Syr. 104–5, 124–7, 136–7 (Louvain, 1964–71).
- Ctr. Gram.* [Syr.] *Liber contra Impium Grammaticum*: ed. and tr. J. Lebon: Orat. I–II: CSCO Script. Syr. 58–9 (Louvain, 1952); Orat. III, 1: CSCO Script. Syr. IV, 5 (Louvain, 1929); Orat. III, 2: CSCO Script. Syr. IV, 6 (Paris, 1933).
- Exp. Fid.* *Expositio Fidei*, Fragments: in *Doctr. Patr.* 2 LI (24, 1. 17–25, 1. 15).
- Phil.* [Syr.] *Philalethes* (Le Philalèthe): ed. and tr. R. Hespel CSCO Script. Syr. 68–9 (Louvain, 1952).
- Syn. Hispal. [Lat.] Synod of Seville (619), *Acta*: Mansi X, 555–68; cf. also J. Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos* (Barcelona and Madrid, 1963), 163–85.
- Syn. Lat. [Gr. and Lat.] Lateran Synod (649), *Acta*: Mansi X, 865–1186.
- Syn. Sel. Ctes. [Syr.] Synod (Nestorian) of Seleucia Ctesiphon (612): tr. O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados*, 315–31.
- Thdt., *Eran.* Theodoret *Eranistes*: ed. G. Ettlinger (Oxford, 1975); cf. also PG 83, 28–333.
- Haer. Fab. Comp.* *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*: PG 83, 336–556.
- Theod. bar Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* [Syr.] Theodore bar Kōnī, *Liber Scholiorum*: ed. A. Scher, CSCO Script. Syr. II, 66 (Paris, 1912).
- Theor., *Disp. I* Theorian, *Orthodoxi Disputatio cum Armenorum Catholico I*: PG 133, 120–212.
- Disp. II* *Orthodoxi Disputatio cum Armenorum Catholico II*: *ibid.* 212–97.
- Tim. Ael., *Ep. de Isaia* [Syr.] Timothy Aelurus, *Letter about Isaiah of Hermoupolis and Theophilus of Alexandria*, in the Syriac continuation of Zachary of Mytilene, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 12: ed. E. W. Brooks, CSCO III, 5 (Louvain, 1919), 186, 1. 16–202, 1. 7; tr. 129, 1. 19–140, 1. 7.

- Ref. Conc. Chalc. [Arm.] *Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon (Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre)*: ed. K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz (Leipzig and Etchmiadzin, 1908); cf. E. Schwartz, *Vat. gr. 1431*, 97–132.
- Tim. Ael. (?) *Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc.* [Syr.] Timothy Aelurus (?), *Liber contra Synodum Chalcedonensem*: florilegium in cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 12156, ff. 1–91<sup>a</sup>; excerpts from Theodore of Mopsuestia, ff. 83<sup>b</sup>–86<sup>a</sup>: ed. P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (Leipzig, 1858), 100; tr. E. Sachau, *Theodori Mopsuesteni Fragmenta Syriaca* (Leipzig, 1869), 63. cf. E. Schwartz, *Vat. gr. 1431*, 126.
- Vat. Gr. 1431 *Florilegia I and II* in cod. Vat. Gr. 1431, ff. 299–322: ed. E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431: eine anti-chalcedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (ABAW XXXII, 6: Munich, 1927), nos. 65–6 (pp. 28–49).
- Vigilius, *Const. I* [Lat.] Pope Vigilius I, *Constitutum I*, in *Collectio Avellana*, Ep. 83: ed. O. Guenther, CSEL 35 (1895), 230–320; cf. also PL 69, 67–114.

## Abbreviations

### 1. Corpora

- ACO *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*. Berlin, 1914–.
- Cath *Catholicisme*. Paris, 1947–75.
- CCG *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*. Turnhout/Louvain, 1977–.
- CCL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*. Turnhout, 1953–.
- Corp. Apol. *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi*. Jena, 1847–81.
- CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Rome/Paris/Louvain/Washington, 1903–.
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna, 1866–.
- DSp *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Paris, 1932–95.
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Drei Jahrhunderte*. Berlin, 1897–.
- Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (ed. J. D. Mansi). Florence, 1759–1827.
- PG *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, accurate J.-P. Migne: Series Graeca. Paris, 1857–66.
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, accurate J.-P. Migne: Series Latina. Paris, 1841–55.
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris, etc., 1907–.
- SC *Sources chrétiennes*. Paris, 1941–.

### 2. Other Collections and Periodicals

- ABAW *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Munich, 1909–28).  
id., *philosophisch-historische Abteilung*, NS (Munich, 1929–).
- ABla *Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων* (Thessaloniki, 1967).
- AFLF(N) *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Napoli* (Naples, 1951–).
- AnGr *Analecta Gregoriana* (Rome, 1930–).
- Bess *Bessarione* (Rome, 1896–1923).
- BMus *Bibliothèque du Muséon* (Leuven, 1929–68).

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| BZ              | <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig, etc., 1892- ).   |
| ByzF            | <i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i> (Amsterdam, 1975- ).   |
| Chalkedon       | A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (eds.), <i>Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Würzburg, 1951-4).                              |
| ChH             | <i>Church History</i> (Chicago, etc., 1932- ).  |
| CrSt            | <i>Cristianesimo nella storia</i> (Bologna, 1980- ).  |
| DOP             | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1941- ).  |
| DOS             | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1950- ).   |
| DThC            | <i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> (Paris, 1899-1950).   |
| EOr             | <i>Echos d'Orient</i> (Bucharest, 1897/8-1942/3).   |
| EThL            | <i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i> (Louvain, etc., 1924- ).   |
| GOTR            | <i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i> (Brookline, Mass., 1954- ).  |
| Gr              | <i>Gregorianum</i> (Rome, 1920- ).  |
| HJ              | <i>Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft</i> (Munich, etc., 1880- ).  |
| HTR             | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1908- ).   |
| IThQ            | <i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i> (Maynooth, etc., 1906- ).  |
| JTS             | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> (Oxford, etc., 1899-49; NS 1950- ).   |
| KI              | <i>Κληρονομία</i> (Thessalonike, 1969- ).   |
| MS              | <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> (Toronto, 1939- ).   |
| MSR             | <i>Mélanges de science religieuse</i> (Lille, 1944- ).  |
| NAWG            | <i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Göttingen, 1941- ).  |
| OCA             | <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> (Rome, 1923- ).   |
| OLA             | <i>Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta</i> (Leuven, 1975- ).   |
| OLoP            | <i>Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica</i> (Leuven, 1970-2000).   |
| OS              | <i>Ostkirchliche Studien</i> (Würzburg, 1952- ).  |
| PBR             | <i>Patristic and Byzantine Review</i> (Kingston, NY, 1982- ).   |
| PTS             | <i>Patristische Texte und Studien</i> (Berlin, 1969- ).   |
| RB              | <i>Revue biblique</i> (Paris, 1892-94; NS 1915- ).  |
| RE <sup>3</sup> | <i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> . Founded by J. J. Herzog (1854); 3rd edn., ed. A. Hauck (Gotha, 1896-1913). |
| REB             | <i>Revue des études byzantines</i> (Paris, 1946- ).   |
| REG             | <i>Revue des études grecques</i> (Paris, 1888- ).   |
| RevSR           | <i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i> (Strasbourg, 1921- ).   |
| RHE             | <i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain, 1900- ).   |
| RHLR            | <i>Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i> (Paris, 1896-1907; NS 1910-22).   |

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| ROC      | <i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> (Paris, 1896-1946).   |
| RSPHTh   | <i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i> (Paris, etc., 1907- ).   |
| SBAW     | <i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München. Philosophisch-philologisch und historische Klasse</i> (Munich, 1871-97; NS 1898- ). |
| SCH(L)   | <i>Studies in Church History</i> (London, 1964- ).  |
| SHAW     | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> (Heidelberg, 1910- ).                                    |
| SROC     | <i>Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano</i> (Rome, 1978- ).  |
| ST       | <i>Studi e Testi</i> (Vatican City, 1900- ).  |
| StAns    | <i>Studia Anselmiana</i> (Rome, 1933- ).  |
| StPatr   | <i>Studia Patristica</i> (Berlin, etc., 1957- ).  |
| Theol(A) | <i>Θεολογία</i> (Athens, 1923- ).   |
| ThQ      | <i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> (Tübingen, etc., 1818- ).  |
| TS       | <i>Theological Studies</i> (Woodstock, Md., etc., 1940- ).  |
| TU       | <i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> (Berlin, etc., 1882- ).  |
| ZNW      | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> (Berlin, etc., 1900- ).  |
| ZSRG     | <i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (kanonische Abteilung)</i> (Weimar, 1880- ).   |

## Introduction

### I. THE AUTHOR AND HIS TIMES

Modern attempts to speak of the person of Jesus within the framework of the Christian tradition usually begin with the dense, technically worded formulation produced, after several decades of heated controversy, by the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451; for most Christians, this statement provides the necessary foundation for an orthodox understanding of who and what Jesus is. There, after reviewing the earlier creedal formulas for Christian theism promulgated by the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), which present, in summary form, the biblically based narrative of creation, Incarnation, and Christian hope, and after reviewing the more sharply focused questions about the personal identity of Christ that had arisen, mainly in the Greek-speaking world, in the years since the Council of Constantinople, the bishops at Chalcedon added their own terse, carefully balanced attempt to express clearly how the Churches, building on that classical base, must understand Jesus:

Following, then, the holy Fathers, we have all learned to confess with one voice that our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Son: the same one complete in his divinity and complete in his humanity, the same one truly God and truly human, with rational soul and body; of one substance with the Father in his divinity, the same one of one substance with us in his humanity, "like us in all respects apart from sin"...; recognized in two natures without confusion, without alteration, without division, without separation, in such a way that the distinction of his natures is never destroyed by their union, but rather that the particular character of each nature comes together to form one *persona* and one hypostasis—something not divided or distinguished into two *personae*, but one and the same only-begotten Son, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ ...<sup>1</sup>

Much has been written, and continues to be written, about the import of this statement for Christian faith and practice; about the historical context, origins, and intended signification of the terms being used; and about the complex history of the reception and theological use of the statement, especially in the three or four centuries immediately following its formulation. Carefully crafted to reflect the language and emphases of a number of different voices in the

<sup>1</sup> Council of Chalcedon, Formula of faith, in G. Alberigo and N. P. Tanner (eds.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I* (London and Washington, DC, 1990), 86. For a careful analysis of the terminology of this famous definition and its intended meaning, see esp. André de Halleux, "La Définition christologique de Chalcédoine," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 7 (1976), 3–23.



debates about the person of Christ during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, the Chalcedonian formulation was—and still is—capable of a variety of interpretations. It can be read as a cautious affirmation of the emphasis Cyril of Alexandria had increasingly articulated, on Christ's personal, subjective unity as Son of God and divine Savior, during his long debate with Nestorius and his followers in the two decades after 429; it can also be read as an attempt to express, in widely acceptable terms, the symmetry and balance Christians recognize between Christ's human and divine characteristics, as the theologians and exegetes of the Antiochene tradition had stressed. Taken by itself, the text seems to reflect a studied ambiguity.

And as is well known, the immediate effect of Chalcedon's formula was not to be the basis for reconciliation among dissenting parties in the Churches of the Eastern Empire—despite the fact that, with the sanction of the imperial government, it immediately attained the force of law. The statement came, instead, to be the cause of even more long-lasting and bitter divisions. To many Christians in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, it was simply Nestorian Christology thinly disguised—the triumph of a way of thinking about Jesus that focused on the irreconcilable differences between his full human reality and the Mystery of God that he personally revealed; to others, intellectual heirs of the Antiochene school, it seems to have represented compromise and pious obscurantism, and pointed up the need to be still more explicit about not confusing God and the human in the person and work of Jesus. During the reigns of the emperors Zeno (474–91) and his successor Anastasius I (491–518), imperial policy was clearly leaning away from relying on the Chalcedonian formula to bring about a religious reconciliation in the East, even though no later emperor ever formally disowned what Chalcedon had produced.

In the second decade of the sixth century, the direction of official theology changed. The emperor Justin (518–27), along with his gifted, ambitious, theologically learned nephew and successor Justinian (527–65), tried to rebuild consensus through ecclesiastical diplomacy, through negotiation, and through promoting a careful, subtly expressed reinterpretation and even a rephrasing of the Chalcedonian portrait of Christ, which made the Council's language appear to be more unambiguously friendly to the vision of Cyril of Alexandria than had been obvious before. This attempt to recast Chalcedon in more unitive, Word-centered terms has been called by some modern Western scholars “neo-Chalcedonian” Christology.<sup>2</sup> And while the term has not been universally accepted—especially by those who want to emphasize doctrinal continuity and consistency in the Church's classical pronouncements—the reality of an increasingly unitive, increasingly God-centered interpretation of what

<sup>2</sup> See p. 13 and n. 73.

Chalcedon had said about the person of Christ is clearly expressed in the writings of such sixth-century theologians as John of Caesarea, Ephrem of Amida, and the emperor Justinian himself, as well as by such Latin writers as John Maxentius and the celebrated “Scythian monks,” who campaigned together in East and West for such an understanding of Christ in the 520s. This approach to receiving and expressing Chalcedonian Christology became official Church doctrine—and imperial law—with the decrees and canons of the Second Council of Constantinople, in 553.<sup>3</sup>

The late fifth to early sixth century, then—the century between Chalcedon and Constantinople II—was a time of enormous importance for the development of Christian theology and institutions, mainly centered on the continuing reception of Chalcedon's vision of Christ. Christian theology, from the mid-fifth century on, was characterized to an unusual degree by a new, “scholastic” style of thought and expression: by a rhetoric and a style of argument derived more from academic debates than from ecclesiastical preaching or polemics. Question-and-answer format, sets of theses or provocatively formulated statements, chains of syllogisms, and the use of massive dossiers of excerpts from classical Christian authorities to lend weight to an author's argument all became standard features of theological controversy. Accuracy in terminology, coherent argument, and theological consistency and precision became increasingly the central concern on all sides of Church debates, and the terms used were frequently those of the philosophical schools—especially of the Athenian and Alexandrian Neoplatonic commentators on Aristotle.<sup>4</sup> This is the cultural and historical context, clearly, in which the theological writings edited here, all focused on defining the person and the reality of Christ, all reflecting the heat and intensity of sixth-century post-Chalcedonian debate, must be located.

The six theological works associated with the name of Leontius of Byzantium provide little clue to the author's life or personality. Indeed, the manuscripts of his works give no place of origin for their author at all, but refer to him simply

<sup>3</sup> For a full treatment of the complex events and theological currents of the century between Chalcedon and Constantinople II, see esp. W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972); Patrick T. R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden, 1979); Aloys Grillmeier (with Theresia Hainthaler), *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II/2 (London and Louisville, 1995); Carlo dell'Osso, *Cristo e Logos; il Calcedonismo del VI Secolo in Oriente* (Rome, 2010). For a study specifically focused on theological developments at this period in Palestine, see Lorenzo Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie Cristologiche* (Brescia, 1980).

<sup>4</sup> For a survey of these developments, especially as background for understanding the theological works of Boethius, see my article, “Boethius' Theological Tracts and Early Byzantine Scholasticism,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 158–91. See also my article, “A Richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ,” *Studia Patristica* 24 (Leuven, 1993), esp. 244–5.

as a monk: "the 'blessed monk Leontius,'" "the blessed hermit Leontius,"<sup>5</sup> "Leontius the ascetic,"<sup>7</sup> "Abba Leontius."<sup>8</sup> And the tracts themselves do not add much to our information. Their author was once, we read, when still young, an enthusiastic member of a group of Chalcedonian Christians, whose theological heroes were Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia,<sup>9</sup> but he was providentially "converted"<sup>10</sup> to a more orthodox understanding of the Church's official Christology. Now, apparently after some years of strenuous theological controversy, he has been urged by pious friends to put his own position in writing,<sup>11</sup> and a "just cause,"<sup>12</sup> as well as the duties of friendship, move him to comply. He tells us no more, however, about what that just cause might be.

Besides these direct autobiographical references, the works themselves give a few further hints to the identity, career, and date of Leontius the monk. Although he claims, with conventional modesty, to have had neither secular education nor experience as a writer,<sup>13</sup> the author of these tracts was clearly a man of considerable dialectical and philosophical training, with extraordinary sharpness of mind and strong theological passions. All of his extant works are polemical in nature. The first three treatises in the collection—the *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (CNE), the *Epilyseis* (Epil.) or *Solutiones Argumentorum Severi*, and the *Epaporēmata* (Epap.) or *Triginta Capita contra Severum*—are undoubtedly directed first of all against the anti-Chalcedonian supporters of Severus of Antioch. The fourth tract, *Contra Aphthartodocetas* (CA), is aimed against Chalcedonians who have adopted Julian of Halicarnassus's theory of the innate incorruptibility of Christ's body. The *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos* (DTN) is a tirade against the more extreme representatives of Antiochene Christology. Even Leontius's remaining work, the florilegium of extracts from the Apollinarian writings known as the *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum* (AFA), though it contains no substantial theological arguments of the author's own, has the polemical purpose of proving that many of the patristic proof-texts

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 114, title. (Henceforth I shall refer to passages in the text of Leontius simply by the page and line-number in this edition.)

<sup>6</sup> p. 114, title (in manuscript 0). <sup>7</sup> p. 126, title (in manuscript G).

<sup>8</sup> p. 336, title (0). All four of these epithets could be applied almost interchangeably to a monk of the desert, particularly to one who had lived in the semi-eremitical community of a lavra. They also reflect the image associated with the author of our tracts by later writers. Sophronius of Jerusalem, according to Photius, quoted *Λεόντιος ὁ τὴν ἑρημικὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν μονάδα βίον ἐλάμβανος* in the florilegium of his *Synodikon* (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 231: ed. R. Henry, V (Paris, 1967), 66; PG 103, 1092 A5–6), and Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople refers to *Λεόντιος ὁ τῆς ἐρήμου μοναχός* (*De Haer. et Syn.* 33: PG 98, 72 A1–2); both references appear to be to our Leontius.

<sup>9</sup> On his membership, see p. 412, ll. 15–28; on the adherence of the group to Chalcedon, p. 416, ll. 5–10; on their following of Theodore and Diodore, p. 416; p. 418, ll. 17–19; p. 440, ll. 1–2.

<sup>10</sup> p. 412, l. 22–p. 414, l. 8. <sup>11</sup> p. 116, ll. 1–6, 19–21. <sup>12</sup> p. 414, ll. 145–7.

<sup>13</sup> p. 116, ll. 8–15.

used by his opponents—presumably, again, the party of Severus—are really taken from the writings of Apollinarius or his followers.<sup>14</sup> In addition to this fairly well-defined set of opponents, Leontius occasionally refers in a veiled but more personal way to the other enemies against whom he wields his pen: these are "the wise ones of today (*οἱ νῦν σοφοί*),"<sup>15</sup> the "top philosophers (*ἀκροφιλοσόφοι*),"<sup>16</sup> who hold the traditions of the Fathers in contempt,<sup>17</sup> and who hope, by the use of their influence at court, to "make themselves wise men by decree."<sup>18</sup> Clearly politics, as well as theology, is in the air.

All of these polemical references, taken together, suggest the reign of Justinian, the emperor-theologian in whose court theological controversy seethed through all the toils of political and personal intrigue;<sup>19</sup> more specifically, they suggest the 530s, when the controversy over Julian of Halicarnassus's doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ had spread beyond Egyptian and Palestinian "monophysite" circles to the Byzantine Church, and when the emperor's policy of promoting conciliation towards Severus and his followers had led to heated public debate between Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian theologians.<sup>20</sup> Further, Leontius's allusions to the Pseudo-Dionysius in the CNE,<sup>21</sup> and his inclusion of a passage from the *De Divinis Nominibus* in the florilegium of the CA,<sup>22</sup> make it unlikely that he was writing much before 532, the year of the first known reference to the Dionysian corpus within the Chalcedonian Church.<sup>23</sup> There are, it is true, two apparent references to Leontius by Byzantine writers, which suggest a somewhat later date for his writings than Justinian's reign, but neither of them has a strong claim to credibility as a source.<sup>24</sup> And two references in the DTN seem to confirm a date of composition

<sup>14</sup> p. 526, ll. 1–14; p. 568, ll. 6–10 <sup>15</sup> p. 116, l. 12; p. 126, l. 3

<sup>16</sup> p. 126, l. 17. <sup>17</sup> p. 116, ll. 12–14; p. 126, ll. 7–12 <sup>18</sup> p. 126, ll. 15–16

<sup>19</sup> Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, 1949), 369–95 and 623–90; E. Schwartz, "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians," *Sitzb. der bayer. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Abt.* (1940), 2, II, 32–72.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 377–9 and n. 1, 377.

<sup>21</sup> CNE 4: p. 146, ll. 17–19; CNE 7: p. 172, ll. 15–18. <sup>22</sup> CA Flor., Test. I: p. 388, ll. 7–10.

<sup>23</sup> At the so-called "Collatio cum Severianis," described by the pro-Chalcedonian Latin bishop Innocent of Maroneia (in Thrace), in his *Epistula ad Thomam Presbyterum*: ACO IV, 2, 173, ll. 12–18.

<sup>24</sup> The Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733), in his *De Haeresibus et Synodis* 33 (PG 98, 69 C9–72 B1)—a work notable for its confused chronology—connects both "Leontius, monk of the desert," defender of the Chalcedonian Christology, and John Philoponus, with the Patriarch Anastasius of Antioch (559–70, 593–8), and puts them all before his account of the reign of Justinian (c. 34) and the schism of Severus (c. 35)! The Byzantine historian Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos (c. 1256–1335) makes "the monk Leontius," whom he recognizes as the author of "a book (against the monophysites) in 30 chapters" (cf. n. 236) and as a strong opponent of the Severan party, a much older contemporary of George of Pisidia (fl. 610–41) (*Hist. Eccl.* 18, 48: PG 147, 428 B12–C4). As Friedrich Loofs has shown (*Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche* (= TU III, 1–2: Leipzig, 1887), 130–2), Nicephorus, too, is often confused about dates in the sixth and seventh centuries.

in the middle of Justinian's reign: an allusion to Antioch, in DTN 10, as Θεούπολις,<sup>25</sup> a short-lived title conferred on that city when it was rebuilt after the disastrous earthquake of 29 November 528,<sup>26</sup> which provides a *terminus post quem* of 529; and a reference to the Council of Chalcedon as τελευταία πασών συνόδων,<sup>27</sup> which shows—as a *terminus ante quem*—that the author did not yet know of the Council of 553. In fact, since he concedes, in DTN 43, that Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia have not yet been officially condemned,<sup>28</sup> and since he makes no mention of Ibas of Edessa or Theodoret of Cyrus in his polemic against the “Nestorians” of the previous century, it is almost equally certain that the “collected edition” of Leontius's works, as described in his Foreword or προθεωρία, was complete before Justinian issued his first edict condemning the “Three Chapters” in 544 or early 545.<sup>29</sup>

Besides these few tantalizing hints of time and circumstance, there is little in the works of Leontius the monk to suggest who he was, or how his writings fit into the complicated theological struggles of his age. Cyril of Skythopolis (c.523–c.558), however, in his colorful *Life of St Sabas* and in other lives of early Palestinian monks, frequently mentions, with bitter hostility, a Palestinian monk named Leontius of Byzantium<sup>30</sup> who was a ringleader of the “Origenist” party in

<sup>25</sup> p. 420, l. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. C. De Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 177, l. 22–178, l. 7.

<sup>27</sup> DTN 42: p. 444, ll. 19–20. ■ DTN 43: p. 444, l. 27.

<sup>29</sup> This edict must have been issued at least several months after Justinian's edict condemning Origen, which was promulgated in Jerusalem in February of 543. And since Facundus of Hermiane (*Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum* IV, 4, 8–9: CCL 90A, 124–5, ll. 58–63; PL 67, 626 B4–9) tells us that Ephrem of Amida signed the edict against the Three Chapters under the threat of removal from his office as Patriarch of Antioch, and since Theophanes (*Chron.* I, 224–5) and other chroniclers place Ephrem's death before the end of August 545, the most probable time for this edict seems to be 544 or the beginning of 545. Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 634) wants to place the publication of the edict against the Antiochenes somewhat earlier, “vers la fin de 543 ou en 544,” since he assumes Ephrem delayed as long as possible between its publication and his signing. Facundus only mentions imperial pressure on Ephrem, however, not temporal delay; and the events that seem to have elapsed between these two theological edicts of Justinian suggest a later rather than an earlier date for the second of them. Cf. E. Amann, “Trois-Chapitres,” *DThC* XV (1947), 1889.

<sup>30</sup> τίς τῶν ... μοναχῶν, Βυζάντιος τῷ γένει, Λεόντιος ὀνόματι: *Vita Sabae* (VS) 72: ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (= TU XLIX, 2 (Leipzig, 1939)), 176, ll. 11–12; Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος: VS 74: 179, l. 9; 83: 189, ll. 1–2; 84: 190, ll. 4, 8; *Vita Cyriaci* (VC) 13: 230, ll. 29–30. Cyril's monastic lives have been translated into English by Richard Price, with an introduction by John Binns: *Cyril of Skythopolis: Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo, 1991). For the history and spirituality of Palestinian monasticism in the fifth and sixth centuries, see John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors for Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (Oxford, 1994); Jennifer L. Hevelone-Harper, *Disciples of the Desert: Monks, Laity and Spiritual Authority in Sixth-Century Gaza* (Baltimore, 2005). For an archeological study of the remains of these monasteries, see Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Judaean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven, 1992).

the desert monasteries during the 530s and early 540s, and who exercised, for a time, strong influence at Justinian's court. Since the works of the monk Leontius were first published, in Francisco Torres's careful Latin translation, in 1603,<sup>31</sup> scholars have debated whether the author is indeed the same Leontius as Cyril's Origenist from the Judean desert. Before we attempt to reach our own conclusion, it may be useful to summarize briefly what Cyril has to say.

Cyril first mentions Leontius of Byzantium as a member of the party of monks who accompanied St Sabas, the influential Palestinian monastic founder and leader, on a mission to Constantinople in April 531, to petition the emperor for economic aid for Christian Palestine, which had recently been devastated by Samaritan raids.<sup>32</sup> In return for the emperor's help, Sabas predicts success for Justinian in his reconquest of the territory lost by his predecessors: success as part of God's plan for ridding the capital and the world of “the heresy of Arius and those of Nestorius and Origen.”<sup>33</sup> His mention of Arianism here is understandable enough, since much of the empire Justinian hoped to regain was then held by Arian Goths; but Sabas mentioned Nestorianism and Origenism, Cyril tells us, because he had discovered that some of the monks in his company, who were now busily holding disputations in the capital with “monophysites” (ἀποσχίσται), were in fact tainted with these two heresies.<sup>34</sup> The two classical heresies seem to be associated in Cyril's mind, for reasons I shall explore further; and Leontius of Byzantium is the one Origenist Cyril explicitly names.<sup>35</sup> About 514, a monk named Nonnus and three of his friends had been expelled from the Nea Lavra, one of the smaller communities in the Judean desert, for holding the “atheistic” doctrines of Origen, Evagrius Ponticus, and Didymus the Blind.<sup>36</sup> Five years later, under a new hegumen, the Origenist group had been quietly readmitted; then, if not before, Leontius had been one of their number. Now Sabas discovered again, in Constantinople, the “unorthodoxy” of Leontius and his party; accordingly, he “sent them away and excluded them from his company.”<sup>37</sup>

Sabas sailed home the following September, leaving Leontius and the other suspect monks behind.<sup>38</sup> Until the Old Man's death in December 532, Cyril assures us, “a single confession of faith prevailed in all the monasteries of the

<sup>31</sup> In H. Canisius, *Antiquae Lectionis*, Tomus IV, 1 (Ingolstadt, 1603), 1–171.

<sup>32</sup> VS 70, 173, ll. 4–11; 72, 175, ll. 7–19. Cyril, usually exact and reliable in his chronology, gives the year as 530; but, as Franz Diekamp has shown (*Die Origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil* (Münster, 1899), 11–15), Cyril's indictional dates in the *Vita Sabae* are all one year early, for some unexplained reason, after he narrates the departure of Sabas for Constantinople.

<sup>33</sup> VS 72, 175, l. 23–176, l. 2.

<sup>36</sup> VS 36, 124, l. 21–125, l. 24.

<sup>34</sup> VS 73, 176, ll. 7–15.

<sup>37</sup> VS 72, 176, ll. 18–20.

<sup>35</sup> VS 73, 176, ll. 11–15.

<sup>38</sup> VS 74, 179, ll. 8–11.

desert;<sup>39</sup> under his less experienced successor Melitas, however, theological strife broke out with unprecedented force. The followers of Nonnus began to sow seeds of unrest in the minds of their confrères,<sup>40</sup> the "intellectuals" (λογιώτεροι) of the Nea Lavra, as well as among the brethren of the monastery of Martyrius and the lavra of Firminus. In a short time, even Sabas's own Great Lavra, and many of the other desert communities, were tainted with the Origenist heresy. Two of the chief representatives of the new movement, Domitian, the new hegumen of the monastery of Martyrius, and Theodore Askidas, leader<sup>41</sup> of the Origenists in the Nea Lavra, went up to the capital themselves "about this time,"<sup>42</sup> Cyril tells us, and while "pretending to fight for the Synod of Chalcedon" they set about disseminating Origenist doctrine there.<sup>43</sup> Their first contact in Constantinople was Leontius of Byzantium, whom presumably they knew from Palestine; he introduced them to the influential πάπας Eusebius—a presbyter, treasurer of the Constantinople Patriarchate, and a leading Chalcedonian, who seems to have taken a particular interest in the Church in Palestine<sup>44</sup>—and Eusebius presented them to Justinian. By concealing their true theological opinions, Cyril asserts, these two newcomers acquired a strong influence (πρώτη παρρησία) at court, and eventually were

<sup>39</sup> VS 83, 188, ll. 7–9; cf. 36, 125, ll. 22–4.

<sup>40</sup> Literally, "they gave their neighbours dangerously upsetting ideas to drink (ἐπότιζον τὸν πλήσιον ἀνατροπήν θολερὰν)": VS 83, 188, l. 17. On the events described here and in the following three paragraphs, up to the appointment of Macarius to the See of Jerusalem in 552, cf. VS 83–90, 188, l. 3–198, l. 17.

<sup>41</sup> ἐξάρχων (VS 83: 188, ll. 26–7): presumably not a canonical title here.

<sup>42</sup> VS 83: 188, ll. 24–5; the date is probably in 535 or early 536, as we shall see later (p. 19).

<sup>43</sup> VS 83: 188, l. 28–189, l. 4. Cyril's suspicion that a defense of Chalcedonian Christology may be a cover for an Origenist theological agenda is worth noting here; we shall see it again (e.g. pp. 13–14).

<sup>44</sup> When news reached the capital of Sabas's coming embassy to Justinian in 531, Cyril tells us (VS 71: 173, ll. 13–17), the treasurer Eusebius sent his own representatives, along with representatives of the Patriarch Epiphanius and of Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, on the imperial corvette to meet Sabas's party at sea. In *Novella* 51, of 8 May 536 (ed. C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal I (Leipzig, 1881), 350, ll. 8–10), Justinian refers approvingly to Eusebius's recent work as imperial envoy to Jerusalem to review the financial affairs of the Patriarchal See. Cf. also the letter of Patriarch Menas to Peter of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Synod, of 19 Sept. 536 (ACO III, 124, ll. 23–5) and Cyril's reference to Eusebius's work in VS 54, 146, l. 27–147, l. 2. As we shall see, Eusebius was, with Leontius, one of the Chalcedonian observers at the *collatio* of 532, at which the spokesman for the Chalcedonian side was Hypatius of Ephesus (Innocent of Maroneia, 170, ll. 2–3). Eusebius is sometimes referred to in modern works as "treasurer of the Hagia Sophia," probably because he is designated as *κειμελιάρχης τῆς κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδι ταύτῃ πόλιν ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας* in *Novella* 51; this phrase, however, seems to have a wider reference than simply the Hagia Sophia, and the title "great Church of Christ" was applied not only to Justinian's new basilica (still under construction in 536!), but also to the Patriarchate and even to the whole Byzantine communion. Cf. R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine*, I, 3 (Paris, 1969), 456. For a summary of what is known about Hypatius of Ephesus, as well as the fragments of his writings, cf. F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* (= *Orientalia Christiana Anallecta* 117: Rome, 1938), 108–53.

both given major bishoprics: Domitian that of Ancyra in Galatia, and Theodore that of Caesarea in Cappadocia.<sup>45</sup>

Sabas's successor, the hegumen Melitas, died in 537, and was succeeded at the Great Lavra by Gelasius, a long-time disciple of St Sabas and a strong opponent of the Origenists. On the advice of the venerable bishop John the Hesychast—another confirmed anti-Origenist<sup>46</sup>—Gelasius began a campaign against Abbot Nonnus and his disciples by having Antipater of Bostra's tract against Origen read in the Church of the Great Lavra. The Origenist group there seem to have protested—Cyril says they "stirred up trouble (ἐτάρασσον)"<sup>47</sup>—and some forty of them were again expelled. They withdrew to the Nea Lavra, to Nonnus, "and to Leontius of Byzantium, who at that time had returned from Constantinople and who was fanatically opposed to the successors of blessed Sabas."<sup>48</sup> A general caucus of the Origenist party seems to have been called. The fugitives complained about their treatment at the hands of Abba Gelasius and the brethren of the Great Lavra, and Leontius, "who bore an old grudge against the blessed Sabas, advised them all to give vent to their arrogance and to make a raid on the Great Lavra, so that it would no longer be habitable."<sup>49</sup> Origenist monks from all around gathered at the Nea Lavra and set out, with Leontius and the forty exiles, on a mission of assault. First, says Cyril, they attempted to storm the monastery of St Theodosius (some 6 km north-west of the Great Lavra) and kidnap the hegumen Sophronius<sup>50</sup> and his senior monks, "but their plan was frustrated and they went away in shame."<sup>51</sup> Then some of Leontius's followers collected "picks and shovels and crowbars of iron, and other instruments of destruction,"<sup>52</sup> and set out, with a band of peasant reinforcements, to attack the Great Lavra itself. This move, too, was frustrated by divine intervention, according to Cyril: "at the second hour, mist and darkness came down on them, and they spent the whole day in close quarters,"<sup>53</sup> groping their way through rough and inaccessible places.<sup>54</sup> The next morning, they found they had only reached the monastery of St Marcellian (still some 5 km west of the Great Lavra), so they abandoned the plan and went home.

<sup>45</sup> Cyril, VS 83: 189, ll. 3–7. The date of their promotion must be after June 536, since in the *Acta* of the Home Synod of 2 May–4 June of that year they still appear as Palestinian monks: Domitian as a presbyter and hegumen of the lavra of Martyrius (e.g. ACO III, 36, l. 30) and Theodore as a deacon (e.g., ACO III, 37, l. 3).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cyril, *Vita Johannis* (VJ) 20, 216, ll. 13–15; 27, 221, ll. 19–21.

<sup>47</sup> VS 84, 189, l. 23. <sup>48</sup> VS 84, 190, ll. 4–6. <sup>49</sup> VS 84, 190, ll. 8–10.

<sup>50</sup> Sophronius, the successor of Theodosius, was at this time chief archimandrite of all the coenobitic monasteries in Palestine: cf. ACO III, 133, l. 36–134, l. 2.

<sup>51</sup> VS 84, 190, ll. 15–16. <sup>52</sup> VS 84, 190, ll. 18–19.

<sup>53</sup> Reading *συγκλεισθέντες* for *συγκλασθέντες*: VS 84, 190, l. 23.

<sup>54</sup> VS 84, 190, ll. 21–3.



"About this time," says Cyril, Ephrem of Amida, the "neo-Chalcedonian" Patriarch of Antioch and a trusted adviser of Justinian, had come to Palestine, along with πάπας Eusebius, to settle the deposition of Patriarch Paul the Tabennesiot from the see of Alexandria.<sup>55</sup> When their synod was over, according to Cyril, Eusebius went on to Jerusalem and met his old friend Leontius, who presented to him the Origenist exiles from the Great Lavra. They pleaded their case against Abba Gelasius, and Eusebius, "deceived by the words of Leontius and knowing nothing about the heresy,"<sup>56</sup> summoned the hegumen of the Great Lavra and ordered him either to accept the Origenist faction back or to expel their adversaries as well. Gelasius and his advisers preferred the second alternative, and sent away six of the Lavra's leading anti-Origenists; they went directly to Antioch and won Patriarch Ephrem to their side, showing him the treatise of Antipater of Bostra which had begun the whole controversy. Ephrem then joined the fray with vigor, Cyril reports, and anathematized Origen in a local synod at Antioch. By the time news of this reached Jerusalem, Leontius had already returned to the capital; Nonnus and the Palestinian Origenists enlisted his help there, along with that of his former protégés, the bishops Domitian and Theodore Askidas, to force Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem to remove Ephrem's name from the diptychs. Pressure was duly applied, "but Peter quietly asked the two leading monastic leaders of Palestine, Sophronius and Gelasius, to compose a *libellus* of incriminating texts, arguing the case against the Origenists, and he then forwarded it to the emperor, along with his own complaint about their 'revolutionary doctrines.'<sup>57</sup> Justinian—who loved settling doctrinal disputes by imperial decree, as another ancient writer drily

<sup>55</sup> The occasion was the Synod of Gaza, also attended by Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Hypatius of Ephesus, and the Roman deacon Pelagius, who represented Pope Vigilius in Constantinople. It seems to have been essentially a gathering of Chalcedonian leaders, held at Justinian's order to tighten discipline within the ranks; specifically, its purpose was to deal with the complaints of brutal maladministration made against Paul, a Chalcedonian monk installed forcibly at Alexandria by Justinian two years before. The ancient sources conflict over the date of Paul's deposition, as they do over much of the chronology of the Patriarchs of Alexandria in the sixth and seventh centuries. A. von Gutschmid ("Verzeichnis der Patriarchen von Alexandrien," *Kleine Schriften* II (Leipzig, 1890), 460–9), following Theophanes, Liberatus, and Victor of Tunnum, puts the deposition of Paul at the end of 542. Diekamp (*Die Origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 42–5) accepts Von Gutschmid's dating in general, but wants to move the synod back to Easter, 542, to allow time for all the events Cyril narrates between that meeting and Justinian's edict against Origen of February, 543. A. Jülicher, however ("Die Liste der alexandrinischen Patriarchen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," *Festgabe Karl Müller* (Tübingen, 1922), 18) argues forcibly for accepting Zacharias Rhetor's date of 539/40, and he is followed in this by J. Maspero (*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1923), 148: "milieu de 539?"), Schwartz (*Kyrrillos*, 401, n. 3: 539), and Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 391: "vers les premières mois de 540"). Although the date of the synod does not directly affect the chronology of Leontius, the earlier date would allow more time for the intrigues Cyril tells of.

<sup>56</sup> VS 85, 191, ll. 8–9.

<sup>57</sup> VS 85, 191, l. 32.

remarked<sup>58</sup>—found their argument convincing, and published an edict against the doctrines of Origen, which was signed by Patriarch Menas and the Home Synod of Constantinople. Domitian and Theodore Askidas found themselves able to sign as well—in Cyril's view, by blatant hypocrisy—and when the edict was promulgated in Jerusalem in February 543, "it was signed by all the bishops of Palestine and the abbots of the desert except Alexander, bishop of Abele."<sup>59</sup> After the bishops had signed, Cyril tells us, Nonnus and the other leaders of the Origenist monastic faction, who presumably refused to accept the decree, were excommunicated;<sup>60</sup> they left the Nea Lavra and lived again in the *Pedias*, the southern Judaeian wilderness, as they had done in their first exile some thirty years before.

The Origenist cause was by no means dead. Cyril goes on to narrate in some detail the intrigues of Theodore Askidas to have Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem lift the excommunication against the exiles,<sup>61</sup> the bloody riots in the streets of Jerusalem between the opposing factions, and the temporary triumph of the Origenist party which followed. Theodore succeeded in forcing two Origenist *synkelloi* on Peter, as well as an Origenist hegumen for Justinian's "New Church" of the Theotokos in the Holy City,<sup>62</sup> and when, after a fruitless journey to the capital to protest, Abba Gelasius died in Phrygia on his way home in October of 547,<sup>63</sup> another Origenist named George was even installed, for several months, as his successor in the Great Lavra. As late as 552, the Origenist party succeeded in having one of their own, Macarius, of the Nea Lavra (and so a onetime confrère of Leontius), raised to the Patriarchal see of Jerusalem as Peter's successor.<sup>64</sup> But all of this seems to have been the work of Theodore Askidas. By

<sup>58</sup> Liberatus, *Breviarium* 23 (ACO II, 5, 140, l. 7; PL 68, 1046 B12–13): "gaudens se de talibus causis iudicium ferre." Liberatus's account of the events leading up to the condemnation of Origen is different from Cyril's, but not contradictory. Justinian, he says, sent the deacon Pelagius first to Antioch, then to Jerusalem, to summon Patriarchs Ephrem and Peter to the Synod of Gaza. After the Synod had deposed Paul and ordained Zoilus in his place, Pelagius returned to the capital, accompanied by "certain monks from Jerusalem" who had met him on his way to Gaza. They brought with them "capitula de libris Origenis excerpta," by which they hoped to persuade the emperor to condemn Origen as a heretic. Pelagius, says Liberatus, was personally jealous of Theodore Askidas, who was an admirer of Origen, and, hoping to damage his career, he threw his weight behind the petition. Together with Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople, he persuaded Justinian to issue his anti-Origenist decree (*Breviarium* 23: ACO II, 5, 139, l. 26–140, l. 12; PL 68, 1046 A1–C6). Liberatus sees the ultimate source of both the decree against Origen and Justinian's later edict against the Three Chapters in the personal enmity between Pelagius and Theodore Askidas (*Breviarium* 24: ACO II, 5, 141, ll. 7–11; PL 68, 1049 D13–1050 A5): an oversimplification, no doubt, but an explanation that expands the purely Palestinian perspective of Cyril of Skythopolis.

<sup>59</sup> VS 86, 192, ll. 14–17.

<sup>60</sup> VS 86, 192, l. 19; cf. 193, ll. 3–5.

<sup>61</sup> VS 86, 192, l. 22–193, l. 12.

<sup>62</sup> VS 86, 193, ll. 16–18.

<sup>63</sup> VS 87, 195, ll. 5–6.

<sup>64</sup> VS. 90, 198 ll. 9–12. The presbyter Eustratius (*Vita Eutychii* 34: PG 86, 2316 A1–3) credits the Origenists with urging Justinian to issue his edict proclaiming the incorruptibility of the body of Christ in the autumn of 564: cf. n. 260.



the time the news of the expulsion and excommunication of Nonnus and his comrades reached Constantinople, Cyril tells us, both πάπας Eusebius and Leontius were dead. It is not clear from Cyril's account just when the Origenist monks were expelled, so that the date of Leontius's death cannot be fixed with certainty. But Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters—which our other sources clearly ascribe to Theodore's influence, as part of his Origenist counter-attack<sup>65</sup>—seems, as I have said, to have been issued in 544 or the early months of 545.<sup>66</sup> The latest probable date, then, for the death of the Origenist monk Leontius is sometime in 544.

So much for Cyril's narrative. For us, the most important question is whether we can, with any certainty, identify his Origenist Leontius with the author of the works edited here, who was at least the Origenist's contemporary. Doubts can certainly be raised about the identification.<sup>67</sup> Cyril gives no hint that the Leontius he speaks of was a writer or even a theologian, apart from his allusion to the debates between Sabas's monks and the representatives of the "monophysite" party in the Basilica of Constantinople, in 531.<sup>68</sup> But Cyril, however painstaking he may have been in reporting detail, frequently omits important matters which are not germane to his hagiographical purpose, as we have seen in the case of Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters.

More important, despite some recent attempts to find an Origenist or Evagrian Christology in the writings of the monk Leontius,<sup>69</sup> there is, as I have

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Liberatus, *Breviarium* 24 (ACO II, 5, 140, l. 13–14, l. 11; PL 68, 1049 A3–1050 A5); Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 38 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, 187, ll. 11–16; PG 86, 2773 B4–10). Cyril of Skythopolis does not mention the edict directly, but has Abba Gelasius allude to it in a farewell address to his monks before leaving for Constantinople, presumably in the spring of 547. Gelasius warns his monks against Theodore of Mopsuestia, who is a heretic on a par with Origen, and says he now regrets having signed the *libellus* sent by the desert monks to the emperor, on the Patriarch's orders, urging against the condemnation of Theodore (VS 87, 194, ll. 19–27). Clearly Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters was, in its origin, very much part of the struggle between the monastic factions in Palestine. But even Theodore Askidas's friends seem not all to have been in sympathy with his campaign to have the Three Chapters condemned; Facundus of Hermiane (*Pro Def. Tr. Cap.* IV, 4, 15; CCL 90A, 126, ll. 103–12; PL 67, 627 B1–13) quotes from a letter of Askidas's friend, Domitian of Ancyra, to Pope Vigilius, in which the Origenist bishop speaks ruefully of the attack on Theodore of Mopsuestia as the counter-plot of those in his party who found themselves unable to defend Origen directly (cf. also Facundus, *Pro Def. Tr. Cap.* I, 2, 4; CCL 90A, 9, ll. 20–7; PL 67, 532 C2–10).

<sup>66</sup> See n. 25.

<sup>67</sup> Among modern authors, at least Eduard Schwartz continued to maintain that Leontius the hermit-theologian was not Leontius the Origenist, but an obscure author, unknown to Justinian and without influence: cf. *Kyrrillos*, 388 f., n. 2; "Kirchenpolitik," 54, n. 2.

<sup>68</sup> VS 72, 176, ll. 7–15.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. esp. D. B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (= *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* XIII; Washington, DC, 1970). Evans's arguments are accepted and developed somewhat further by J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, DC, 1969), 43–9 (French edn.: *Le Christ dans la théologie Byzantine* (Paris, 1969), 79–89); and *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1974), 35 f.

argued at length elsewhere,<sup>70</sup> virtually no trace in his works of any of the theological doctrines associated with Origen and his followers and condemned in 543 and 553. This absence of Origenist theology need not, however, deter us from identifying the author with the Leontius of the *Vita Sabae* either.<sup>71</sup> Everything depends on how one understands the epithet "Origenist." As I have tried to show in the article just mentioned,<sup>72</sup> Cyril of Skythopolis was far from being uninterested in theological nuance, and equally far from being neutral on doctrinal issues; his writings reveal him as a passionate "neo-Chalcedonian,"<sup>73</sup> willing to accept the Christological language of Chalcedon only when carefully qualified by further formulas that were largely borrowed from the more uncompromising passages of Cyril of Alexandria—formulas which were to be canonized, as organically part of orthodox Christology, at the Council of 553.<sup>74</sup> To someone as strongly committed as Cyril of Skythopolis was to a strictly unitive understanding of the person of Christ, the Evagrian Origenism that was studied and embraced by the monks of Palestine seems to have been repugnant as much for its "divisive" Christology—its tendency to distinguish between the

<sup>70</sup> "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* NS 27 (1976), 333–69. Daniel Hombergen has studied at length the portrayal of the "second Origenist controversy" in Cyril of Skythopolis's monastic biographies, and has argued, on that basis, that while there is no trace of an Origenist or Evagrian Christology or Trinitarian theology in the works of Leontius, they do reveal an underlying Evagrian spirituality and anthropology. (See Daniel Hombergen, *The Second Origenist Controversy: A New Perspective on Cyril of Skythopolis' Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism*, *Studia Anselmiana* 132 (Rome, 2001), esp. 207–21.) The evidence for even this view, in the works of Leontius themselves, seems to me scanty.

<sup>71</sup> It also need not force us to accept the theory of Marcel Richard that the works edited here are mere theological propaganda and do not represent their author's real position: cf. "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?" *REB* 5 (1947), 31–66 (= *Opera Minora* II (Turnhout/Leuven, 1977), no. 59).

<sup>72</sup> "Origenism," 362–4.

<sup>73</sup> For the meaning and reference of this term, the best study is still the unpublished dissertation of S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus: Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes* (Bonn, 1962); cf. also M. Richard, "Le Néo-chalcédonisme," *MSR* 3 (1946), 147–56 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 56); C. Moeller, "Le Chalcédonisme et le néochalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Würzburg, 1951), 637–720; A. Grillmeier, "Der Neuchalkedonismus: um die Berechtigung eines neuen Kapitels in der Dogmengeschichte," in *Mit Ihm und in Ihm* (= collected essays: Freiburg 1975), 371–85. Eastern Orthodox theologians have generally rejected the notion that imperial and patriarchal policy in the mid-sixth century promoted any major modifications of the real Christological intent of the Chalcedonian definition. Hombergen (*Second Origenist Controversy*, 198–9 and n. 294) also denies the existence of a "neo-Chalcedonian" Christology before the Council of 553, and prefers to distinguish between "integrated Chalcedonians," who read the council's decree from the perspective of Cyril of Alexandria's Christology (and who included the "Origenists") and "integralist" or stubbornly diphyssite Chalcedonians.

<sup>74</sup> For the hagiographer Cyril's Christological position, see his account of the faith of St Euthymius, in *Vita Euthymii* (VE) 26, 40, l. 12–41, l. 3; 27, 42, l. 23–44, l. 4.

divine Logos and the created *nous* named "Christ"—as it was for its better-known doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and the coming *apokatastasis*. So we find Cyril speaking several times of Nestorianism and Origenism in close parallel,<sup>75</sup> even accusing two monks of Nestorianism on the same grounds that he allows St Cyriacus, in another place, to criticize the Origenists: "because they did not maintain that Christ, the true God, is one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity."<sup>76</sup> And Cyril was not alone. Theodore of Skythopolis, a reformed Origenist of the same generation, equates the teachings of Origen "with the Arian and Jewish blasphemies that Nestorius or the godless Theodore invented,"<sup>77</sup> and even Anastasius of Sinai, at the end of the next century, includes Origen with "Artemon" (presumably Artemas the Adoptionist), Paul of Samosata, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus, and Nestorius as those who "divided Christ *κακῶς*"—with Artemon, he says, "Origen taught that Christ was a mere man."<sup>78</sup> It is easy, then, to imagine a writer like Cyril of Skythopolis branding our theologian Leontius—clearly a strict diphysite, with strong reservations about some of the Christological formulae dear to the "revisionist" party—as an Origenist, for the same reason he might call him a Nestorian or a follower of Theodore: his Christology seemed divisive.

Secondly, it is far from clear that the so-called Origenist *party* among the Palestinian monks were all committed Origenists in any doctrinal or exegetical sense. Undoubtedly, their existence as a group among their monastic fellows was fairly well defined; and undoubtedly, an interest in the speculations of Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus characterized many of them—otherwise the condemnation of Origen in 543, or that of all three authors at the start of the Fifth Council ten years later, would not have struck them so hard. Still, one need not assume, as Cyril does, that Theodore Askidas and Domitian of Ancyra were in bad faith when they subscribed to the condemnation of propositions ascribed to Origen in 543; membership of the party against which the decree was directed may have been compatible with a good deal more latitude in doctrine than their name suggests. In fact, a number of passages in Cyril's writings and in other monastic works from his time give the impression that the "Origenists" were held together not so much by their belief in such doctrines as the pre-existence of souls or *apokatastasis* as by their willingness to tolerate

<sup>75</sup> VS 72, 175, l. 23–176, l. 2; VJ 27, 221, ll. 18–21. In his farewell address to the monks of the Great Lavra, Gelasius reminds them that his predecessor, St Sabas, had opposed Theodore of Mopsuestia—a classic Nestorian, to the neo-Chalcedonian mind—as adamantly as he had Origen: VS 87, 194, ll. 19–22.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. VS 38, 127, ll. 19–24, and VC 12, 230, ll. 3–4.

<sup>77</sup> *Libellus* (PG 86, 232 B12–C2).

<sup>78</sup> *Hodegos* 20 (PG 89, 277 B1–2). For further references to this understanding of Origenism from the seventh century, cf. my "Origenism," 365 and n. 3.

and respect speculation on these subjects as being worth a monk's time<sup>79</sup>—by their intellectual curiosity, by the secular, predominantly philosophical ring of some of their theorizing, and by their interest in free-ranging theological inquiry. Inspired, perhaps, more by Origen's *approach* to theology than by his *system*, they are, as we have seen, branded contemptuously by Cyril as the *λογιώτεροι*,<sup>80</sup> the fomentors of doctrinal revolution,<sup>81</sup> the critical intellectuals who had always been troublesome to men of simple faith like Sabas.<sup>82</sup> In the view of Abba Barsanuphius, the Origenists were "gnostics," monks whose idle curiosity for theological and cosmological niceties only led to vanity and the weakening of religious practice.<sup>83</sup> If they had one doctrinal position in common, it may well have been a strict insistence on the diphysite, "symmetrical" Christology of Chalcedon—the insistence on doing Christ's humanity equal justice with his divinity—and a corresponding suspicion of what I have called the growing "neo-Chalcedonian" synthesis.<sup>84</sup>

Even before considering the positive evidence, then, it is not impossible that the "monk Leontius" who composed the treatises edited here—treatises free from the characteristic Origenist doctrines stigmatized under Justinian, but works of remarkable intellectual subtlety, for the most part, all devoted to defending the formula of Chalcedon in one way or another—could also be the "Origenist" Leontius of Byzantium. Admittedly, the name Leontius was a fairly common one in the Greek East at that time; Loofs lists twenty Leontii mentioned in Church documents of the reigns of Justin I and Justinian alone.<sup>85</sup> Still, there seems to be a certain *a priori* resemblance between Cyril's Origenist and the author. The theological debates Cyril's Leontius held in the basilica of

<sup>79</sup> Cf. VC 12, 229, l. 24–230, l. 10.

<sup>80</sup> VS 83, 188, l. 18; VC 13, 230, l. 31.

<sup>81</sup> VS 85, 191, 1–32. The Nea Lavra seems always to have been suspect in Cyril's eyes, since it owed its foundation to a rebellion of 60 of Sabas's monks against the Old Man's rule: cf. VS 36, 122, l. 19–124, l. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. his story of the "men of worldly judgment" from the Great Lavra, who complained to Patriarch Sallustius of Jerusalem, as early as 486, that Sabas was unfit to govern them "because of his great rusticity": VS 19, 103, ll. 25–6; 104, l. 6. In contrast to such critical attitudes, most of the desert monks seem to have had strong anti-intellectual prejudices: cf. the remarks of Père Festugière in *Les Moines d'Orient I* (Paris, 1961), 83–91; III, 2 (Paris, 1962), 118 f., n. 279.

<sup>83</sup> *Replies of Barsanuphius and John*, resp. 604 (ed. Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain (Venice, 1816; republ. with slight additions and corrections by S. N. Schoinas: Volos, 1960), 286b, ll. 9–13; PG 86, 900 D9–12. For the attitude of more traditional monks towards the Origenists, cf. *Replies*, nos. 600–7 (Volos ed. 283a–292a; partly in PG 86, 892–901; cf. also the excellent French translation by L. Regnault and P. Lemaire, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondence* (Solesmes, 1971), 391–404).

<sup>84</sup> Even Cyril must admit that the theological position publicly adopted by the Origenists in the capital, both in their debates with the monophysites in 531 and later on in the decade, was the defence of Chalcedon; he labels this, however, mere pretence: cf. VS 72, 176, ll. 15–16; VS 83, 188, l. 28–189, l. 1. On the whole question of the doctrinal unity of the Origenist monks, cf. also my article, "Origenism," 366–9.

<sup>85</sup> *Leontius von Byzanz*, 226–7.

Constantinople would correspond well with the "frequent public disputations" mentioned by our author as the proving-ground of what he writes in his treatises;<sup>86</sup> his occasional references to enemies in high places,<sup>87</sup> as well as to distinguished and God-fearing friends,<sup>88</sup> would come easily, one imagines, from the pen of a political tactician such as Cyril describes.

And the positive evidence for identifying these two Leontii is substantial. First of all, there is the matter of his name. Both the eighth-century compiler of the so-called *Doctrina Patrum* and the twelfth-century Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus quote from the works of the monk Leontius, edited here, under the name *Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος*.<sup>89</sup> John of Damascus, too, credits *Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος* with taking the word *σεσαρκωμένη* in Cyril's formula, "one nature of the Logos, made flesh," to refer to a *second nature* in Christ.<sup>90</sup> While he could be alluding to a number of passages in the works of the monk Leontius,<sup>91</sup> the Damascene is probably thinking of a passage in the eighth *actio* of the *De Sectis*;<sup>92</sup> although this work is almost certainly not by the monk Leontius, it seems regularly to have been attributed to him by Byzantine copyists and authors, as early as the end of the eighth century.<sup>93</sup> And an anti-Julianist florilegium discovered and partially published by Marcel Richard<sup>94</sup> is also falsely ascribed in the manuscript to *Λεόντιος μοναχὸς Βυζάντιος*; this collection is probably of "monophysite" or anti-Chalcedonian origin, and seems to date from the late sixth or early seventh century, but its ascription to "Leontius, monk of Byzantium" suggests that even then the author of the CA, another anti-Julianist tract, was known by this name. It seems beyond dispute, then, that the author of

<sup>86</sup> p. 116, ll. 2–3. <sup>87</sup> p. 126, ll. 15–16; p. 416, ll. 22–7.

<sup>88</sup> p. 116, l. 1, ll. 20–1; p. 412, ll. 8–11.

<sup>89</sup> *Doctrina Patrum* 28, I (ed. F. Diekamp: Münster, 1907), 198, l. 24, quoting a fragment of the *Epilyseis*; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica* XVI (PG 130, 1068 B7), quoting from the *Epaporemata*.

<sup>90</sup> *De Fide Orth.* 55.3.11 (ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* II (=Patristische Texte und Studien, 12: Berlin, 1973), 132, ll. 38–40; PG 94, 1025 A14–B1).

<sup>91</sup> e.g. CNE 1: p. 130, l. 17, p. 132, l. 16; *Epil.* 7: p. 294, l. 27–p. 296, l. 8; *Epap.* 16–17: p. 320, l. 15–p. 322, l. 5.

<sup>92</sup> PG 86, 1253 A4–B12.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Theodore the Studite, *Epist.* II, 168 (PG 99, 1532 B10–12), referring to the *σχόλια ὑπερκαλῆς* of *Λεόντιος ὁ μακάριος*. The *Doctr. Patr.* cites the *De Sectis* as τὰ *Λεοντίου σχόλια* (16, XVII: 111, l. 23; 24, XV: 177, l. 21; 27, I: 191, l. 20; 29, XVI: 213, l. 3; 30, II: 217, l. 16). The title of the *De Sectis*—in its present version, at any rate (PG 86, 1193)—is *Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ Βυζαντίου σχόλια ἀπὸ φωῆς Θεοδώρου*...; probably this refers to a scribe named Leontius of Byzantium, who copied down the lectures of the Abba Theodore (of Raithu?), its real author. (Cf. M. Richard, "Ἀπὸ φωῆς", *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 191–222, esp. 198–201 (= *Opera Minora* III, no. 60)). The work seems clearly later than that of Leontius the monk, and shows some theological differences from his writings, even though its author seems to be dependent on Leontius's Christology in its general outlines; cf. M. Richard, "Le Traité 'De Sectis' et Léonce de Byzance", *RHE* 35 (1939), 695–723 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 55).

<sup>94</sup> "Le Florilège du Cod. Vatopédi 236 sur le corruptible et l'incorruptible", *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 249–73, esp. 249 f. (= *Opera Minora* I, no. 4).

the works edited here was referred to as "Leontius of Byzantium" from at least the eighth century on, even if his manuscripts do not refer to him that way. And besides this similarity of name, there are two scholia, undoubtedly of early origin, in the Vatican manuscript of our author,<sup>95</sup> which make an identification of him with Cyril of Skythopolis's Leontius virtually certain. The first names a certain "pious and godly man" quoted in the text<sup>96</sup> as the Abba Nonnus; the second correctly identifies an authorless quotation in the text, attributed only to "a certain divinely wise man before our time,"<sup>97</sup> as coming from Evagrius Ponticus. Surely a theologian, too, can be known by the company he keeps.

We can, then, with perfect confidence call the author of the treatises edited here "Leontius of Byzantium"; provided we make allowance for Cyril of Skythopolis's strong theological bias, we can also begin to form some idea of his career from the details furnished in the *Vita Sabae*. And there are three further allusions to a monk named Leontius in contemporary sources which seem to refer to the same man, and which add detail and colour to Cyril's portrait.

The first of these is in Innocent of Maroneia's letter to the presbyter Thomas of Thessalonica, in which Innocent reports on a three-day dialogue between representatives of the Chalcedonian and "monophysite" parties held in Constantinople, at Justinian's order, probably sometime in 532.<sup>98</sup> Besides the twelve episcopal participants in the *collation*—six Chalcedonian bishops, including Hypatius of Ephesus (who seems to have been their leader and spokesman), and six "monophysite" bishops—Innocent mentions a number of other Chalcedonians who attended, either as *periti* or as official observers. These included the *πάπας* Eusebius, two synkelloi of Epiphanius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, three presbyters acting as representatives (*apocrisarii*) of the Patriarchal city of Antioch, and "Leontius vir venerabilis monachus et apocrisarius patrum in sancta civitate constitutorum"—a monk delegated to represent the monastic communities in the Jerusalem Patriarchate.<sup>99</sup> Since Loofs,<sup>100</sup> a number

<sup>95</sup> Vat. Gr. 2195, f. 5 and 12. These scholia are in the same hand (Σ<sup>1</sup>) as a later part of the manuscript, and may have been copied with the works of Leontius from their source; cf. my further discussion, p. cxvii.

<sup>96</sup> p. 128, ll. 4–6 and scholion.

<sup>97</sup> *τινὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνδρὶ θεοσόφῳ*; cf. p. 142, ll. 22–4 and scholion.

<sup>98</sup> ACO IV, 2, 169–84. For the date, cf. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 378, n. 1; W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), 264, n. 2. According to the Syriac continuation of Zacharias Rhetor (*Hist. Eccl.* IX, 15: CSCO III, 6, 122, ll. 19–20; tr. 84, l. 16), negotiations between monophysites and Chalcedonians lasted "for a year or more;" thus there may have been more than one meeting of the kind described by Innocent. Sebastian Brock has published two partly preserved Syriac summaries of the same conversations, written from the viewpoint of the "monophysite" participants: "The Conversation with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 87–121. Unfortunately, they do not mention Leontius or the other non-episcopal observers by name.

<sup>99</sup> Innocent of Maroneia, 170, ll. 5–6. <sup>100</sup> *Leontius von Byzanz*, 261–9.

of scholars<sup>101</sup> have identified this Leontius, too, with Cyril's Leontius of Byzantium, not only because of his connection with the Palestinian monasteries, but also because his Chalcedonian colleague Hypatius and his own friend and patron Eusebius were also there. From what Cyril tells us of Leontius's connections in the capital later in the 530s, from the simple title *monachus* which Innocent gives his observer, and from the sense of actual "combat experience" conveyed by Leontius's anti-Severan writings, it does seem highly likely that the observer of the conversations of 532 is also our author.<sup>102</sup> If this is true, however, it provides an important correction to Cyril's version of his career. It is not likely that Leontius would have been publicly disowned by St Sabas in Constantinople in 531, only to act there within a year as representative of the monasteries of the Jerusalem patriarchate,<sup>103</sup> even if he had been appointed to the post by Justinian, as Schwartz suggests.<sup>104</sup> The most likely explanation is that the biographer's story of Sabas's repudiation of his entourage is colored by Cyril's partisan sympathies, and that at least some of the delegation which accompanied the Old Man to the capital in 531 had been sent by the whole monastic and hierarchical establishment in Palestine, to act as its permanent embassy there.<sup>105</sup> The Leontius of the conversations of 532, at any rate, is a man of some standing, a *vir venerabilis*—not a heretic in disgrace.

A second group of apparent references to our Leontius from the same period is found in the lists of non-episcopal petitioners and observers at the Home Synod held in Constantinople from 2 May to 4 June, 536, under the leadership of Menas, the new Patriarch.<sup>106</sup> This synod was to mark the end of what seemed

<sup>101</sup> e.g. W. Rügamer, *Leontius von Byzanz. Ein Polemiker aus dem Zeitalter Justinians* (Würzburg, 1894), 56–8; V. Grumel, "Léonce de Byzance," *DThC* IX (Paris, 1926), 400–1; and most recently Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium*, 172–5.

<sup>102</sup> Richard, however, is dubious; he finds it hard to believe that the monk of the *Vita Sabae*, whom Sabas dismissed from his entourage in 531, should have been acting as the representative of the Jerusalem Church and all the monks of Palestine a year later. Richard thus prefers to identify the Leontius of the *collatio* of 532 and the Home Synod of 536 (see further pp. 18–22) with Leontius of Jerusalem, the sixth-century "neo-Chalcedonian" writer about whom we know virtually nothing at all. Cf. "Origéniste?," 65; "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance," *MSR* 1 (1944), 85–8 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 59). Leontius of Byzantium, Richard conjectures, "est demeuré, presque seul, fidèle jusqu'au bout au chalcédonisme le plus strict et pour cela fait figure assez étrange au milieu des théologiens de son temps" ("Origéniste?," 65).

<sup>103</sup> Innocent makes Leontius the "apocrisiarius patrum in sancta civitate constitutorum," which suggests first of all that he represented the Palestinian monasteries. But since the other observers at the *collatio* were representatives of the Patriarchates of Constantinople or Antioch, and since the monks of the Judaean desert were, if anything, more closely involved in setting the theological tone of the See of Jerusalem than their counterparts in Syria or near the capital, it seems probable that Leontius represented the Jerusalem Patriarchate as well.

<sup>104</sup> Kyrillos, 391. <sup>105</sup> So Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 300.

<sup>106</sup> The *Acta* of this Synod, along with those of its counterpart in Jerusalem in September of the same year and with Justinian's anti-Origenist decree of 543, comprise what Schwartz called the *Collectio Sabaitica*: vol. III of his *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*.

to some contemporaries Justinian's period of leniency—his πολλή ἀνοχή<sup>107</sup>—towards Severus's anti-Chalcedonian party. Since the summer of 531, when the emperor had invited banished "monophysite" monks and bishops back to the capital,<sup>108</sup> his policy seems to have been one of persuasion rather than coercion: of putting gentle, sometimes rather ambivalent, pressure on them to overcome their scruples about Chalcedon and to be reconciled with the rest of the Church. Negotiation and dialogue—as exemplified in the conversations of 532—was to be the new approach to doctrinal unity. All of this meant a new freedom of movement and speech for the "monophysites," and by the mid-530s—undoubtedly with the support of the empress Theodora—they were apparently enjoying considerable freedom of movement in the capital.<sup>109</sup> Zoöras the Stylite, an aggressively anti-Chalcedonian hermit from Syria, now settled in Sykai, on the outskirts of Constantinople, and conducted his own baptisms and Eucharists;<sup>110</sup> Peter of Apamea, deposed from his see in 518, arrived too, and Severus himself, the most celebrated theologian of the movement, appeared in the winter of 534/5, to be given hospitality by Theodora in the royal palace until March of the following year.<sup>111</sup> After the death of Patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople, in June 535, the ascetical Anthimus, former bishop of Trebizond, was named his successor; he had participated in the conversations of 532 as a Chalcedonian, but now was known for his close relations with the other side.<sup>112</sup> This new "monophysite" presence in Constantinople clearly worried the defenders of Chalcedon, whose formula of faith remained the official doctrinal position of Church and empire. So a determined group of diphysites—Schwartz calls them "eine geschlossene Truppe"<sup>113</sup>—seems gradually to have gathered in the imperial city in the mid-530s to oppose them, drawn together not only from the monasteries and sees of Asia Minor but from as far away as Syria II (roughly present-day Lebanon) and Palestine. Among them were Leontius's old colleagues, bishops Domitian of Ancyra and Theodore Askidas of Caesarea in Cappadocia.<sup>114</sup> Late in 535, after receiving an urgent letter from some diphysite monks in the capital,<sup>115</sup> Pope Agapetus arrived from Rome to negotiate on a number of matters with Justinian. He refused to communicate with Patriarch Anthimus, pointing to his uncanonical translation from the bishopric of Trebizond. Anthimus was deposed, and Menas ordained bishop in his place, by

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the petition of four monastic leaders to Justinian: ACO III, 133, l. 19.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the Syriac continuation of Zacharias Rhetor, *Hist. Eccl.* IX, 15 (CSCO III, 6, 115, ll. 15–25; tr. 79, l. 28–80, l. 4).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Schwartz, *Kyrillos*, 392–3, and the evidence assembled there.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. ACO III, 139, ll. 1–3; 148, l. 35; 181, l. 22; 33, l. 1; 43, l. 1.

<sup>111</sup> So John of Beth-Aphthonia, *Vita Severi*: P0 2, 252, l. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. ACO III, 134, l. 31; 179, ll. 4, 26–8. <sup>113</sup> Kyrillos, 392.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Cyril, VS 83, 189, ll. 3–7. <sup>115</sup> Cf. ACO III, 141, l. 30.



Agapetus, on 13 March 536. Agapetus himself then died in the capital on 22 April, and the emperor summoned the "Home Synod," or locally resident bishops, to deal with the broader question of the reception of Chalcedon, during the month of May.

The *Acta* of that Synod, which anathematized Anthimus, condemned Zoōras, and renewed the old excommunications of Severus and Peter of Apamea, include a monk named Leontius among the representatives of the Palestinian monasteries who are listed as observers at the first four sessions, and also among the signatories of three recent petitions from the monks of the East, which were read into the Synodal acts: one addressed to Justinian, one to Menas and the Home Synod, and one to the newly deceased Pope Agapetus. In the attendance-lists the monk is called *Λεόντιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῆς ἐρήμου πάσης*.<sup>116</sup> In the *libellus* addressed to Agapetus, he styles himself in practically the same way,<sup>117</sup> but the other two *libelli* provide somewhat more elaborate signatures: *Λεόντιος ἐλέει Θεοῦ μοναχὸς, ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐρημον ἁγίων πατέρων*, in the petition addressed to Justinian;<sup>118</sup> and *Λεόντιος ἡγούμενος καὶ μοναχὸς ἰδίου μοναστηρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ Ἰορδάνῃ ἁγίων πατέρων*, in that addressed to Menas and his Synod.<sup>119</sup> He is recognized, in other words, as a monk and abbot from the Judean desert, who represents that crucially important ascetical population. There seems to be little question that this is the same Leontius who represented the Palestinian monks in Constantinople in 532; and from what Cyril tells us of the connections of Sabas's companion, Leontius of Byzantium, in the capital in the mid-530s, it seems, once again, highly probable that that monk also is the Leontius mentioned here. First, both Domitian and Theodore Askidas—active and influential in the Chalcedonian cause, as we have seen, from the mid-530s<sup>120</sup>—appear in the same lists, a few names away from his own.<sup>121</sup> Secondly, of the fourteen-to-twenty monks named in the Palestinian delegation, a majority come from Origenist strongholds, as Schwartz observed;<sup>122</sup> one or two delegates appear from the Great Lavra—now fast being won over by the Origenists, according to Cyril—four, including

<sup>116</sup> ACO III, 130, l. 24; 158, l. 29; 165, l. 30; 174, l. 7 (om. καὶ ἡγούμενος).

<sup>117</sup> *Λεόντιος ἐλέει Θεοῦ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς πάσης τῆς ἐρήμου*. ACO III, 145, ll. 34–5.

<sup>118</sup> ACO III, 37, ll. 1–2.

<sup>119</sup> ACO III, 50, ll. 30–1.

<sup>120</sup> VS 83, 188, l. 24–189, l. 7.

<sup>121</sup> In three of the lists (ACO III, 158, l. 23; 165, l. 24; 175, l. 1), the manuscripts wrongly give *Δομνίνος* for *Δομετιανός*; this may result from a confusion of names between the later bishop of Ancyra and the Patriarch of Antioch at the time of the Council of 553.

<sup>122</sup> Kyrillos, 391–2; cf. also Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium*, 163–4.

Domitian, are from the coenobitic monastery of Martyrius, one or two from the lavra of Firminus, and three or four from the Nea Lavra.<sup>123</sup> So the Leontius present at the Synod is in just the sort of company where one would expect Cyril's Origenist to be.

If we do identify this Leontius of the Home Synod with the author Leontius of Byzantium, we learn a few important new details about his career. He is still—in 536—acting as "representative (*τοποτηρητής* = *apocrisiarius*) of the whole desert," still "speaking for the holy fathers in the desert." True, the latter of these two phrases is not peculiar to Leontius in the *Acta*, but resembles the declaration made by many of the signatories—and by the whole Palestinian delegation<sup>124</sup>—that they represent all of the monks of the desert near Jerusalem. But Leontius, as Evans observes,<sup>125</sup> is the only monk in the Palestinian sections of the lists who is never connected with either a monastery or a particular place there; instead, he is simply called "monk and hegumen"—a title not given to him in any of our previous sources—or even "hegumen and monk of his own monastery." Although Richard takes these titles as proof that the Leontius of the *collatio* and the Synod is not the hermit-theologian,<sup>126</sup> Schwartz<sup>127</sup> and Evans<sup>128</sup> suggest—more plausibly, I think—that the former follower of Sabas may simply have set up his own hermit's cell or *Einsiedelei* in Constantinople, and that "hegumen of his own monastery" may merely be a decorous way of saying Leontius was now juridically an independent ascetic, not subject to any of the established superiors of the Judean desert.<sup>129</sup> As such, his role at the Synod of

<sup>123</sup> For their Origenist allegiance, cf. VS 83, 188, ll. 15–24. We have no evidence about the theological orientation of the relatively new lavra of Jacob, called "the Turrets" (*Πυργιοί*), which sent three delegates; and the koinobion of Theodosius—called by Schwartz "ein Bollwerk der Orthodoxie" (Kyrillos, 391)—was undoubtedly represented because its hegumen, Sophronius, was archimandrite of all the koinobia in Palestine (so ACO III, 133, l. 36–134, l. 2). Cf. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium*, 165.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. the formula which ends the list of Palestinian delegates at session 1: *οἱ πάντες πράττοντες ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μοναστηρίων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίας πόλεως μοναχῶν* (ACO III, 130, ll. 33–4).

<sup>125</sup> *Leontius of Byzantium*, 180–1, n. 102.

<sup>126</sup> "Origeniste?," 64–5; "Léonce de Jérusalem", 82.

<sup>127</sup> Kyrillos, 391.

<sup>128</sup> *Leontius of Byzantium*, 181–2.

<sup>129</sup> Evans (*Leontius of Byzantium*, 182) points out the parallel instance of a certain Isidore, who signs the *libellus* addressed to Menas and the Home Synod as "priest and hegumen of his own cell (*μονή*), which is in the woods near the (church of the?) holy martyr Epimachus, under Photinus, the holy bishop of Chalcedon (ACO III, 49, ll. 9–11)." Clearly this Isidore is a hermit living by himself. A monk named John signs the *libellus* to Pope Agapetus "priest, of his own cell (*μονή*) in the *Pedias* (ACO III, 146, ll. 11–12)," and the *libellus* to Justinian "priest and monk of the lavra of the sands (? : τῶν ἀμυίων) in the *Pedias* (ACO III, 37, ll. 31–2)," Evans (*Leontius of Byzantium*, n. 107) takes these two signatures as meaning that John is actually head of an established—and unknown—lavra, but it seems equally plausible to see them as a roundabout way of saying that he has been living in the desert by himself. In support of this interpretation of Leontius's way of



536 seems to have been that of delegate-at-large for all the Palestinian communities: a position similar to his apparent role at the conversations of 532.

A third Leontius of this period, finally, who may well be identical with Leontius of Byzantium, is mentioned by Photius in his summary of a polemical work by a certain "Basil the Cilician." According to Photius,<sup>130</sup> this Basil identifies himself as having been a priest of Antioch under the Patriarch Flavian (498–512), during the reign of the emperor Anastasius I (491–518)—a claim probably meant as much to underline Basil's theological allegiance to the moderate Chalcedonian Patriarch as to provide biographical information. Photius summarizes Basil's treatise against John of Skythopolis, as Codex 107 of his library. John, a learned and outspoken proponent of the "neo-Chalcedonian" Christology that was then being developed, seems to have been bishop of Skythopolis in Palestine between 536 and 548;<sup>131</sup> he wrote several works in defence of Chalcedon and against Severus,<sup>132</sup> and composed the first scholia on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Basil's attack on John was in sixteen books, mainly in dialogue form; besides the usual range of personal charges, he apparently criticized John for relying too heavily on the celebrated anathemas appended to Cyril of Alexandria's Third Letter to Nestorius, especially on the twelfth, "theopaschite" anathema.<sup>133</sup> Photius tells us that Basil rejected two of John's own theses in particular: "that the Logos suffered in the flesh" and that "to say 'Christ' is the same as to say 'God.'"<sup>134</sup> In Photius's eyes, Basil was clearly a Nestorian; true, he did not acknowledge Nestorius openly, "but he called Diodore and Theodore 'Fathers,'"<sup>135</sup> which for Photius amounts to the same thing.<sup>136</sup> John of Skythopolis, too, had equated *Βασιλειανοί* with

styling himself, Evans reminds us of a quip St Sabas is said to have made to St Theodosius, founder of the great koinobion (VS 65, 166, ll. 24–6): "Lord abba, you are the hegumen of children, but I am a hegumen of hegumens; for each of those under me, being independent (*αὐτεξούσιος*), is hegumen of his own cell (*τοῦ ἰδίου κελλίου*)."

<sup>130</sup> *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 107: ed. R. Henry II, 77, ll. 34–7; PG 103, 380 C7–10.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 269–72, n.

<sup>132</sup> It is unclear just how many anti-monophysite works John wrote. The *Doctrina Patrum* (13, XII, 85–6), the Lateran Synod of 649 (Mansi X, 1108 B1–5), and the Sixth Council (Mansi XI, 437 D–440 C) quote from a work of his "Against Severus" in at least eight books. Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 95 (ed. R. Henry II, 48; PG 103, 340 B14–C7) briefly summarizes another work of John's "Against Those Who Are Separated (*ἀποσχίσται*) from the Church, or Against Eutyches and Dioscorus and Those Who Agree with Them, and Refuse to Confess Christ in Two Natures."

<sup>133</sup> Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 107: ed. R. Henry II, 78, ll. 9–11; PG 103, 381 A5–7.

<sup>134</sup> *Bibl.*, Cod. 107: ed. R. Henry 75, ll. 24–6; PG 103, 377 B16–17.

<sup>135</sup> *Bibl.*, Cod. 107: ed. R. Henry 78, ll. 5–7; PG 103, 380 D4–381 A2.

<sup>136</sup> So Photius, reporting on John of Skythopolis's treatise "Against the *Ἀποσχίσται*" (Cod. 95), says that it was directed against another, anonymous polemical work, entitled "Against Nestorius" but in reality aimed at "seducing the simple to give an ear" to Nestorian doctrine (ed. R. Henry II, 48, ll. 17–21; PG 103, 340 C13–D4). Photius conjectures that the author may have been Basil the Cilician. If he is right, Basil must have written a treatise to prove one could be a supporter of

*Νεστοριανοί* in his commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysius,<sup>137</sup> a title which suggests that Basil—in all likelihood this same Basil—represented a whole group of diphysites to whom John was fiercely opposed. Once again, the linking of epithets seems questionable; from the hints Photius gives of the doctrinal content of Basil's work, it seems to have been a defence of the "symmetrical" language of the Chalcedonian formula, but to have concentrated largely on the analysis of scriptural texts in the longer Antiochene tradition.

Significantly, Basil, who seems to have been writing actively at least through the 530s,<sup>138</sup> dedicated his attack on John of Skythopolis "to a certain Leontius, who had requested it;"<sup>139</sup> he addresses this Leontius, Photius tells us, with the respectful titles of "most holy (*δοσιώτατον*) and most dear to God (*θεοφιλέστατον*) and father."<sup>140</sup> Although it cannot be shown conclusively that this Leontius is the Leontius of Byzantium I have been discussing, Basil's dedication would fit the

Theodore and still be an opponent of Nestorius, which in turn inspired John, a neo-Chalcedonian, to demonstrate his own distance from the classical monophysites Eutyches and Dioscorus (cf. n. 128). Photius, however, remains unimpressed by Basil's distinction. It is interesting to note that Philoxenus of Mabbog, in his letter to Maron of Anazarbus, boasts of having forced a "certain person" on the Chalcedonian side—clearly Flavian of Antioch—to anathematize "Nestorian" theologians by name, because "he considered them as orthodox teachers and Fathers" (cf. J. Lebon, "Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabbog", *Le Muséon* 43 (1930), 50, l. 2; tr. 73, ll. 16–17; and cf. Lebon's explanation, pp. 25–7). Fanatical opposition to Diodore and Theodore undoubtedly had a long history.

<sup>137</sup> *In De Cael. Hier.* 7 (PG 4, 72 A13–14); *In De Eccl. Hier.* 7 (PG 4, 181 C3).

<sup>138</sup> Basil's controversy with John must have been at its height during the 530s, since it is unlikely that John's commentary on Ps.-Dionysius, in which he refers disparagingly to Basil's party, can have been written much before then. In one passage, after referring to the "Basilians," John also refers scornfully to "the myths of the Origenists" as a contemporary threat (*νῦν*): cf. *In De Eccl. Hier.* 7 (PG 4, 176 A8–9). Since the controversy between "neo-Chalcedonians" and Origenists in Palestine apparently did not become violent until some time after the death of Sabas (so Cyril, VS 83, 188, ll. 13–22), John's remark against Basil, too, would seem to date from after 532.

Photius confirms this dating in a general way by reporting on another work of Basil: his *Ecclesiastical History* (Cod. 42: ed. R. Henry I, 26–7; PG 103, 76 A7–C2). This was written in three books, according to Photius: the first dealing with the years of the emperors Marcian to Zeno (450–74); the second (which Photius possessed) reaching from Zeno to the death of Anastasius I (474–518); and the third "beginning from the reign of Justin." Unless this third book was very short, or dealt with events in much greater detail than the first two, it must have gone down well into the reign of Justinian: perhaps into the 540s.

E. Honigsmann (*Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie Antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*: CSCO Subsidia 2 (Louvain, 1951), 80–1) is surely right in distinguishing this *Βασιλείος Κίλιξ* from the "Basil, bishop of Irenoupolis in Cilicia under the Emperor Anastasius" mentioned in the *Suda* (cf. *Suidae Lexicon* I, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1928), 459, ll. 7–9). Nor is there any evidence to support identifying either Basil with the author of "homilies and other works" in Syriac, mentioned in the *Catalogue* of 'Abdisho' bar Berikha, as J. S. Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* III, 1 (Rome, 1724), 38) and K. A. Baumstark (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 118) have done. The name Basil, after all, was probably even more common than that of Leontius.

<sup>139</sup> Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 107 (ed. R. Henry II, 75, l. 7; PG 103, 377 A13).

<sup>140</sup> Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 107 (ed. R. Henry II, 78, ll. 12–14; PG 103, 381 A8–10).

Origenist leader well, particularly at the time of his influence in the capital during the mid-530s. Leontius's own theological position, as we shall see, is also decidedly opposed to the "neo-Chalcedonian" stream represented by John of Skythopolis, just as his main work in Constantinople in the 530s and 540s seems to have been directed against compromise with the party of Severus; it is probable, then, that he developed cordial relations with other diphysite Chalcedonian groups. Nevertheless, Leontius is careful, in his own writings, to recognize the correctness of theopaschite language,<sup>141</sup> even though he lays no emphasis on it himself. His own fierce attack on Diodore and Theodore, along with his disavowal of earlier cordial relations with their admirers, may be, as we shall see, an attempt of the Origenist leader to free himself from earlier, compromising associations—even, perhaps, from his association with Basil the Cilician!

Having examined all the available evidence for the life of Leontius, I ought perhaps to summarize what can be said about him with any degree of certainty, granting the validity of all these identifications, before going on to consider the date and character of his writings. Leontius was probably born—in Byzantium, as his name suggests—during the last quarter of the fifth century. We know nothing of his ancestry or early life, but can assume from the quality of his works that he received a good education. At some time between 510 and 520, probably, he would have come to the Palestinian desert to live the monastic life, and after spending some time as an exile in the wilderness of the Dead Sea, with Nonnus and his "Origenist" companions, Leontius would have been admitted—or readmitted<sup>142</sup>—with them into the Nea Lavra, about the year 519. There he seems to have risen quickly to prominence, in a community traditionally known for its interest in the tradition of Origen and Evagrius, and for its intellectual intensity and freedom; at any rate, we next find him as part of Sabas's delegation in an important mission to the capital in 531, and immediately hear of his joining there in theological debate to defend the Christology of Chalcedon against its Severan critics.

Whether he had been sent by his desert brethren as a kind of permanent agent, or whether Justinian now noticed his theological acumen and coopted him for the post, Leontius apparently remained in Constantinople for several years: living independently—in title, at least, a hermit—and taking part in the ecclesiastical controversy and intrigues of the imperial city. He would have attended the conversations with the "monophysites" in 532, as the Palestinian monastic representative on the Chalcedonian side. When the "monophysite" party began to

<sup>141</sup> CA: 112, ll. 30–1; 113, ll. 1–2; DTN 41: 160, ll. 1–2.

<sup>142</sup> It is not clear from Cyril's account whether Leontius was one of the original four Origenists who had entered the lavra in 514, or whether he had first joined Nonnus and his followers in their desert exile.

speak out more boldly, in the mid-530s, Leontius seems still to have been one of the leaders of the opposition, and brought at least two of his old Origenist allies—Domitian and Theodore Askidas, both now bishops in Asia Minor—to join him in preparing for a confrontation. At the Home Synod of 536, Leontius and his fellow Chalcedonians apparently won their greatest victory, and he seems to have returned to Palestine soon afterwards, his mission accomplished.

There, new conflicts awaited him: more primitive conflicts, between the restless, inquiring "Origenist" monks—who seem to have defended, among other things, a strongly diphysite Christology as the only possible form of Chalcedonian orthodoxy—and their more cautious opponents, whose Christological sympathies lay with the growing "neo-Chalcedonian" synthesis. By 538 or 539 these conflicts ended in violence, and whatever credence one gives to Cyril's story of the abortive assault by the "Origenists" on the Great Lavra, Leontius seems to have been at the center of the storm. After enlisting the help of his old friend *πάππας* Eusebius, in late 539 or early 540, Leontius himself returned to the capital to conduct the "Origenist" defence in the capital once again. This defence included persuading Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to break with Ephrem, the strongly "neo-Chalcedonian" Patriarch of Antioch, who had recently condemned the works of Origen; but Ephrem and the ambitious Roman deacon Pelagius allied with Patriarch Peter and the anti-Origenist monks of Palestine to persuade Justinian to join himself to that condemnation. The emperor's edict, published in Jerusalem in February 543, was a severe blow to the Origenists, but not the end; fighting for survival in Palestine, and helped by the diplomatic strategy of Theodore Askidas at court, they rose again to influence in the late 540s, and only seem to have declined permanently after the second condemnation of Origenism, at the Council of 553. Leontius had died before this last Origenist revival, probably sometime in 544. But the year or so between the publication of Justinian's edict against Origen and Leontius's death may well have been the most fruitful of the monk's life, from a theological and literary point of view: the time when most of his works were either composed or put into their present form, and began to circulate as a defense of Chalcedon. It is to those works—to their contents and their probable dating—that we must now turn.

## II. THE WORKS

### A. The Six Treatises

In the Foreword (*προθεωρία*) found at the beginning of his collected works, as I have already mentioned, Leontius speaks of the collection itself as a

relatively late product of his theological career. Friends, he writes, "who have approved of the public disputations which we have often held, have urged us to provide them with some kind of written copies of the many theses and solutions we have orally proposed."<sup>143</sup> He has delayed writing for a long time, despite their urging, he says—diffident because of his lack of "worldly" education and of God-given inspiration.<sup>144</sup> But now the spiritual need of the weaker brethren has driven him to comply.<sup>145</sup> He has put together a "modest treatise," comprising "three Books in all,"<sup>146</sup> which he proceeds to describe and name: in their traditional Latin titles, the *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, the *Contra Aphthartodocetas*, and the *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*.<sup>147</sup>

This simple three-part structure, however, is not quite what we find in the two main manuscripts of Leontius's works, Vaticanus Graecus 2195 (V) and Oxford, Laudianus Graecus 92<sup>B</sup> (O). In each of them, Leontius's two other anti-Severan works, the *Epilyseis* and the *Epaporēmata*, are inserted between the CNE and the CA, even though the latter treatises are still labeled "Book I" and "Book II," respectively. In addition, as we shall see,<sup>148</sup> manuscript O presents us with what seem to be two alternative endings for the main text of the DTN, one of which presumes that a florilegium is to follow—as promised in the Foreword—and the other apologizing for its absence. If these endings are both the work of Leontius himself, they would provide evidence for two editions of the treatise. And V offers us, after the DTN, still another work not mentioned in the Foreword but purporting also to be by Leontius: the annotated florilegium of late fourth-century Apollinarian texts and forgeries known as the *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*. The story of the composition and arrangement of Leontius's works, then—which the Byzantine world seems to have called simply

<sup>143</sup> p. 116, ll. 1–4. <sup>144</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 8–11. <sup>145</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 19–20.

<sup>146</sup> p. 122, l. 1; p. 116, ll. 21–2.

<sup>147</sup> In his first edition of the Greek text of Leontius, Angelo Mai gave birth to several long-standing misconceptions about the original titles and arrangement of Leontius's works. First of all, he ran together the colophon he found at the end of the CA in the Vatican manuscript (κατὰ Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν) with the correct title of the DTN (τῆς ἀπορρήτου ... φώρα καὶ θρίαμβος) to give an unintelligible combination at the start of "Book III," a hybrid title that he abbreviates, in Latin, to *Adversus Incompactos et Nestorianos*. He then added to the confusion by presenting the *Epilyseis* as Book II of the collected edition and moving the CA to a place by itself after the DTN. Migne, when reprinting Mai's edition in 1865, restored the CA to its correct place as book II of the collected edition, but continued to give the impression (begun by Mai but supported neither by the manuscripts nor by the content of the works) that *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* is the title of the whole, which is then subdivided into three books. This last misconception, in particular, has remained in practically all the secondary literature since Mai, and has resulted in the habit of referring to the CA as book II of the CNE, and to the DTN as book III of the CNE. In fact, the manuscripts give no title to the collected edition at all. Although they do refer to the CNE as Λόγος α', the CA as Λόγος β', and the DTN as Λόγος γ', it seems less confusing here to call the treatises simply by their individual (and correct) titles.

<sup>148</sup> See p. 48 and n. 321.

τὰ Λεόντια<sup>149</sup>—is clearly not so simple as the Foreword suggests. To understand their order and interrelationship, we shall have to look at them one by one.

### 1. *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*

The full title of this treatise, the first of the "three books" mentioned by Leontius in his Foreword, is "An Examination and Refutation of the Opposed Fantasies of Nestorius and Eutyches on the Divinity and Humanity of Christ (τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα ἐναντίας δοκίσεως Νεστορίου καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπή)." The very breadth of such a polemic, aimed apparently at both extremes of fifth-century Christological interpretation, may at first surprise us. But there is obviously a common danger in both an exaggeratedly unitive Christology and an exaggeratedly divisive one: that each effectively reduces one aspect of the concrete Jesus to mere appearance—the approach of the Nestorians, his divine personhood and agency, and that of the Eutychians, his abiding full humanity. In fact, Leontius suggests, both parties can be brought together under the stinging epithet he attributes to the Abba Nonnus, "opposite kinds of docetist (ἐναντιοδοκήται)."<sup>150</sup> Leontius's underlying thesis in this book is that both kinds of Christological error rest on a common mistake, avoided only through a careful adherence to the formula of Chalcedon: the failure to distinguish clearly between the *hypostasis* or *prosōpon*, the concrete individual being, and the *physis* or *ousia*, the generic reality to which a number of individuals belong. Further, he compares the classical positions of Nestorius and Eutyches in Christology to those of Sabellius and Arius on the Trinity: all four are led into error by confusing *hypostasis*, the individual, with *physis* or essence—the particular with the generic or common.<sup>151</sup> Sabellius, wishing to emphasize the unity of the divine substance, refuses to distinguish three hypostases in God, while Arius, in his eagerness to safeguard the distinction in hypostasis between Father and Son, "divides the essence along with them." Similarly, Nestorius "divides the natures into hypostases," while Eutyches "mingles the natures into a (single) nature."<sup>152</sup> So Leontius sets out in the CNE, first of all, to "clarify and explain the concepts of hypostasis and essence, or

<sup>149</sup> So Germanus of Constantinople, in the reference to Leontius mentioned above (p. 5, n. 24), speaks of the "very acceptable work" which Leontius, monk of the desert, composed in defence of Chalcedon, containing "many testimonia ... about the twofold terminology (πολλὰς μαρτυρίας ... περὶ τῆς διττικῆς φωνῆς); for this reason the book is also called Λεόντια." Corresponding to this, the brief collection of excerpts from the CNE and the DTN which is found in a number of medieval manuscripts—what I have called the "Excerpta Leontina" or Λ—is entitled simply ἐκ τῶν Λεοντίων.

<sup>150</sup> p. 128, ll. 3–6; cf. also the scholion in V ad loc.

<sup>151</sup> p. 128, l. 24–p. 130, l. 6. <sup>152</sup> p. 128, l. 25–p. 130, l. 21.

of person and nature;<sup>153</sup> the whole treatise is devoted to explaining how a single hypostasis, or concrete individual, can participate in more than one nature at the same time, without suffering damage to its own internal unity.

After a brief introduction,<sup>154</sup> Leontius presents his argument in seven numbered sections;<sup>155</sup> each begins with a question put by a "Nestorian" or "Eutychian" interlocutor, and consists mainly in the author's detailed reply. Only in one case—question 5<sup>156</sup>—is the interlocutor allowed to interrupt Leontius's answer with a further, related question. The work is not a dialogue, then, so much as a scholastic treatise, arranged according to difficulties and solutions.<sup>157</sup> Question 1<sup>158</sup> directly takes up the problem of distinguishing between nature and hypostasis. Both sets of opponents point out together that if, as all parties to the discussion seem to assume, no nature actually exists apart from a hypostasis (*οὐκ ἔστι φύσις ἀνυπόστατος*)<sup>159</sup>—if, in other words,

<sup>153</sup> p. 126, ll. 1–4. <sup>154</sup> p. 126, l. 1–p. 130, l. 9.

<sup>155</sup> These sections are not reproduced in Mai's edition, even though they are clearly numbered in the manuscripts. This has led to some confusion. For instance, in a note to a passage from the CNE 3 (p. 140, ll. 6–18) included in the florilegium of the Patriarch Nicephorus's *Antirrhethica II*, Cardinal Pitra questions the accuracy of Nicephorus's information that the source of the passage is the *τρίτη τῶν αἱρετικῶν πρότασις*. Mai's edition presents the CNE simply as *Λόγος α*, Pitra observes, and therefore the reference to a third proposition "*nihil est nisi scholion insulsum*" (*Spic. Sol.* I (Paris, 1852), 348, n. 2). Actually, Nicephorus is referring correctly to the beginning of the third question and response of the CNE.

<sup>156</sup> p. 156, ll. 1–3.

<sup>157</sup> Leontius himself suggests this in the first sentence of the Foreword to the "collected edition," when he refers to the works he is publishing as *τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων ἐπαπορήσεων καὶ λύσεων ὑποτυπώσεις* (1268 B5–6). A stage more formal in structure than the dialogue, this form of academic treatise, sometimes designated as *erōtapokriseis*, was adopted also by Pamphilus, in his *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, perhaps a generation later (ed. J. Declerck, CCG 19, 597–662), and used later by other Greek theologians. Its origin may well be in the formal dialectical exercises of the sixth-century philosophical schools, about which we know relatively little.

<sup>158</sup> p. 130, ll. 10–11.

<sup>159</sup> Leontius allows his interlocutors to propose this as a generally accepted principle. I can find no direct parallel to it in the Neoplatonic commentaries on Aristotle contemporary with Leontius, although it corresponds, in a general way, to Aristotle's insistence on the metaphysical primacy of the concrete individual—e.g. in his distinction between "primary" and "secondary" substance (*Cat.* 5, 2all–19; 3bl0). Already in the language of the Cappadocian Fathers, however—from whom Leontius claims to derive his identification of *φύσις* with *οὐσία*, and his distinction of both from *ὑπόστασις* or *πρόσωπον*, as general from particular—only that which does not itself exist (*τὸ μὴ ὄν*) is said to possess a non-hypostatic nature (Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Moysis II*; ed. H. Musurillo (Leiden, 1964), 40, ll. 11–12; PG 44, 333 B1–3; cp. Ps.-Basil [Didymus the Blind], *Adv. Eunomium V*: PG 29, 749 B4–7 [correcting *ἀνυπόστατον*, l. 6, to *ἐνυπόστατον*!]). Accidents were agreed to be *ἀνυπόστατα*, because they have no concrete existence in themselves (cf. *De Sectis* 7: PG 86, 1240 D5–1241 A1). Even in the fifth century there had been a controversy between Apollinarians, who held that the humanity of Christ was *anhypostatic* (and so a kind of accident in the Logos), and those who held it was *enhyposstatic*, or concretely individualized; cf. the pseudepigraphic correspondence between Paul of Samosata and Dionysius of Alexandria (ed. E. Schwartz, "Eine fingierte Korrespondenz mit Paulus dem Samosatener," *Sitzb. der bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* 1927, 3, 5,

natures or essences only exist as instanced in the concrete individuals which represent them—then to speak of two natures in Christ must entail speaking of two hypostases as well: something the "Nestorians" presumably would affirm, and the "Eutychians" strenuously deny. Leontius replies first with an *ad hominem* thrust at the "monophysites" who use this argument, and asks about the metaphysical status of Christ's "flesh" in the Cyrillian formula *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*: is his flesh only part of his one nature, or must it be separate from nature altogether?<sup>160</sup> To the degree that it participates in nature or essence at all, the "flesh" they speak of raises the same question against themselves that they have raised against Leontius. Secondly, he turns to the "Nestorians," and in what is perhaps the most celebrated passage of all his writings he distinguishes between the *hypostasis*, or individual thing, and "the *hypostatic* (*τὸ ἐνυπόστατον*)," or that which is individualized: namely, the nature or essence.<sup>161</sup> The fact that non-hypostatic natures do not properly exist by themselves does not mean that natures *are* hypostases.<sup>162</sup> Leontius carefully defines both nature and hypostasis here,<sup>163</sup> and the definition of hypostasis, especially, is to be of central importance for the rest of his argument: "either things which are the same in nature but different numerically, or things put together from different natures but sharing reciprocally in a common being."<sup>164</sup> The example he gives of such a "composed" hypostasis is man himself, in whose case each single individual shares, by definition, in the separate natures of soul and body.<sup>165</sup>

Question 2,<sup>166</sup> posed by the "advocates of division" (the "Nestorians"),<sup>167</sup> raises doubts about the appropriateness of the analogy of the human composite to explain the Incarnation. After admitting that every analogy limps,<sup>168</sup> Leontius defends the body–soul parallel to the whole person of Christ, in that both in the Incarnate Logos and in every man something invisible and immortal is united to something visible and mortal to form a single individual, while the elements remain unchanged and unconfused.<sup>169</sup> He also discusses the relative "completeness" and "incompleteness" of soul and body in man, and of Logos and man in Christ. Even though both elements in each are complete, as far as their philosophical definitions go,<sup>170</sup> still "the Logos is not the complete Christ, even though he is completely God, if humanity is not joined to him, nor is the soul a complete man, even though it has a complete essence, unless the body is also

ll. 6–9; 11, ll. 13–15; etc.). Both groups of Leontius's opponents here seem to realize that if one speaks of Christ's humanity as a distinct nature, one is speaking in some sense of a "hypostatic" reality.

<sup>160</sup> p. 130, ll. 18–26.

<sup>161</sup> p. 132, ll. 19–23.

<sup>162</sup> p. 132, l. 26–p. 134, l. 3.

<sup>163</sup> p. 134, ll. 6–20.

<sup>164</sup> p. 134, ll. 11–13.

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.* ll. 18–20.

<sup>166</sup> p. 134, l. 21–p. 136, l. 2.

<sup>167</sup> p. 136, l. 3.

<sup>168</sup> p. 136, ll. 9–11.

<sup>169</sup> p. 136, ll. 11–24.

<sup>170</sup> p. 138, ll. 12–13.



understood to be in conjunction with it."<sup>171</sup> This is a point of capital importance in Leontius's defence of Chalcedon: the *Logos* is indeed God, but *Christ* can only be understood correctly as God and man in a single individual.

Question 3, also put by the "Nestorian" side, argues that if the *Logos* is joined to a human nature as intimately as a soul is joined to its body, he will himself become—as the soul does—passible and circumscribed, which is unthinkable.<sup>172</sup> Leontius replies that the soul suffers and becomes spatially circumscribed in conjunction with the body only because it has in itself the capacity for such limitation, but the *Logos* experiences none of these things in union with its humanity, "being impassible by nature and unchangeable."<sup>173</sup> Question 4, the third posed by the "Nestorians," asks simply why it is unacceptable to speak of two hypostases being united without confusion in Christ, just as one speaks of two united natures in him.<sup>174</sup> Leontius answers by returning to his definitions of hypostasis and nature, and gives a schematic and rather complicated explanation—similar to the schematic explanations dear to the Neoplatonic commentators on Aristotle<sup>175</sup>—of the "relationships" (*σχέσεις*) of concrete individual and common substance within the one Incarnate Word.

The next two questions are put into the mouth of Leontius's "monophysite" or Severan opponents. In question 5, they return to the analogy of the human composite: if one may correctly speak of man as having *one* human nature, even though one recognizes the abiding distinction of his "parts," what harm can there be in referring to Christ as having one nature, too?<sup>176</sup> After a few preliminary distinctions, Leontius replies that a human is only said to have one nature because there is a class of human composites to which each composite individual belongs; but there is no class of "Christs," since he is unique in history.<sup>177</sup> Leontius then puts forward the counter-argument that if the *Logos* and the Father are one in *nature* (as Nicaea proclaimed), then to speak of humanity and divinity in Christ as being also one nature implies logically that Christ's humanity is of one nature with the Father.<sup>178</sup> Question 6 represents the "monophysite" opponents' attempt to turn the tables on Leontius: if there are two natures in man, as well as one composite human nature, then we must also speak of *three* natures in Christ, as well as two!<sup>179</sup> Leontius replies rather contemptuously that one could subdivide the "parts" of human nature

<sup>171</sup> p. 138, ll. 14–16.

<sup>172</sup> p. 140, ll. 6–9.

<sup>173</sup> p. 142, l. 7–p. 144, l. 2.

<sup>174</sup> p. 144, ll. 9–12.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. the *συζυγίαι* or "pairs of relationships" elaborated by the fifth-century commentator Ammonius Hermeiou, *In Cat.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1895)), 25, ll. 9–12; or by John Philoponus, *In Cat.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1898)), 28, ll. 21–3. A similar diagram of these "pairs" appears in two manuscripts of those commentators and in the Oxford manuscript of Leontius, which may well go back to the authors themselves; see n. 519.

<sup>176</sup> p. 150, ll. 9–14.

<sup>177</sup> p. 152, l. 20–p. 154, l. 4.

<sup>178</sup> p. 154, ll. 21–4.

<sup>179</sup> p. 156, ll. 16–20.

almost indefinitely; to speak of the two natures in Christ, however, is not simply to make technical distinctions, but to represent in shorthand the two main and irreducible aspects of his person. "For the parts of Christ are unmingled godhead and manhood. Soul and body are not parts of Christ, but parts of a part."<sup>180</sup>

Question 7 seems, like question 1, to be put jointly by both "Nestorians" and "Eutychians": it is the simple request for Leontius to discuss the "manner of union (*τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως*)" between God and man in Christ.<sup>181</sup> how can one conceive of a real, ontologically significant union between two such disparate elements? After criticizing the "exaggerated reverence (*εὐλάβειαν περιττήν*)" of those who refuse to speculate on such things,<sup>182</sup> Leontius agrees that the union in Christ—which must be a "substantial, concrete union of essences (*ἡ κατ' οὐσίαν τε καὶ οὐσιώδης καὶ ἐνυπόστατος ἐνωσις*)"<sup>183</sup>—is a Mystery, open only to faith guided by divine light.<sup>184</sup> He then rejects the two explanations of the union traditionally associated with his two sets of opponents. The "Nestorian" conception of "union in dignity (*ἐνώσις κατ' ἀξίαν*)", he argues, would apply equally well to the saints, who share in the status and dignity of the Son, and does not do justice to Christ's unique relationship to God.<sup>185</sup> But the "monophysite" explanation—that the two natures, the divine and human, which existed "before the union" became in Christ permanently one—leads simply to a confusion (*σύγχυσις*) of the elements of the Incarnate Word. Leontius then distinguishes, at some length, the various kinds of union and division that can exist between individuals,<sup>186</sup> and insists that the union of natures in Christ must not be one that produces a hybrid of God and man, but rather one that "preserves the individual character of (their) existence, even in unity."<sup>187</sup>

After concluding his argument, Leontius offers his readers a florilegium or anthology of eighty-eight brief patristic testimonia, introduced and occasionally interlarded with his own comments, to support both his use of terms and his understanding of what union and distinction really mean in Christ. I shall have more to say about this and his other florilegia later.

Taken all together, the *CNE* is really nothing more than a defence of the Chalcedonian definition of Christ's person, as one hypostasis in two natures, against challenges from both sides of the traditional fifth-century Christological dispute. One cannot help feeling that the balance Leontius tries to maintain here between two sets of opponents is a little artificial; both the florilegium, and the further development of his position in the two works that follow, suggest that the real opponents he has in mind are the Severan "monophysites." In any

<sup>180</sup> p. 162, ll. 14–16.

<sup>181</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 22–30.

<sup>182</sup> p. 164, ll. 1–15.

<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 16–17.

<sup>184</sup> p. 164, ll. 21–4.

<sup>185</sup> p. 166, l. 1–p. 168, l. 21.

<sup>186</sup> p. 168, l. 26–p. 174, l. 10.

<sup>187</sup> p. 174, ll. 4–8; cf. also p. 170, ll. 16–18.



case, we have little evidence today to suggest that a "Nestorian" rejection of the Chalcedonian formula was a widely held position in the Greek-speaking Church of the sixth century. Leontius's method of attack, however, is to present his own form of strictly Chalcedonian diphysism as a *middle position* between two extremes that rest ultimately on the same error: a somewhat contrived line of argument, perhaps, but dialectically an effective one. There are few clues in the text to the date of this work; the reference, near the beginning, to the "top philosophers"<sup>188</sup> who hope to "make themselves wise men by decree"<sup>189</sup> could be a bitter reference to those who engineered the condemnation of Origen in 543, but it could refer to earlier influential opposition at court, as well. Whatever the date of composition of the *CNE* in its present form, however, its content seems to belong best in the heated theological atmosphere of the 530s, when the accusation of "Nestorianism" was not unknown<sup>190</sup> and when the "monophysite" party led by Severus of Antioch was still active in Justinian's capital.

## 2. *Epilyseis*

The *CNE* is followed, as I have said, in manuscripts V and O, not by the work announced in the Foreword as λόγος β' (the *CA*), but by a long dialogue entitled "Solutions of the Arguments advanced by Severus (ἐπιλύσεις τῶν ὑπὸ Σευήρου προβεβλημένων συλλογισμῶν)."<sup>191</sup> The opening lines tell us explicitly that the work is intended as a supplement to the *CNE*, written—again at the behest of friends—in answer to new arguments raised by his opponents, which did not seem adequately forestalled by the first treatise.<sup>192</sup> Although

<sup>188</sup> p. 126, l. 17. For the textual implications of this epithet, cf. p. 86, n. 482.

<sup>189</sup> p. 126, ll. 15–16.

<sup>190</sup> The clearest example is that of the monastic community of the "Akoimatoi" or "Sleepless Ones," a community of pro-Chalcedonian monks in Constantinople, who were accused by Justinian of Nestorianism in a letter to Pope John II of June, 533, on the grounds that they refused to acknowledge that the man Jesus is "one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity" (Mansi VIII, 795 C–797 B). John replied on 25 March 534, confirming Justinian's profession of faith and excommunicating the Akoimatoi until they should sign a similar profession themselves (ibid. 797 C–799 D4, esp. 799 A11–15). The Akoimatoi had a long diphysite tradition, and were undoubtedly still remembered for their dispute with the "Scythian monks" over the theopaschite formula ("One of the holy Trinity suffered in the flesh") some fifteen years earlier. It seems unlikely, however, that the members of this community were genuinely Nestorian in their sympathies, since both their hegumen John and their archimandrite Euethius were present in the monastic delegation at the Synod of 536 (ACO III, 47, ll. 39–41; 68, ll. 15–16). As we have seen in the case of Basil the Cilician, "Nestorian" was a label all too readily pinned on anyone who sympathized with the basic concerns represented by Antiochene Christology.

<sup>191</sup> The title is given in the singular, as Ἐπίλυσις ..., in *O* and in Mai's edition, but the plural form, which appears in *V*, seems to correspond better with the announced intention of the work as a discussion of several newly raised difficulties; see also the plural form in p. 278, l. 12.

<sup>192</sup> p. 270, ll. 4–14. See also the reference to "the first section of our earlier work *Against the Opposed Docetists*": p. 296, ll. 13–15.

there is no mention of Severus in the body of the text, the title identifies him, the most articulate spokesman for those who rejected the Chalcedonian formula, as the source of the objections dealt with here. If this is true, the most likely date for the work's composition would be the time when both Severus and Leontius were in Constantinople, engaged in theological discussion, between the winter of 535 and March, 536. In any case, the *Epilyseis* is an unambiguously pro-Chalcedonian work, and attacks "monophysite" arguments in even greater technical detail—and with greater theological profundity—than did the anti-monophysite sections of the *CNE*.

The work is written in dialogue form, though its conversational character becomes less and less marked as it progresses, and finally disappears altogether. The argument seems to fall into eight sections, which I have marked in the text; they are not numbered in the manuscripts, but Leontius's reference, near the end of the work, to "the first chapter of our discussion above"<sup>193</sup> suggests he was writing with some subdivisions in mind.

The first section<sup>194</sup> raises the question whether the Logos assumed a "particular nature (τὴν τινὰ φύσιν)" when becoming man, or human nature in general.<sup>195</sup> Leontius denies the validity of the distinction, repeating the burden of his earlier discussion of hypostasis and nature in the *CNE*: an individual, he insists, is always an individual hypostasis, participating in a nature as a particular member of a universal reality, but marked off as a hypostasis of that nature by its distinguishing characteristics.<sup>196</sup> In section 2 of the work,<sup>197</sup> his interlocutor turns to the subject of *number*: does not the predication of number, as in the phrase "two natures," always imply "quantity and division (τὸ ποσὸν καὶ διηρημένον)?"<sup>198</sup> Leontius replies that number of itself implies neither division nor unity, but merely expresses the relationships perceived within and among objects.<sup>199</sup> When applied to natures, number "does not properly signify their quantity (τὸ ποσὸν αὐτῶν) but their diversity (τὸ ἑτερογενές),"<sup>200</sup> even if, when applied to hypostases, it signifies a quantity of distinct individuals. In section 3,<sup>201</sup> the opponent challenges Leontius's dogged insistence on the classical *Cappadocian definitions* of hypostasis and nature:

<sup>193</sup> ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἀρτίως ἡπορημένων: ibid., ll. 13–14.

<sup>194</sup> p. 270, l. 15–p. 272, l. 26.

<sup>195</sup> The question is not so jejune as it might sound. One of the principal defenses of the *μία φύσις*-formula, advanced even by "neo-Chalcedonians," was that *φύσις* can be used in two senses: to denote a nature or essence as a universal to which many individuals belong, and to denote an individual instance of that nature, a *φύσις ἰδική*, which is not the same as the hypostasis. Cf. Leontius of Jerusalem, *Contra Nestorianos* I, 20 (PG 86, 1485 D1); II, 1 (ibid. 1529 C13); II, 7 (ibid. 1552 D2–4); cf. also M. Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem", 60–2.

<sup>196</sup> So esp. p. 272, ll. 15–26; cp. *CNE* 4: p. 144, l. 25–p. 146, l. 4; and 7: p. 168, l. 26–p. 170, l. 8.

<sup>197</sup> p. 272, l. 27–p. 276, l. 21.

<sup>198</sup> p. 272, ll. 30–1.

<sup>199</sup> p. 274, ll. 4–12.

<sup>200</sup> p. 274, ll. 28–30.

<sup>201</sup> p. 276, l. 22–p. 282, l. 15.

even if these are adequate to express the relationships within the Trinity, in the Incarnation the very “newness of the Mystery (τὸ καινοπρεπὲς τοῦ μυστηρίου)” —to echo Gregory of Nyssa’s word—demands a new understanding of the terms.<sup>202</sup> Leontius forcefully replies that words must retain the same definitions for every reference, if language is to remain within the rules of predication.<sup>203</sup> Of course no human speech is adequate to express the Mystery of God—even less adequate in the case of the Trinity than in that of the Incarnation, since it is the latter that reveals the Mystery to us.<sup>204</sup> But this inadequacy does not mean that one may consider one’s use of “hypostasis” and “physis,” when one is talking about either God or God made man, to be exempt from the requirements of logic or linguistic consistency. Leontius’s opponent then observes that while the Fathers are consistent in their use of these terms for the Trinity, they are less so when speaking of the Incarnation;<sup>205</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, for instance, occasionally uses “hypostasis” and “physis” as synonyms. Leontius, however, denies that such variations are any more than examples of metaphor, or of a permissible inexactness of speech.<sup>206</sup>

In section 4,<sup>207</sup> the opponent brings forward one of the key phrases in the Christological formulary of the sixth-century opponents of the Chalcedonian definition: “one composite nature of Christ (μία φύσις Χριστοῦ σύνθετος).”<sup>208</sup> Since they confess his one nature as “composite,” they argue, it is an “impertinence” to accuse them of simply combining his humanity and divinity into a new hybrid. In answer, Leontius distinguishes between the act of σύνθεσις or ἔνωσις and the things which are so united; what is one in Christ, after the union, is his hypostasis, but his human and divine natures—in which he is consubstantial with his mother and his Father, respectively—remain, “since neither of them changes ... but each preserves, even in union, the difference between them.”<sup>209</sup> In section 5,<sup>210</sup> the interlocutor returns to the supposition of section 1: individual objects belonging to one identifiable generic reality are each conventionally said to be themselves that “one nature.”<sup>211</sup> Leontius again rejects the notion of “singular natures” as being a misuse of terms; each object, he insists, “has a common nature, according to its common species, and a proper hypostasis, which distinguishes what is proper in it from what is

<sup>202</sup> p. 276, ll. 22–7, referring to Gregory of Nyssa, *Ref. Conf. Eunomii* 3 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 313, ll. 13–17; PG 45, 468 B13–C3); *Chr. Eun.* III, 3 (ed. Jaeger II, 131, ll. 19–22; PG 45, 705 D11–708 A2).

<sup>203</sup> p. 276, l. 28–p. 278, l. 15.

<sup>204</sup> p. 278, l. 23–p. 280, l. 2.

<sup>205</sup> p. 280, ll. 6–16.

<sup>206</sup> p. 280, l. 17–p. 282, l. 15.

<sup>207</sup> p. 282, l. 16–p. 284, l. 15.

<sup>208</sup> See, for instance, the letter of the monophysite bishops to Justinian—probably dating from early in 532—given in the Syriac continuation of Zacharias Rhetor, *Hist. Eccl.* IX, 15 (CSCO III, 6: 119, l. 13–121, l. 8; tr. 82, l. 13–83, l. 22). For the adoption of the terms σύνθεσις and σύνθετος, with qualifications, by the “neo-Chalcedonians,” see my article “Origenism,” 361–2, n. 2.

<sup>209</sup> p. 284, ll. 5–7.

<sup>210</sup> p. 284, l. 16–p. 286, l. 7.

<sup>211</sup> p. 284, ll. 18–20.

common, by defining marks and characteristics.”<sup>212</sup> Section 6<sup>213</sup> discusses *patristic tradition* as a norm for theological language. The “monophysite” interlocutor points out that some formulations with respectable pedigrees—for example, “that of the two natures” in Christ<sup>214</sup>—have been rejected by later Fathers because they have been misused by heretics, and so have acquired dangerous associations. Leontius observes that heretics have misused holy Scripture as well, but this does not justify our imitating Marcion and expunging passages wholesale.<sup>215</sup> Since heresy always goes on, he argues, no Fathers can provide, by themselves, a final norm for the correct use of theological language. Each generation must have the right to decide the issues for itself, and does so principally through the judgments of the holy Synods.<sup>216</sup>

In the important seventh section,<sup>217</sup> Leontius’s “monophysite” opponent concedes that his party, too, recognizes two natures in Christ “on the purely conceptual level (μοῖνῃ τῇ ἐπινόια),”<sup>218</sup> though they believe his nature is a single, composite one in its concrete reality. The Chalcedonians themselves, he continues, speak occasionally of two hypostases, conceptually distinct but united in actuality; their criticism of the “monophysites” therefore holds equally against themselves.<sup>219</sup> In his reply, Leontius first discusses ἐπίνοια—which we might translate as “conceit” or “creative thinking.”<sup>220</sup> There are two kinds, he says: the sort of thinking which teases out the possibilities of an idea and reveals new implications in it; and the sort which actually fabricates from experience notions of beings which do not exist at all. In either sense, to recognize two natures in Christ ἐπίνοια μόνῃ is to deny to those natures any reality of their own; the Fathers have, it is true, spoken of *division* between the two natures in Christ as existing ἐπίνοια μόνῃ, but have always held *the natures themselves* to exist both actually and in inseparable unity.<sup>221</sup> Secondly, though Leontius seems to admit tacitly that his side has at times distinguished two hypostases in Christ in such a “purely conceptual” way, he denies strongly that they have ever held their actual existence as separate things, either “before” or “after the union.”<sup>222</sup>

The eighth section<sup>223</sup> is the longest and undoubtedly the most complicated chapter of the work. Leontius’s interlocutor again returns, in effect, to the first question raised in the CNE: if every existent being consists of common and individual elements, and if nothing is lacking from either of the two realities united in Christ, then both his divinity and his humanity must have elements they share with other individuals, as well as elements peculiar to themselves. If

<sup>212</sup> p. 286, ll. 2–4.

<sup>213</sup> p. 286, l. 8–p. 288, l. 14.

<sup>214</sup> p. 286, ll. 10–11.

<sup>215</sup> p. 286, ll. 20–3.

<sup>216</sup> p. 288, ll. 4–11.

<sup>217</sup> p. 288, l. 15–p. 296, l. 16.

<sup>218</sup> p. 288, l. 15.

<sup>219</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 17–26.

<sup>220</sup> For the history of the patristic use of this term up to and including Leontius, see Antonio Orbe, *La Epinoia. Algunos preliminares históricos de la distinción κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν (en torno a la filosofía de Leoncio Bizantino)* (Rome, 1955).

<sup>221</sup> p. 288, l. 27–p. 290, l. 25.

<sup>222</sup> p. 292, l. 10–p. 294, l. 3.

<sup>223</sup> p. 296, l. 17–p. 310, l. 12.

that is so, one must logically either speak of two natures *and* two hypostases in Christ, or else one must accept "one nature," alongside "one hypostasis," as equally correct.<sup>224</sup> In his reply, Leontius first emphasizes again that it is never correct to speak of an *actual division* (διαίρεσις) in the historical person of Christ, the Incarnate Word, either "before" or "after" the union of his natures; since neither nature is "the whole Christ" by itself (see CNE 2), then as far as Christ is concerned "there was no time when these were not united,"<sup>225</sup> so that *division* in Christ is always a purely conceptual matter.<sup>226</sup> Still, "there is something incommunicable in the union, which is explained by the very greatness of the divine nature."<sup>227</sup> Therefore the union in Christ cannot be a "natural" thing; indeed, Leontius is unwilling to look on even the union of soul and body in man, or of the elements in the universe, as brought about simply by the operation of natural laws—they are all the creative work of the divine Logos.<sup>228</sup> So, he says, the real concern of Christological investigation should not be the *natures* that are united in Christ, but the *mode of union* (τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως) between them, and the final *product* (ἀποτέλεσμα) of it. On the first of these subjects, Leontius rejects both the "way of division"—the explanation of the unity of Christ in purely moral or linguistic terms—and the "way of confusion," which hybridizes deity and humanity into a new, third thing; the only acceptable model is the "middle way" of "unconfused and inseparable union," in which two undiminished natures fully belong to one subject, and so bring about in that subject an "exchange of characteristics."<sup>229</sup> A union of this kind is "more unitive than the kind that completely divides, but richer than the kind that completely confuses."<sup>230</sup> As for the "product" of this kind of union, it must be neither wholly the same as either part taken by itself, nor wholly different; the sameness will reside in the single hypostasis participating in both a human and a divine nature, the difference in the natures themselves.<sup>231</sup> To speak only of one nature in Christ is to suggest that divinity and humanity have become, in him, the same as each other;<sup>232</sup> but if we can discern in Christ ways of acting that are opposed, even contradictory to each other—being visible and being invisible, for instance, or being mortal and being immortal—there must be two distinct natures in him.<sup>233</sup> A hypostasis, in Leontius's anthropology, is by definition capable of "receiving opposite and contradictory predicates," but a nature, as a recognizable principle and pattern of behavior, must remain consistent with itself.<sup>234</sup> After a brief excursus denying the relevance of the question of the pre-existence of Christ's manhood to that of the unity of his person<sup>235</sup> and rejecting Cyril's formula asserting that Christ is one "from two

<sup>224</sup> p. 296, ll. 17–28.

<sup>227</sup> p. 300, ll. 8–9.

<sup>230</sup> p. 304, ll. 4–5.

<sup>233</sup> p. 306, ll. 3–14.

<sup>225</sup> p. 296, ll. 33–4.

<sup>228</sup> p. 300, ll. 13–20.

<sup>231</sup> p. 304, ll. 5–9.

<sup>234</sup> p. 306, ll. 14–18.

<sup>226</sup> p. 296, l. 30–p. 298, l. 25.

<sup>229</sup> p. 302, l. 1–p. 304, l. 3.

<sup>232</sup> p. 304, ll. 12–16.

<sup>235</sup> p. 306, ll. 19–31.

hypostases,"<sup>236</sup> Leontius ends the *Epilyseis* by returning to his first principles: the difference between hypostasis and nature, the role of characteristics (ιδιώματα) in marking out both natures and individuals, and the possibility of two sets of natural characteristics being predicable of a single person.<sup>237</sup>

### 3. *Epaporēmata*

The next work in manuscripts V and O is also not one of those announced in the Foreword; it is a series of thirty terse theses—the first fourteen little more than syllogisms, the last sixteen generally more discursive—entitled "Proposals and Definitions Offered as Objections against those who Deny the Double Reality of the Divine and Human Nature in the One Christ, after the Union (ἐπαπορήματα ὑποθετικά τε καὶ ὀριστικά πρὸς ἀρνούμενους ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ Χριστῷ, μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν, τὴν διττὴν τῆς θείας τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀλήθειαν)." This is the same set of theses that is later quoted—wholly in the *Doctrina Patrum*<sup>238</sup> and partly by Euthymius Zigabenus<sup>239</sup>—under the name "Thirty Chapters against Severus (τὰ τριάκοντα κεφάλαια κατὰ Σευήρου)"; it seems to have been Leontius's best-known work in medieval Byzantium.<sup>240</sup> Written in a form that appealed to an age fond of such theses,<sup>241</sup> it gives no internal clue to its date or its relationship to Leontius's other writings. Clearly, however, it is directed, like the *Epilyseis*, against the Christology of Severus and his school, and so would also fit best into the controversies of the mid-530s.

Theologically, the thirty *Epaporēmata* add little that is new to the two works I have already discussed. Most of them summarize arguments conducted at greater length in the CNE or the *Epilyseis*. In theses 1 and 2<sup>242</sup> Leontius argues from the acknowledged difference between godhead and manhood in Christ (1) to the simultaneous presence in him of two identifiable substances (2) and so of two natures. Theses 3 to 6<sup>243</sup> then turn to one of the compromise-formulae

<sup>236</sup> p. 306, l. 31–p. 308, l. 12.

<sup>237</sup> p. 308, l. 15–p. 310, l. 12.

<sup>238</sup> 24, II (155, l. 11–164, l. 3).

<sup>239</sup> *Panoplia Dogmatica* XVI (PG 130, 1068 B7–1073 B12).

<sup>240</sup> When speaking of orthodox attempts to refute "monophysism" in the sixth century, for instance, Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*Hist. Eccl.* XVIII, 48; PG 147, 428 B10–C1) remarks: ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τούτοις ἀντέθεντο· μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ὁ μοναχὸς Λεόντιος γενναίως ἐν λ' κεφαλαίοις βίβλον ὅλην τούτοις ἀνέστησεν, ἄρδην μὲν τὴν τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν ἀνατρεπούσαν, σφόδρα δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβὲς δόγμα κρατύνουσαν. Cf. n. 20.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. John of Caesarea's "Seventeen Chapters against the Akephaloi" (ed. M. Richard, CCG 1 (Louvain/Turnhout, 1977), 61–6) and the "Syllogisms of the Holy Fathers against the Manicheans" (ibid. 131–3), which may also be by John of Caesarea. Eulogius, the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria between 580 and 607, also seems to have composed twelve ἐπαπορήσεις against the monophysites of his time: cf. *Doctr. Patr.* 24, I (152, l. 15–155, l. 10) and the ascription of such a work to him by Maximus Confessor (PG 91, 264 D1–4).

<sup>242</sup> p. 314, ll. 1–10.

<sup>243</sup> p. 314, l. 11–p. 316, l. 14.

of Cyril and later of the "monophysite" party: that Christ exists "from" but not "in" two natures. If they are willing to recognize divinity and humanity not only as the sources from which the concrete Christ has come to be, but as coexisting in him without confusion "after the union," argues Leontius, it is illogical for them to adhere to their own formula and reject Chalcedon's phrase "in two natures". In theses 7 and 8<sup>244</sup> Leontius observes that numbers greater than one are not the cause of division in the objects enumerated (8), any more than the number one is necessarily a sign of identity of subject. Thesis 9<sup>245</sup> makes use of the Aristotelian principle that the category of relation can only be applied to objects that exist simultaneously (*ἅμα τὰ πρὸς τι καὶ αὐτῷ*).<sup>246</sup> If union (*ἔνωσις*) and the things which are united (*τὰ ἐνωθέντα*) belong together in this category, the union itself must disappear if the things united cease to exist as, in some sense, distinguishable realities. Thesis 10<sup>247</sup> returns to the question of number, arguing that if the number divides, then even to count the characteristics (*ιδιώματα*) of the one nature in Christ is to introduce division.

Theses 11 to 13<sup>248</sup> take up the famous passage in Gregory Nazianzen's second letter to Cledonius, in which the Theologian argues that the relation of hypostasis and nature in the Incarnation is the "opposite of what it is in the Trinity": the distinction in Christ is not one of *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος* (one subject and another) but of *ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο* (one thing and another).<sup>249</sup> If we accept Gregory's teaching, Leontius insists, we must accept one hypostasis and two natures in Christ. In theses 14 and 15,<sup>250</sup> Leontius raises a series of questions about the possible meaning of the "monophysite" phrase, *μία φύσις σύνθετος*. It is either another way of saying "two natures," he concludes, or else it refers to a mythical hybrid which is neither God nor man. Theses 16 to 18<sup>251</sup> construct a similar series of dilemmas in connection with the Cyrillian formula *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*: if the "flesh" which the Word has become is true and natural flesh, then to add *σεσαρκωμένη* to the words *μία φύσις* is to confess a second nature. Theses 19 to 21<sup>252</sup> turn to the doctrine of Christ's double consubstantiality. Leontius argues: (a) it is impossible for Christ to be consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Father, whose nature is simple, if Christ's nature is composite (*σύνθετος*) (19); (b) it is impossible for Christ to be consubstantial both with the Father and with us, as orthodox belief confesses,

<sup>244</sup> p. 316, ll. 16–24. <sup>245</sup> p. 316, l. 24–p. 318, l. 1.

<sup>246</sup> p. 316, ll. 24–5. Aristotle, *Cat* 7b15; *Phys.* V, 1 (225b10–11); *Met.* N, 1 (1088a29–31); Porphyry, *In Cat.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1887)), 117, l. 35–118, l. 16; Ammonius Hermioui, *In Isag.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1891)), 76, ll. 5–6; *In Cat.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1895)), 73, l. 23–74, l. 3; John Philoponus, *In Cat.* (ed. A. Busse (Berlin, 1898)), 117, ll. 4–9.

<sup>247</sup> p. 318, ll. 2–5. <sup>248</sup> p. 318, ll. 6–18.

<sup>249</sup> Ep. 101, 20–1. (ed. P. Gallay (SC 208), 44, l. 10–45, l. 2; PG 37, 180 A10–B3).

<sup>250</sup> p. 318, l. 19–p. 320, l. 14. <sup>251</sup> p. 320, l. 15–p. 322, l. 18. <sup>252</sup> p. 322, l. 19–p. 324, l. 17.

if he has only one nature, unless one also wishes to make *us* consubstantial with the Father.

In thesis 22,<sup>253</sup> Leontius observes that if there are, as his opponents agree, two sets of natural properties (*φυσικαὶ ιδιότητες*) in Christ, then there must be two natures in him, to which these properties belong. Thesis 23<sup>254</sup> deals with the acknowledged difference (*διαφορά*) between godhead and manhood in Christ: if it is a "natural difference," then this implies there are two natures between which it is observed. In theses 24 and 25,<sup>255</sup> Leontius attempts to draw conclusions from the traditional (Cappadocian) equation of essence (*οὐσία*) and hypostasis with the common and the particular, respectively. If the Logos shares one essence with the Father, he must be, as Logos, of a different nature from his own flesh (25). Thesis 26<sup>256</sup> repeats the axiom of *Epil.* 8<sup>257</sup> that "union and nature are not the same"; Leontius deduces from this that if two beings are joined in the category of union, as we confess to be true of God and man in Christ, they must be one in hypostasis rather than in nature. Thesis 27<sup>258</sup> turns to the subject of names: "Christ," as a proper name, does not signify a nature common to many individuals, but a single hypostasis. It is therefore illegitimate to use the traditional body–soul analogy as an argument for confessing only one nature in Christ. Thesis 28<sup>259</sup> again rejects the formula "from two natures (*ἐκ δύο φύσεων*)" as insufficient by itself. Theses 29 and 30,<sup>260</sup> finally, return to the problem of number. Leontius observes that if we refuse to number divinity and humanity separately in Christ, we must avoid all references to them as distinct entities (29); to be consistent, we should even refrain from distinguishing, as Scripture so often does, among the various elements of our own composite human nature (30). Leontius ends the work with a prayer of thanks, and with the assurance that these brief arguments are only meant as "starting points and seeds of discussion (*ἀφορμαὶ καὶ σπέρματα*)," to be further elaborated by those with a taste for hard work (*φιλοπονῶντες*).<sup>261</sup>

#### 4. *Contra Aphthartodocetas*

The next work in the collection is entitled "A Dialogue against those of our Party who Adhere to the Corrupt Doctrine of the Aphthartodocetists (*πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων προσθήμενους τῇ κατεφθαρμένη γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν διάλογος*)."

This is the treatise designated in the Foreword as *λόγος β'* of the collected edition. It is professedly directed not against "Julianists" in the original sense—those anti-Chalcedonians who accepted

<sup>253</sup> p. 324, ll. 18–24. <sup>254</sup> p. 324, l. 25–p. 326, l. 5. <sup>255</sup> p. 326, l. 6–p. 328, l. 9.

<sup>256</sup> p. 328, ll. 4–9. <sup>257</sup> p. 300, ll. 1–6. <sup>258</sup> p. 328, ll. 10–28. <sup>259</sup> p. 330, ll. 1–13.

<sup>260</sup> p. 330, l. 14–p. 334, l. 20. <sup>261</sup> p. 334, ll. 21–6.



Julian of Halicarnassus's theory that the body of Christ was "incorruptible" from the beginning of its existence—but against Chalcedonians who had made Julian's theory their own. René Draguet has argued, convincingly and at length, from the extant fragments of Julian's writings, that this doctrine was originally concerned with theological anthropology rather than with Christology. Human "corruptibility," in Julian's terms, seems to be the state of subjection to weakness, suffering, and death that each of us inherits, along with Adam's sin, as the present state of our human nature. In saying that Christ was incorruptible, Julian apparently did not wish to deny the reality of his sufferings or his death, but only to insist that he accepted these things voluntarily; they were not forced upon Jesus by the necessity of a fallen nature, because he—alone since Adam—was born free of sin.<sup>262</sup> So while Julian himself began with a "monophysite" Christology similar to that of Severus, and while he may indeed have moved farther than Severus was willing to go in the direction of classical fifth-century Eutychianism, his doctrine of incorruptibility was not of itself, according to Draguet, necessarily linked to his understanding of the unity of Christ. Chalcedonians could, and apparently did, find his theory attractive and compatible with their own Christ—especially "neo-Chalcedonians," whose sympathies lay with the unitive, Logos-centered Christology of Cyril, even though their formulation of the Mystery remained within the diphysite language of Chalcedon. Ephrem of Amida wrote in defense of the idea, according to Photius,<sup>263</sup> and towards the end of his life Justinian himself officially promulgated it as imperial doctrine.<sup>264</sup>

Leontius's CA, then, is aimed against supporters of the theory within the broad confines of the Chalcedonian camp. Draguet insists that the theory, as presented by Leontius's "Aphthartodocetist"<sup>265</sup> interlocutor, differs in some subtle but essential respects from the original position of Julian. Leontius's opponent uses ἄφθαρτος to mean "naturally incapable of corruption and

<sup>262</sup> R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ* (Louvain, 1924); for Draguet's summary of Julian's position, cf. esp. pp. 94–6.

<sup>263</sup> See Photius's condensation of Ephrem's letter to the monk Eunoius, in *Bibl.*, Cod. 228 (ed. R. Henry IV, 125, ll. 10–19; PG 103, 969 B6–C1).

<sup>264</sup> This was Justinian's so-called "Edict for the Romans," no longer extant but probably issued in the autumn of 564, a year or less before his death; cf. Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 39 (ed. Bidez-Parmentier, 190, esp. ll. 16–24); Theophanes, *Chron.* I (ed. de Boor), 240, l. 31–241, l. 2; Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii* 33–6 (PG 86, 2314–16). Cf. F. Loofs, "Die 'Ketzerie' Justinians", in *Harnack-Ehrung: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1921), 232–48.

<sup>265</sup> John of Caesarea is the first writer we know of to have used this belittling title for the proponents of Christ's incorruptibility: see his short treatise and double florilegium, *κατὰ Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν* (ed. M. Richard, CCG 1, 69–78). Though the date of John's work is uncertain, it is usually assumed to have antedated that of Leontius, since John seems to be active as a theologian from about 515.

suffering," and apparently sees Christ's incorruptibility as resulting from a transformation, at the time of the Word's Incarnation, of what might have been a normal human nature into something superhuman, by the presence of the Word. Julian, on the other hand, had apparently held that Christ's individual nature was from the beginning fully normal in its human qualities, but simply exempt from the consequences of original sin; his free acceptance of suffering and death did no violence, in Julian's view, to the pristine humanity that was distinctively his.<sup>266</sup> It is not clear how much Leontius is misrepresenting his opponents, who were in any case not understood to be part of Julian's circle; but the picture he paints of them is of a group coming dangerously close to denying the reality of Christ's manhood altogether. His own reply is a warm, sometimes impassioned defense of the full normality of Christ's human nature: surely Leontius's most accessible, and perhaps his most suggestive work.

In its present form, the CA implies the prior existence of the CNE by referring to it as τὰ ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένα.<sup>267</sup> There is little in the treatise itself, however, that allows us to date it more precisely. Leontius refers to the quarrel between Severus and Julian, which seems to have taken place in the early and middle 520s, as something far enough in the past to have already had a beneficial effect on Severan theology.<sup>268</sup> This would suggest a date at least as late as the 530s, while the calm, irenic tone of the argument seems to fit less well with the end of Leontius's life, after the anti-Origenist decree of 543.

Though the treatise is written in dialogue form, Leontius begins with a reasonably full introduction.<sup>269</sup> The theory of Christ's human incorruptibility started, he observes, as an internal dispute among the "monophysites," but it has now ensnared some adherents of Chalcedon as well, simply by the attractiveness of a single word: "incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία)."<sup>270</sup> Like Severus in his criticism of Julian, Leontius sees the notion that Christ's body was incorruptible not simply as an anthropological theory, but as the covert ascription of a divine attribute to his human nature, which inevitably robs it of its full and authentic humanity. If his body was incorruptible, it might just as easily also have been invisible, impalpable, even incorporeal.<sup>271</sup> But the scandal at the root of Christian faith, Leontius reminds his readers, is that the Lord's human weakness and

<sup>266</sup> Draguet, 177. <sup>267</sup> p. 338, ll. 1–5.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. p. 340, ll. 4–25, where Leontius asserts it was the controversy with Julian which brought Severus to acknowledge "a difference and properties (διαφοράν τε καὶ ιδιότητας)" in Christ: to take, in other words, a more nuanced position with regard to the lasting difference between Christ's divinity and humanity.

<sup>269</sup> p. 338, l. 1–p. 346, l. 5.

<sup>270</sup> p. 340, ll. 12–14; p. 342, l. 7. This same idea, that it was simply the word "incorruptible" that lured orthodox believers into heresy, is echoed by Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii*, PG 86, 2316 C1–2.

<sup>271</sup> p. 344, ll. 5–8.

suffering were *real*, caused not by miracles but by the regular functioning of his human nature.<sup>272</sup> If Christ's humanity did not remain exactly like our own until his death, then his Passion cannot have been a sharing in our suffering, and so it cannot be the means for us to share in the divine likeness of his resurrection.<sup>273</sup>

This is Leontius's argument against the "Aphartodocetists" in a nutshell; he unfolds it at length in the form of a dialogue. He begins by convincing his interlocutor that, since God chose to save man not simply by an act of his will, but by sending his Son to share in human nature, it was necessary for our salvation that his humanity be completely like ours, in soul and in flesh.<sup>274</sup> His opponent objects that his party does not hold Christ's humanity to have been naturally (*κατὰ φύσιν*) impassible or incorruptible of itself, but they believe that it became so when it was joined to the Logos; Leontius points out that the question is not *how* Christ's body became different from ours, but *whether* it did.<sup>275</sup> If Mary, from whom the Logos took his human nature, remained naturally untransformed by the Incarnation, as Christians assume, why should the child who grew in her womb not have remained exactly as she was?<sup>276</sup>

The "Aphartodocetist" then asks Leontius how the impassibility of Christ's body, even if it began at the moment of the Incarnation, prevented him from sharing fully in our human life. The only difference between Christ and us, as he sees it, is that Christ suffered and died by his own divine will rather than from natural necessity.<sup>277</sup> Leontius replies that this is to speak in riddles; surely if union with the Word made his flesh impassible, the Word would not have taken such a gift away again by an act of his will, and indeed could not do this without weakening the very union which had conferred it.<sup>278</sup> The truth, rather, is just the reverse: that the Word normally "permitted a nature which was naturally equipped to suffer to undergo, without sin, what was natural to it";<sup>279</sup> his divine will only intervened to exempt it from its lot at exceptional moments.<sup>280</sup> The saving value of Christ's death, Leontius continues, is due to his having suffered all the weaknesses of our fallen nature without having shared in our sin.<sup>281</sup> If these weaknesses were contrary to his nature, they would, as unnatural passions, themselves have been sinful.<sup>282</sup> Like art, the supernatural

<sup>272</sup> p. 344, ll. 12–29.

<sup>273</sup> p. 344, l. 30–p. 346, l. 5.

<sup>274</sup> p. 346, l. 8–p. 348, l. 29.

<sup>275</sup> p. 348, l. 30–p. 350, l. 6.

<sup>276</sup> p. 350, l. 7–p. 354, l. 9. Both Leontius and his opponent agree that if the "overshadowing" of Mary by the Holy Spirit had made *her* nature incorruptible, she would have been incapable of bringing Jesus into the world by a normal childbirth (p. 350, ll. 22–6)! Julian of Halicarnassus, too, saw a connection between corruptibility and sexuality, and explained man's inheritance of Adam's sin by the fact that he is conceived under the rule of passion. Christ is *ἀφθαρτος*, in Julian's view, because he was born of a virgin, *ἀφθάρτω τροπῶ*. See Draguet, 102–3.

<sup>277</sup> p. 354, ll. 19–25.

<sup>278</sup> p. 354, l. 26–p. 356, l. 5.

<sup>279</sup> p. 356, ll. 10–11.

<sup>280</sup> p. 356, ll. 12–18.

<sup>281</sup> p. 356, l. 26–p. 358, l. 14.

<sup>282</sup> p. 358, ll. 18–20.

(*τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν*) "does not abrogate natural faculties (*τὰ φυσικά*) but develops them and enables them both to do their own work and to receive the power to do what is beyond them."<sup>283</sup> When his opponent then suggests that Christ's human weakness was a kind of constant miracle,<sup>284</sup> Leontius points out that miracles are always exceptions to a rule, but human needs and even human suffering were clearly part of the daily pattern of Jesus's life.<sup>285</sup> The glory of Christ, in fact, is that in him a human nature exactly like ours shared, by personal union, in the riches of the Word of God.<sup>286</sup> When the "Aphartodocetist" tries to distinguish between the "corruptible" and the "passible," adducing the example of the bodies of the damned, which will suffer in Hell without being wasted by it,<sup>287</sup> Leontius insists that the kind of natural sufferings Christ underwent were indeed of the kind that waste and corrupt the flesh as well.<sup>288</sup>

The discussion then turns to Scripture. The "Aphartodocetist" says that whatever arguments Leontius advances, he himself will not budge from what he sees to be the clear assertion of Psalm 15.10, that the flesh of Christ "did not see corruption."<sup>289</sup> Leontius offers Lamentations 4.20 and Psalm 29.10 as proofs, on the contrary, that the Lord "was included in our corruption" by assuming our nature; he interprets Psalm 15.10 as meaning that the flesh of Christ was in fact preserved from being corrupted in the tomb, not by an alteration of its nature but by the power of the indwelling Word.<sup>290</sup> His opponent insists that no passage of Scripture actually says that Christ was corruptible;<sup>291</sup> but Leontius lists all the other human weaknesses which the Scripture says the Word did accept as part of the Incarnation—pain, hunger, thirst, and every aspect of the process of physical change (*ἀλλοίωσις*) that includes birth, growth, and death<sup>292</sup>—and he suggests that if one accepts all of this, one ought also to acknowledge Jesus's natural corruptibility as well, even if, as Scripture says, he never "saw corruption."<sup>293</sup>

<sup>283</sup> p. 358, l. 31–p. 360, l. 1; cf. also p. 360, ll. 4–24. Leontius's position here seems to anticipate the later Thomist axiom that "grace does not destroy nature, but perfects it" (e.g. ST I/1, q. 1, a. 8, resp. ad 2).

<sup>284</sup> p. 360, ll. 25–7.

<sup>285</sup> p. 360, l. 28–p. 362, l. 32.

<sup>286</sup> p. 364, ll. 1–21.

<sup>287</sup> p. 364, ll. 22–6. From the fragments Draguet has assembled, it is hard to imagine Julian holding this position, since he seems to have seen both passibility and physical corruptibility as the fruits of a deeper moral corruption (cf. Draguet, esp. 100–8). Leontius's opponent himself has argued up to now that the flesh of the Lord is naturally incapable of suffering, as well as of being physically corrupted.

<sup>288</sup> p. 364, l. 27–p. 366, l. 11. Leontius here clearly takes "corruption" (*φθορῆναι*) in a purely material sense. He is careful, however, to say only that "as far as nature is concerned, corruption follows upon dissolution" such as the Lord experienced on the cross (p. 366, ll. 6–7); like all his contemporaries, he readily agreed that in fact the Lord's body *was* not corrupted during its three days in the tomb, but he insisted that this was a miraculous suspension of the workings of his nature, and was not due to its constitution. Cf. esp. p. 370, ll. 10–17; p. 376, ll. 24–8.

<sup>289</sup> p. 366, ll. 12–18.

<sup>290</sup> p. 366, l. 24–p. 370, l. 30.

<sup>291</sup> p. 370, l. 31–p. 372, l. 3.

<sup>292</sup> p. 372, l. 4–p. 376, l. 9.

<sup>293</sup> p. 376, ll. 12–28.

The "Aphthartodocetist" then glides from Scripture back to anthropology: if Christ is called "the new Adam", must his human nature not be as Adam's was before the fall—incorruptible, because free from sin?<sup>294</sup> Leontius avoids taking a position on the original incorruptibility of Adam (although he implies he finds the doctrine unconvincing),<sup>295</sup> but he insists that the form of human nature which the Word assumed is that of the *fallen* Adam, since he became flesh to save both him and us, who share the consequences of the fall.<sup>296</sup> The likeness of the Lord's flesh to ours is the presupposition for our imitating him, and for his death's loosing us from the hold of death.<sup>297</sup>

The final argument of the "Aphthartodocetist" is really an argument from appropriateness: if the Word did not bestow incorruptibility on his own body from the beginning of its existence, but only allowed it to attain incorruptibility after death, as we hope to do, this would "disturb (*ἐκταράττει*) the great mystery of the union";<sup>298</sup> further, if the effects of the union on Christ's human nature were not full and instantaneous, then it would seem, by analogy, that we too do not receive the fullness of grace immediately at baptism.<sup>299</sup> Leontius replies that it really seems more appropriate for Christ's flesh to begin like ours and to become incorruptible only later, since otherwise every bit of effort in his life, from the first moment of the Incarnation, would have been both superfluous for him and meaningless for us.<sup>300</sup>

He concludes by reminding his opponent that one must always distinguish the principle by which Christ's human nature was formed (*ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσιώσεως τοῦ σώματος*)—that is, the overshadowing of Mary by the Holy Spirit—from the "manner of union" (*ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως*), the juxtaposition of God and man which provides the metaphysical structure of his person. The characteristic features of his humanity developed by the normal laws of growth, even though the Word was fully united to that humanity from the first moment of the Spirit's descent on Mary's womb. To see physical incorruptibility as a result of the union of flesh with the Word is to confuse personal union with causality.<sup>301</sup> Leontius appends to his treatise a florilegium of twenty-seven patristic quotations, to which he has added a short introduction and conclusion.

### 5. *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*

The next work in the Leontian corpus is entitled "An Unmasking and Triumphant Defeat of the Unspeakable and Fundamental Impiety of the Nestorians, and of the Fathers of this Heresy (*τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀρχοειδεστέρας τῶν*

<sup>294</sup> p. 376, ll. 29–32.

<sup>295</sup> p. 378, ll. 9–15.

<sup>296</sup> p. 378, ll. 3–22.

<sup>297</sup> p. 378, l. 24–p. 380, l. 26.

<sup>298</sup> p. 380, ll. 27–30.

<sup>299</sup> p. 382, ll. 6–8.

<sup>300</sup> p. 382, ll. 9–30.

<sup>301</sup> p. 382, l. 31–p. 384, l. 22.

*Νεστοριανῶν ἀσεβείας, καὶ τῶν ταύτης πατέρων, φώρα καὶ θρίαμβος*).<sup>302</sup> Although this is the third and final book of the collected edition of Leontius's works, as announced in his own Foreword, its character differs sharply from all four of the tracts I have discussed up to now. Most of it is not so much a theological argument as an angry diatribe against Theodore of Mopsuestia and his teacher Diodore of Tarsus, and against those of Leontius's own day who accepted their teachings. The work was written, as Leontius admits, to settle an old personal score.<sup>303</sup> As a young man he had himself been a follower of Theodore, he confesses, dazzled by his theological "precision (*ἀκρίβεια*)" and misled by Theodore's contemporary disciples.<sup>304</sup> But the grace of God and the intervention of "godly men" saved him from continuing in error, and now—after a long and tactful silence—a "just cause" impels him to speak out and expose Theodore and his school for what they really are.<sup>304</sup>

The work that follows is a brisk volley of forty-four numbered chapters, some of them only a few lines long, attacking Theodore, Diodore, and their followers—all labeled "Nestorians"—on a variety of personal and doctrinal grounds, mainly with the implication that they are secular-minded rationalists. Chapters 1 to 6<sup>305</sup> describe the tactics of the "Nestorian" party in Leontius's day, reflecting, perhaps, Leontius's own experience. The only "Fathers" they accept, he says, are Diodore and Theodore. They even pretend not to honour "the original sources of their impiety"—presumably Paul of Samosata (1), among others—and profess allegiance to Chalcedon, all the while trying to foist their own interpretation of that tradition on the innocent (2). Promising to use influence at court for the advancement of their victims (3), they lure monks into a secular way of life and suborn laymen with hints of future worldly success (4). They are themselves divided into two factions: one openly admits its admiration for Nestorius, but the other is willing even to anathematize *him*, and adheres simply to his intellectual "father," Theodore. Their low regard for the Eucharist makes it easy for them to remain in communion with the orthodox under false pretences (5–6).

With chapter 7, Leontius begins his direct attack on Theodore himself. Chapters 7–12<sup>306</sup> are a quick, vituperative summary of the negative highlights of his career, including his early "lapse" from the monastic life, from which John Chrysostom "rescued" him (7), and his attack on Mary's title *Theotokos* (10). In chapters 13–17,<sup>307</sup> Leontius turns to Theodore's critical exegesis of Scripture. He has tried to reduce the inspired content of the Bible, Leontius says (12), deleting as inauthentic a large part of the book of Job (13) and rejecting altogether the Catholic Epistles (14), the titles and traditional dates of the Psalms, Hymns, and

<sup>302</sup> p. 412, ll. 9–11.

<sup>303</sup> p. 412, ll. 16–22.

<sup>304</sup> p. 412, l. 22–p. 414, l. 17.

<sup>305</sup> p. 416, l. 1–p. 420, l. 5.

<sup>306</sup> p. 420, l. 6–p. 422, l. 13.

<sup>307</sup> p. 422, l. 14–p. 424, l. 8.

Odes of the Old Testament (15), the Song of Songs (16), both books of Chronicles (17), and the book of Ezra (17). Chapters 18–38<sup>308</sup> then launch a broad, personalized attack on Theodore's doctrine. He has rewritten the Nicene Creed, says Leontius, in such a way as to import into it his own divisive Christology (18), and has composed his own liturgical anaphora as well (19). His followers, especially Barsaumas, have spread these heresies eastwards into Persia, making many converts there to the "Nestorian" brotherhood (21–3). Theodore is skeptical, too, about original sin (24) and the existence of angels (25), and he deviates from the Christian understanding of creation by accepting the Manichean doctrine of an "essential darkness (οὐσιῶδες σκότος)" which existed before the world (26). He believes the Antichrist will not be punished, in the end, but will simply dissolve into nothingness (27), and he considers some kinds of being not to be directly created by God, but simply to be "by-products (παρακολουθήματα) and secondary accidents (παρασυμβήματα)"<sup>309</sup> of other creatures (28). Theodore even denies that God is "essential good (οὐσιῶδες ἀγαθόν)," or that he is the source of being for all that is good and beautiful (29).

With chapter 30, Leontius takes up Theodore's Christology. He conceives of Christ as simply a man, writes Leontius, and then blasphemously urges humans to worship him alongside the Holy Trinity (30–1). The divine Logos, foreseeing Jesus's "resolution towards the good (περὶ τὰ καλὰ πρόθεσιν),"<sup>310</sup> united him to himself from the womb (32); but Jesus the man remained untransformed, according to Theodore, sharing our normal human ignorance except when the Logos afforded him special knowledge (33), undergoing psychological as well as physical suffering (34), and growing in moral virtue like other holy men (35). Only at his baptism did he become "perfect," and enter fully into an evangelical pattern of life (36); even so, he accepted the prospect of the cross with reluctance, as an unavoidable stage on his path to glory (37), and only overcame his fear of death in Gethsemane through the persuasion of the angel who appeared to comfort him (38). Leontius characterizes this picture of Christ as part of a "war on the truth,"<sup>311</sup> begun by Paul of Samosata and carried on by Theodore's teacher Diodore, but brought to a peak by Theodore himself (38). Even Nestorius, Leontius observes in chapter 39,<sup>312</sup> only repeated Theodore's heresies on a limited scale; but because he proclaimed them publicly he was excommunicated, while the more cautious Theodore remained undetected.

In chapters 40 and 41,<sup>313</sup> Leontius deals briefly with Diodore: the "Nestorians" try to justify him, he says, on the grounds that he corresponded with Basil of Caesarea and other Fathers of unimpeachable reputation (40), but association

<sup>308</sup> p. 424, l. 9–p. 436, l. 14.

<sup>309</sup> p. 430, ll. 2–3.

<sup>311</sup> p. 436, ll. 5–6.

<sup>312</sup> p. 436, l. 15–p. 438, l. 4.

<sup>310</sup> p. 432, l. 14.

<sup>313</sup> p. 438, ll. 5–27.

with the orthodox does not make a man orthodox himself, as the cases of Origen and Apollinarius show (41).

In chapter 42, Leontius approaches his opponents' positions in a genuinely theological way, for the first time in the *DTN*. The "Nestorians" he writes, produce Christological formulae and expressions from orthodox Fathers which resemble their own; but they omit mentioning the other, more unitive formulae which have an equally important place in the patristic tradition.<sup>314</sup> Moreover, he insists, "our controversy is not about expressions (οὐ περὶ λέξεων), but about the manner in which the whole Mystery of Christ exists (περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ ὅλου κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστηρίου);"<sup>315</sup> therefore one must look beyond traditional formulae to the basic principles of patristic faith. According to Leontius, this faith confesses "the manner of union (τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως), which has come to exist essentially, not in mere relationship (οὐσιωδῶς ἀλλ' οὐ σχετικῶς), so that the Word has its being in a complete humanity, as the 'inner man' co-subsists in us, in the Apostle's words, and contributes to a definition of the whole (Christ) after the union."<sup>316</sup> Rejecting formulations of the Mystery of Christ which fall on either side of his own, as either overly unitive or overly divisive, Leontius reaffirms his commitment to the faith of Chalcedon and of Leo.<sup>317</sup>

The final two chapters of the *DTN* (43–4)<sup>318</sup> deal with the "Nestorian" contention that Diodore and Theodore must be accepted as orthodox because they have never been officially condemned (43). This is due to circumstances and to their own craftiness, says Leontius (43); but they were implicitly included in the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus, he asserts, and have certainly been condemned by such orthodox Fathers as Cyril, Proclus, and Rabbula of Edessa (44).

This polemic against the "Nestorians" is also followed by a florilegium, as announced in the Foreword to the collected edition: here a collection of sixty-two texts, including thirty-six substantial excerpts from Theodore's dogmatic works, five from Diodore, and a number of smaller fragments attributed to Paul

<sup>314</sup> 159, l. 10–160, l. 6.

<sup>315</sup> 160, ll. 6–8.

<sup>316</sup> 160, l. 13–161, l. 3. In this careful formulation of orthodox Christological belief, Leontius's comparison of the Logos in Christ with the "inner man" in each of us strikes a new note; except for *Epil.* 8 (95, l. 21), where he speaks of the humanity of Christ existing "in the Logos," he generally avoids giving the impression that one aspect of Christ is in any way contained "within" the other. Perhaps this phrase, which adds a slightly more unitive coloring to Leontius's formulation than one normally finds in his anti-monophysite works, reflects a wish, in the *DTN*, to ingratiate himself and his party with Justinian. See pp. 56–7. On the theme of the "manner" or "mode of union" in Christ, in Leontius and in other Greek Fathers, see my article, "Nature and the 'Mode of Union': Late Patristic Models for the Personal Unity of Christ," in Gerald O'Collins, SJ, Stephen Davis, and Daniel Kendall, SJ (eds.), *The Incarnation: An Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Oxford, 2002), 164–96.

<sup>317</sup> 161, ll. 18–26.

<sup>318</sup> 161, l. 27–163, l. 1.



of Samosata and Nestorius, as well as a handful of orthodox testimonia at the end. In the Oxford manuscript (O), however, this florilegium is separated from the *DTN* by another short work, incorrectly attributed to Leontius,<sup>319</sup> and the body of the *DTN* ends with a paragraph, absent from V and P, in which Leontius gives his reasons for *not* including a florilegium of excerpts from the "Nestorians."<sup>320</sup> The most likely explanation for the presence of this paragraph in O is that Leontius first circulated his broadside without a florilegium, and that he later added one, either of his own manufacture or ready-made—perhaps at the time when he put together the collected edition of his works. The paragraph which appears at the end of the *DTN* in O would presumably have been deleted from this "second edition," but must have found its way back into O or its ancestor from an earlier copy.<sup>321</sup>

This raises the question of the date and circumstances of the composition of the *DTN*, and indeed of the whole "collected edition" of Leontius's works. As I have already mentioned,<sup>322</sup> the *DTN* must have been written before Justinian issued his edict against the "Three Chapters" in late 543 or 544, for Leontius acknowledges in it that "no one has condemned" Diodore or Theodore.<sup>323</sup> Since the treatise makes no mention of Theodoret of Cyrus or Ibas of Edessa, it was presumably not itself part of any propaganda campaign leading up to the edict, since their anti-Cyrrillian writings, as well as all the works of Theodore, were included in that condemnation. Even so, if we are to believe that the testimony of Liberatus, Facundus, and Evagrius that Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters was brought about by the political maneuvers of Theodore Askidas and the other Origenists—devised by them as a strategic counter-blow in the wake of Justinian's edict against Origen of 543<sup>324</sup>—then Leontius's tract fits well into the general context of that Origenist reaction. By discrediting the founders of the Antiochene school, it may also have been conceived as a way of indirectly discrediting the Roman deacon Pelagius, who had apparently supported the

<sup>319</sup> This is the tract of Maximus Confessor, *περὶ τῶν δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων* (PG 91, 145 A5–149 A19). It also appears in an eleventh-century manuscript now in the Escorial (Esc. Gr. 452 [Ψ.III.7], ff. 200–2), as a work of Leontius. Nevertheless, Maximus's authorship seems certain, both from the content and style of the tract and from its widespread inclusion in the manuscript tradition of his writings.

<sup>320</sup> p. 448, apparatus.

<sup>321</sup> That the florilegium of the *DTN* was an afterthought is also suggested by the fact that it is numbered as a new work in manuscript P, and listed separately in the table of contents at the beginning of V (which does not mention the *Epilyseis*, the *Eporēmata*, or the other two florilegia at all). This table of contents is in the hand of George Balsamon, the scribe of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, who owned V in the mid-sixteenth century; whatever his reasons were, Balsamon, like the scribe of P, must have judged that the florilegium is sufficiently detached from the body of the *DTN* to be considered a separate work.

<sup>322</sup> See pp. 5–6 above; pp. 49–50 below.

<sup>323</sup> p. 444, l. 27.

<sup>324</sup> See p. 12 above and n. 65.

anti-Origenist decree but who seems to have been, like most of his Western confrères, favorably disposed toward Antiochene Christology in general, with the exception of Nestorius.<sup>325</sup> Secondly, an attack on Theodore and his followers would have been a simple stratagem for drawing the emperor's fire away from themselves.<sup>326</sup> More important, the *DTN*'s strongly worded protests against the dangerous doctrines of other theological "revolutionaries," as well as its passing inclusion of Origen in the company of heretics, sound suspiciously like the desperate attempt of an Origenist under a cloud to assert, for readers at Justinian's court, the orthodoxy of his own opinions.

Leontius, after all, was clearly no "neo-Chalcedonian." His writings make it clear he was not part of the growing movement to interpret the Chalcedonian formulation of the Mystery of Christ in Cyrillian terms, a position that would dominate the canons of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. The main theme of his Christological writings is their insistence that the one hypostasis of Christ exists in two complete natures, neither of which functionally eliminates the other; it is a Christology inspired more by the Trinitarian language of the Cappadocians than by the language of Cyril of Alexandria—one which refuses to yield anything of the metaphysical symmetry of the Chalcedonian formula to the growing demand for a Christology centered on the Logos.<sup>327</sup> It would have been all too easy for the "neo-Chalcedonians" of Palestine and Syria, who seem to have campaigned for the anti-Origenist edict of 543, to accuse Leontius and his friends of sympathy with Nestorianism,<sup>328</sup> especially if he had been on close personal terms with Basil the Cilician or other admirers of Theodore in the late 530s. Here was "just cause" enough for Leontius to proclaim his innocence, to distance himself from his past, and to express, as strongly as he could, all his

<sup>325</sup> See above n. 58. The Latins seem to have regarded opposition to Theodore of Mopsuestia as a covert opposition to Chalcedon and Leo. The years of the Acacian Schism undoubtedly had made them sensitive to any attempt to upset the Chalcedonian terminological balance in favor of a more explicitly Cyrillian Christology. Origen, on the other hand, was doubtless still regarded with suspicion in the Roman Church, as he had been since the end of the fourth century.

<sup>326</sup> This is the thesis of Marcel Richard, who sees a number of points of correspondence—many of them perhaps rather far-fetched—between the *DTN* and Justinian's decree against Origen; cf. "Origéniste?," 48–9. Richard assumes in this article that all of Leontius's works were written after February 543, as a counter-offensive to the condemnation of Origen, and that therefore all three "books" of the collected edition are really political pamphlets, rather than honest essays in theology (ibid. 40–1, on the *CA*; 55, on the *CNE*). Richard's conception of the chronology of Leontius's works is less than clear, however. He emphasizes the apparently hasty character of the *DTN* (ibid. 43), yet he suggests that Leontius wrote the *CNE* first, to prepare himself a benevolent audience by a rather conventional refutation of Christological extremes, and supposes that he even had time to respond to ultra-Cyrrillian attacks on it in the *Epil.* and the *Epap.*, before writing the *CA* and *DTN* (ibid. 57).

<sup>327</sup> On this point, cf. Richard, "Origéniste?," 46–7, and my own "Origenism," 361–2.

<sup>328</sup> See pp. 12–14.

present misgivings about the orthodoxy of a pre-Chalcedonian form of diphysism, which seemed more radical than his own.

The most likely date, then, for a first version of the *DTN* would seem to be soon after the publication of Justinian's decree against Origen, perhaps in the spring of 543. This suggests, in turn, that the "collected edition" of Leontius's works, containing its programmatic Foreword and the three main controversial works on the person of Christ—the *CNE*, the *CA*, and the second version of the *DTN*, each now equipped with its own florilegium—will have been published shortly afterwards: between mid-543, perhaps, and Leontius's death some time in 544. Incorporating three tracts written against three different groups of opponents over perhaps a decade, and including slight editorial changes to give them the appearance of a single σύνταγμα,<sup>329</sup> the collected edition was probably published to give yet more detailed proof of Leontius's Chalcedonian orthodoxy: a Christological *tour de force*, by a strict supporter of Chalcedon's original portrait of Christ. The criticism of the Cyrillian formula, μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, favoured by "neo-Chalcedonians" as well as by Severans, in *CNE* 1,<sup>330</sup> and the attack on the doctrine of Christ's human incorruptibility in the *CA*, might also have had an added value now, as an indirect riposte against Ephrem of Amida, a "neo-Chalcedonian" leader who had had a hand in the condemnation of Origen. As for the *Epilyseis* and the *Epaporēmata*, the "collected edition" may have included them from the start as appendices to the *CNE*, but the fact that the Foreword does not mention them makes it seem more likely that they were occasional works, written in the 530s and inserted into their present place by an editor at a later date.

### 6. *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*

The sixth and last work in the corpus of Leontius's writings bears the title, "Against those who Present us with Certain Works of Apollinarius, Falsely Ascribed to the Name of the Holy Fathers (πρὸς τοὺς προφέροντας ἡμῖν τινα τῶν Ἀπολιναρίου, ψεύδως ἐπιγεγραμμένα εἰς ὄνομα τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων)." It appears only in manuscript V, after the florilegium of the *DTN*, and is therefore even less likely than the *Epil.* and the *Epap.* to have been included by Leontius in his "collected edition." The *AFA* is not really a theological treatise, but a florilegium of excerpts from Apollinarius of Laodicea and two of his disciples. Leontius's own contribution is no more than a paragraph of introduction,<sup>331</sup> a brief comment in the middle of the collection,<sup>332</sup> and a few more comments at the end.<sup>333</sup> The purpose of the collection, as he makes clear,<sup>334</sup>

<sup>329</sup> See p. 122, l. 1. <sup>330</sup> p. 130, l. 18–p. 132, l. 17.

<sup>332</sup> p. 558, ll. 12–27. <sup>333</sup> p. 568, l. 6–p. 570, l. 4.

<sup>334</sup> p. 526, ll. 1–17; p. 558, *Scholion* Leontii 1–9.

<sup>331</sup> p. 526, ll. 1–14.

is to provide documentary proof that many of the quotations from Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, or Julius of Rome which the "monophysites" produce to support their arguments for a highly unified view of Christ are in fact the work of Apollinarius. The whole book has a much more informal character than any of the other works of Leontius: the fact that it is addressed to a single, unnamed person,<sup>335</sup> and the absence of the kind of rhetorical beginning and end that we find in his other works, suggests that it may be a private dossier, compiled for the use of a friend, rather than a work intended for publication.

Doubts have been raised in the past about whether the *AFA* is actually Leontius's work at all. Friedrich Loofs, who thought that the author's identity must remain an open question, advanced three main arguments against Leontius's authorship:<sup>336</sup> (a) Leontius includes a quotation from Ps.-Julius, *De Unione*, as Test. 32 in the florilegium of the *CNE*, while the *AFA* sets out to show, among other things, that many of the works circulating under Julius's name are Apollinarian forgeries; (b) there is no suggestion in any other works of Leontius that he was aware of these forgeries; (c) the compiler of the *AFA* refers to monophysites as ἀποσχίσται,<sup>337</sup> an epithet not used by Leontius in the other treatises. Assertion (c), however, is surely inconclusive; ἀποσχίστης was probably just as common an epithet for monophysites as ἀκέφαλος, yet he also uses that title in only one context.<sup>338</sup> Assertion (b) is not quite true. In *DTN* 41, Leontius says that Apollinarius had boasted of letters written to him by Serapion, Athanasius, and other illustrious persons;<sup>339</sup> while he could have known of this second-hand, it seems more probable that he is relying here on his own knowledge of the forgeries—more precisely, on the two testimonia in the *AFA* where Apollinarius makes just this claim.<sup>340</sup> The lack of references to the forgeries in the rest of Leontius's work is probably due to nothing more than the fact that he normally concerns himself with the arguments of his opponents rather than with their documentation. Loofs's assertion (a) is perhaps a more serious argument against Leontius's authorship, but is also hardly conclusive. The two extracts from the *De Unione* contained in the *AFA*,<sup>341</sup> as well as the passage cited in the *CNE*, are all given without exact titles, so there is no way of knowing whether Leontius realized they came from the same pseudonymous work. Further, he cites the extract in the *CNE* as one used by Cyril of Alexandria

<sup>335</sup> σοι: p. 526, l. 12. <sup>336</sup> Leontius von Byzanz, 90–2.

<sup>337</sup> p. 558, *Scholion* Leontii, l. 16.

<sup>338</sup> As the title of his Severan interlocutor in the *Epilyseis*. For examples of the popular use of ἀποσχίσται and ἀκέφαλοι for the monophysites in the mid-sixth century, see the acclamations of the crowd at the Synod of Tyre (518), in ACO III, 86–90; Theodore Lector, *Hist. Eccl.* 2, 26 (PG 86, 197 A6); Cyril of Skythopolis, VS 55: 147, ll. 14–15; VE 30: 47, l. 7.

<sup>339</sup> p. 438, ll. 13–17.

<sup>340</sup> *AFA* 1, 3 (p. 528, ll. 4–5); 3 (p. 560, ll. 6–8).

<sup>341</sup> 2, 2 and 3, from Timothy of Berytus's πρὸς Ὀμόνιον (p. 544, l. 28–p. 546, l. 9).

"in the synod held under his leadership (ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν συνόδῳ)."<sup>342</sup> Even if Leontius may have had his own doubts about the authenticity of works appearing under Julius's name, he was understandably happy to use against the Severans a text which he believed to have Cyril's authority behind it, especially since—in the form in which he gives it—it favors his own diphysite cause.<sup>343</sup>

There seems to be no good reason, then, not to accept the AFA as a work of Leontius, even if it is a less finished work than the other five. The text offers no hint of the date of its composition.<sup>344</sup> It is tempting, however, to see it as a dossier Leontius may have produced for the use of Hypatius of Ephesus and the Chalcedonian side in the conversations of 532. It had been known for some time that many of the patristic proof-texts used by the Severans in their criticisms of Chalcedon were pseudepigrapha;<sup>345</sup> Innocent of Maroneia tells us

<sup>342</sup> p. 210, Test. 32, ll. 6–7. It is not clear where Leontius has acquired this information; there is no evidence, however, that Cyril made use of this text at Ephesus, as the rubric might suggest (cp. the title of Test. 37, p. 214, ll. 6–7).

<sup>343</sup> Leontius's version is, in fact, a slightly doctored one; see the apparatus ad loc.

<sup>344</sup> Loofs (*Leontius von Byzanz*, 91) argued for a date between 511 and 520, mainly because of a reference in the work to bishop Andrew of Sidon as *θεοφιλέστατος* (p. 560, l. 3). Andrew, otherwise unknown, is listed as a participant in the anti-Severan Synod of Tyre, held in 518; he can hardly have been bishop when Severus himself held a Synod at Sidon in 511, so that he must have been appointed some time between 511 and 518. Now the epithet *θεοφιλέστατος*, according to Loofs, suggests that Andrew was still alive at the time the AFA was compiled, since one would expect a dead bishop, he says, to be called *μακάριος* instead. And Loofs wants to exclude a date much later than 520 for the AFA, on the ground that the work makes no explicit reference to Severus and his party, who became "controversial" only after the accession of the Emperor Justin in 518. These arguments are less than convincing, however. Nothing is known of the date of Andrew of Sidon's death, and the epithet *θεοφιλέστατος* is, in fact, frequently used for the deceased by patristic writers (cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 642). The AFA scarcely has room for references to Severus, since it is simply an Apollinarian florilegium; in any case, as I have already said, it seems to have been written more as a private dossier than as a work of public controversy.

<sup>345</sup> The first sign of an awareness of the forgeries is the charge in the letter of some Chalcedonian monks in Palestine to Bishop Alcison of Nicopolis (d. 516), that the Severan party *λόγους Πατέρων πολλοὺς νενοθεύκασιν, πολλοὺς δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου λόγους Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Θαυματουργῷ καὶ Τουλίῳ διὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν ἀνατεθείκασιν* (quoted by Evagrius, *Hist. Ecc.* III, 31; ed. Bidez–Parmentier, 129, ll. 11–14). According to Leontius of Jerusalem, John of Skythopolis (the first commentator on the Dionysian corpus; active, as we have seen, in the 520s and 530s: cf. pp. 22–3), was *φιλοπονήσας ἐν τοῖς παλαιότατοις Ἀπολιναρίου συγγράμμασιν*, and both he and "the Romans" authoritatively denied the authenticity of a certain work ascribed to Pope Julius (*Ctr. Mon.*, 1865 B13–C3); cf. also the excerpt from John's work against Severus quoted by the Sixth Council (Mansi XI, 440 A7–10; ACO ser. II; 2/1, 366.19–368.2). Justinian, too, advanced arguments against the authenticity of the letters ascribed to Julius and Athanasius (*Ctr. Mon.* 86; ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians* [=Abh. der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., NF 18: Munich, 1939], 21, ll. 6–22; PG 86, 1128 B3–C16), and says it is "not unknown to any right-thinking person" that these are forgeries (ibid. 77; ed. Schwartz, 19, ll. 9–10; PG 86, 1125 D–D4; cf. 70–6; ed. Schwartz, 18, l. 16–19, l. 7; PG 86, 1124 D5–1125 C15). On the monophysite side, Severus himself was sharply on the watch for textual errors and wrong attributions; cf., for example, *Contra Impium Grammaticum* III, 37: CSCO IV, 6 (Paris, 1933) 233, l. 19–234, l. 1; tr. 171, l. 26–172, l. 1; ibid. 39: 243, l. 14–253, l. 28; tr. 179, l. 11–186, l. 31.

that Hypatius reminded his opponents of this during the *collatio*, and that he therefore questioned the authenticity of a number of the authorities they put forward for the *μία φύσις* formula, including texts ascribed to Cyril, Athanasius, Popes Felix and Julius, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, as well as the new-found works of Dionysius the Areopagite.<sup>346</sup> Since Leontius seems to have been present at those conversations as part of the pro-Chalcedonian delegation, he may well have been commissioned to provide Hypatius with documentary proof for these allegations, and may have compiled the AFA as a result.

## 7. The Fragments

There is no strong evidence that Leontius of Byzantium wrote anything besides the six works I have discussed. Loofs's elaborately defended hypothesis that *τὰ Λεόντια* originally also included a vast, systematic treatise known as the *Scholia*, of which only a heavily reworked section—now the *De Sectis*—and a few other isolated fragments, including two of those edited here, remain, was decisively refuted by J. P. Junglas early in this century.<sup>347</sup> Junglas and more recently Richard<sup>348</sup> have shown that the *De Sectis* is a somewhat later work, dependent on the writings of Leontius for some aspects of its Christology but significantly different in others. As for the fragments in question, Loofs was relying mainly on two short texts which appear at the end of a Byzantine collection of extracts from Leontius, which I have called the "*Excerpta Leontina*."<sup>349</sup> Unlike the rest of the texts in that collection, the last two do not correspond to any passages in Leontius's six extant works, and Loofs saw in them proof that Leontius had written more. Junglas discovered, however, that both of them are paraphrases—the second close, the first more distant—of passages in the commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* by Leontius's contemporary, Ammonius Hermeiou.<sup>350</sup> Since all the extracts in the *Excerpta Leontina* are of a technical or dialectical character, and since the *Excerpta* themselves usually appear in manuscripts containing logical and scientific works, one can easily suppose that these two short paraphrases of Ammonius may have found their way, by ■ scribe's confusion, into a collection of excerpts from Leontius's rather

<sup>346</sup> *Epistula ad Thomam Presbyterum*, ACO IV, 172, l. 7–173, l. 16.

<sup>347</sup> *Leontius von Byzanz. Studien zu seinen Schriften, Quellen und Anschauungen* (Diss. Breslau, 1907; = *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte* VII, 3 (Paderborn, 1908)), 5–15.

<sup>348</sup> "Le Traité 'De Sectis'": cf. n. 93.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. pp. 84–91; for the text, cf. pp. 578–84, esp. p. 538, l. 15–p. 584, l. 3.

<sup>350</sup> Junglas 14. Fragment 18 of the *Excerpta* loosely corresponds to several scattered sentences in Ammonius Hermias, *In Porph. Isagogen* 1, 3 (ed. A. Busse, 32, l. 2–33, l. 16); Fragment 19 is part of a single sentence from Ammonius's *Prooemium*: ibid. 21, ll. 8–9.

technical discussion of the structure of the person of Christ. There seems little reason for seeing these two short paraphrases as the work of Leontius himself; I have, however, included them below as *Fragmenta Incerta* 1 and 2.

Three other short passages,<sup>351</sup> without strict parallel in the known works of Leontius, are ascribed to him by the twelfth-century historian Nicetas Choniates in book 10 of his *Thesaurus Orthodoxiae*. This large Byzantine compendium—not yet completely published, let alone critically edited—is usually regarded as simply an expanded edition of Euthymius Zigabenus's *Panoplia Dogmatica*, which had been written a century earlier.<sup>352</sup> Both of these works are essentially florilegia of patristic and Byzantine texts, arranged in handbook form to be used against various heresies. In the section dealing with “monophysitism” (book 10), Nicetas reproduces Euthymius's selection from the *Epaporēmata* of Leontius (adding chapter 13, which Euthymius—in the Migne text, at least—omits). Immediately afterwards, Nicetas adds, under the heading *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, the three short texts I have included below as *Fragmenta Incerta* 3–5. The first two have some verbal similarities with two of the *Epaporēmata* Nicetas has quoted before, but I have not been able to identify the third. The ascription of these texts to Leontius is anything but certain, especially since both Euthymius and Nicetas regard Leontius also as the author of the fragments of the *De Sectis* included in their handbooks. I have thought it best simply to give the text of these three passages as they appear in the thirteenth-century Oxford manuscript of the *Thesaurus*, Thomas Roe 22.

## B. The Florilegia

Florilegia, or anthologies of brief, relevant passages from earlier, classic Christian writers, came into common use as a support for controversial writings and conciliar statements in the fifth century. Marcel Richard observed that the “second generation” of patristic Christological florilegia—those of the first half of the sixth century—seem not to be drawn from original texts, as their fifth-century predecessors probably were, but rather seem to depend on earlier florilegia, most now lost, but at that time apparently in common use.<sup>353</sup> For diphysite writers, Richard suggested, the main source may have been one or several “underground” collections of proof-texts, drawn up in defense of the doctrine of Chalcedon

<sup>351</sup> p. 574, l. 12–p. 576, l. 6.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 663–4.

<sup>353</sup> “Notes sur les florilèges dogmatiques du V<sup>e</sup> et du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Paris, 1950), 312–13 (= *Opera Minora* I, no. 2); “Les Florilèges diphysites du V<sup>e</sup> et du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, 729–33 (= *Opera Minora* I, no. 3).

during the period when the emperors were trying to impose acceptance of Zeno's *Henōtikon* (482–518), a time when it might have been dangerous to possess a copy of Theodoret's *Eranistēs* or Leo's two *Tomes*.

My own study of the relationships between Leontius's four florilegia and similar collections, both earlier and later, has, in general, shown Richard's thesis to be well founded. I have tried to collate each of Leontius's extracts both against the original text of the author, where available, and against all other available instances of the same text, complete or partial, in patristic and Byzantine florilegia up to the end of the twelfth century. Though such a comparative study must obviously remain very imperfect because so many of these florilegia are as yet incompletely published or imperfectly edited, still it does present striking evidence that Leontius, his contemporaries, and a number of later authors relied heavily on a few constantly evolving collections of testimonia to substantiate their theological positions. Despite his own claims to have selected these texts personally from the works of earlier authors, it seems clear that Leontius's florilegia—at least those for the *CNE* and the *DTN*—are largely second-hand.

## 1. The CNE

The florilegium of the *CNE* falls into three sections, each of which is briefly introduced by Leontius. Testmonia 1–7, taken from Basil of Caesaraea and Gregory Nazianzen, are simply meant to provide authorities for Leontius's definitions of φύσις and οὐσία, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον.<sup>354</sup> Test. 8 and 9 seem to be out of place, and would fit most appropriately between Test. 60 and 61.<sup>355</sup> In Test. 10–63, Leontius then presents a selection of texts meant to show more broadly the “mind of the divinely wise”<sup>356</sup> on the subject of the two natures and one hypostasis in Christ. This series runs in chronological order from (Ps.-) Justin Martyr to Isidore of Pelusium, and includes translations from Hilary,<sup>357</sup> Ambrose,<sup>358</sup> and Augustine,<sup>359</sup> as well as passages from many Greek Fathers. Test. 64–88, finally, are all texts from Cyril of Alexandria<sup>360</sup> which support the diphysite position.

A glance at the parallel uses of these texts by other authors, which I have cited in the apparatus (or at Appendix IV, Chart No. 1), shows a number of striking

<sup>354</sup> p. 178, ll. 19–26; p. 186, *Scholion Leontii*, ll. 8–20.

<sup>355</sup> This is suggested, too, by the sentence of Leontius which follows Test. 9 (p. 188, ll. 11–12), and which would come more appropriately at the end of his scholion after Test. 1–7 (p. 186).

<sup>356</sup> p. 178, l. 28      <sup>357</sup> Test. 33–6.      <sup>358</sup> Test. 37–42.      <sup>359</sup> Test. 49–50.

<sup>360</sup> The only exceptions are Test. 72–3, two excerpts from homilies preached in Alexandria in 433 by the Antiochene emissary, Paul of Emesa, in Cyril's presence. Both of these, however, along with Cyril's approving response (cf. Test. 74), come from the collection of the *Cyrrilliana* included in the *Acta* of Ephesus.



coincidences, both in the extent and even in the verbal form of the testimonia which are used. In the first section of this florilegium (Test. 1–6) Leontius seems to be using a source also used by Maximus Confessor in his Epistle 15, by the seventh-century collection known as the *Doctrina Patrum* (section 6), and by the twelfth-century controversialist Theorian. Test. 1–3 seem also to have been accessible, in the same or slightly longer form, to Severus, when writing the *Contra Impium Grammaticum*, and to the late-sixth-century writer Pamphilus. Test. 7, on the other hand, from Gregory Nazianzen's first Epistle to Cledonius, is part of a very famous passage, which appears again, cited at greater length, as Test. 56 of the *DTN*; the lack of close parallels in textual extent to Test. 7 suggests that Leontius added the passage himself, from a work he probably knew well,<sup>361</sup> to cap the ready-made series of testimonia he had used as Test. 1–6.

The picture is a good deal more complicated for the remaining sections of the florilegium, which Leontius probably derived from a single diphysite collection. Although there are similarities between these two sections and the main diphysite florilegia in use at the time of Chalcedon (those in Theodoret's *Eranistēs* and Leo's two *Tomes*, as well as the florilegium of the Council's *Allocutio ad Marcianum*), these echoes are, as Richard observed,<sup>362</sup> mainly confined to the texts translated from the Latin (Test. 33–7, 41–2, and 49–50). Leontius's Test. 24, 43, and 53, which also have parallels in two or more of these florilegia, all differ textually to such a significant degree from their earlier Chalcedonian counterparts that they cannot be derived from them. If Leontius does depend on mid-fifth-century florilegia for his texts from the Western Fathers, it is undoubtedly through some intermediate Greek source.<sup>363</sup> The same thing seems to be true of his relationship to later fifth-century collections, assembled both to support and to oppose the Chalcedonian definition. Of the four exact textual coincidences between the *CNE*'s dossier and the two "monophysite" florilegia in cod. Vat. Gr. 1431,<sup>364</sup> three also coincide with parallels in Theodoret or the Council of Chalcedon; and three of the five Cyrillian texts which Leontius could be dependent on for these two florilegia appear also in the diphysite collection of excerpts from Cyril which Severus criticized in his *Philalēthēs*.<sup>365</sup> The same

<sup>361</sup> Cf. *Epap.* 11–13; p. 318, ll. 6–18.

<sup>362</sup> "Les Florilèges diphysites," 730.

<sup>363</sup> It is interesting to note that when Leontius's testimonia do correspond to texts in the *Eranistēs*, the relationship is closest textually to manuscript J of Theodoret (cf. Test. 34, ll. 3–4, 8, 9; Test. 49, l. 13 and Title; Test. 71, p. 248, l. 1). Perhaps this indicates contamination with later florilegia, such as Leontius's or his direct sources, in the tradition of that manuscript.

<sup>364</sup> Nos. 65 and 66 in the collection edited by E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431: eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (= Abh. der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss. XXXII, 6 (Munich, 1927)), 28–49.

<sup>365</sup> R. Hespel, *Le Florilège de Cyrille réfuté par Sévère d'Antioche* (Bibl. du Muséon, 37: Louvain, 1955).

passages from classical authors could be used, it seems, in support of contrasting positions.

When we turn to florilegia more or less contemporary with Leontius, however, the number of parallels rises significantly. Among the texts of John of Caesarea's pro-Chalcedonian florilegium, cited by Severus in his treatise *Contra Impium Grammaticum*, six, perhaps seven,<sup>366</sup> correspond exactly with texts used by Leontius; three further texts of John's collection, only mentioned by Severus, may also be exact counterparts of texts in the *CNE*, and three others present slightly longer excerpts from which Leontius's may be derived. In florilegia of three of the works of Ephrem of Amida summarized by Photius,<sup>367</sup> there are eight exact and two possible correspondences to texts in the *CNE*. In Justinian's treatise *Contra Monophysitas* and his *Confessio Rectae Fidae*, we find five exact correspondences and thirteen longer versions of texts used by Leontius. Leontius of Jerusalem's *Contra Monophysitas*, which shows, in its long florilegium, only four exact correspondences to that of the *CNE*, contains three longer and thirty-six shorter extracts from passages used by Leontius. In the case of John of Caesarea, Justinian, and Leontius of Jerusalem, at least, the presence of both longer and shorter versions of texts used by Leontius of Byzantium—as well as occasional textual variation—rules out a direct dependence of these authors on each other; but it seems clear that all these contemporaries must have been using the same source-book.

Of later florilegia, only those contained in Actio 9 of the *De Sectis*, in *Antirrhetica* II and IV of the ninth-century Patriarch Nicephorus, and in two anonymous collections now in Venice<sup>368</sup> and in Moscow,<sup>369</sup> show signs of direct dependence on Leontius. Anastasius of Sinai's florilegium at the end of book 10 of his *Hodegos*, which seems clearly to be related to Leontius's source, presents many of the same texts in an altered and much abbreviated form; there is little evidence, however, that he derives them directly from the *CNE*. The great collection known as the *Doctrina Patrum*—on which John of Damascus's

<sup>366</sup> Cf. John of Caesarea, *Apol. Conc. Chalc.* (ed. M. Richard, CCG 1), Frag. 59, p. 25, and the note of Richard ad loc.

<sup>367</sup> These works are Ephrem's defense of Cyril's second letter to Succensus, his defense of Chalcedon addressed to the monks Domnus and John, and his treatise *Ad Orientis Monachos*: all summarized by Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 229 (ed. R. Henry IV, 126–74; PG 103, 969–1024).

<sup>368</sup> Cod. Marc. Gr. Z 573, ff. 30<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>, with nine exact correspondences to the florilegium of the *CNE* and five shorter versions of the same texts.

<sup>369</sup> Cod. Lenin Gr. 131 (Fund. 339), ff. 15<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>, with thirty-four exact correspondences and ten shorter versions of the same texts. Of the two testimonia in this manuscript which show longer versions of passages quoted by Leontius, one at least (the parallel to *CNE*, Test. 55) may be derived from John of Caesarea. Fully half of the 106 texts in this florilegium are apparently derived from Leontius's *CNE* and *CA*.

florilegium in the *Contra Iacobitas* apparently depends<sup>370</sup>—seems, again, to be drawing on Leontius's source rather than on Leontius himself.<sup>371</sup> The same can be said of the so-called *Libellus Fidei* attributed to John Maron, which seems to date from the mid-seventh century.<sup>372</sup> The correspondences between testimonia cited by Euthymius Zigabenus and those of the *CNE* are probably explained by Euthymius's apparent dependence on the *Doctrina Patrum*;<sup>373</sup> the florilegium used by Theorian in composing his *Orthodoxi Disputatio I cum Armeniorum Catholico*<sup>374</sup> seems also to be most closely related to the *Doctrina* and to *De Sectis* 9, although Diekamp has ruled out a direct dependence of this work on the *Doctrina* in its present form.<sup>375</sup>

Besides its importance as a witness to the list of authorities Chalcedonian writers relied on during the first half of the sixth century, the florilegium of the *CNE* is itself immensely precious as a source. Nineteen of its eighty-eight testimonia are not found in their full extent in any earlier Greek source known to us,<sup>376</sup> and one fragment of Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on Hebrews*—Leontius's Test. 78—has until now only been found here.

The full contents of the florilegium of the *CNE* are as follows:

1. Basil of Caesarea, Ep. 214, *ad Terentium Comitem* (ed. Y. Courtonne, II, 205–6, ll. 6–22; PG 32, 789 A12–B14): εἰ δὲ δεῖ ... κηρύττῃται.
2. id., Ep. 236, *ad Amphiloichium Episcopum* (ed. Y. Courtonne, III, 53, ll. 1–3; PG 32, 884, A8–10): οὐσία δὲ καὶ ... ἄνθρωπον.
3. ibid. (ed. Y. Courtonne, III, 53, ll. 22–3; PG 32, 884, C2–4): οἱ δὲ ... διάφορα.
4. id., Ep. 125, *Professio Fidei Eustathii* (ed. Y. Courtonne, II, 31, ll. 16–25; PG 32, 545 C5–D1): προσήκει ... εἰληφέναι.
5. Gregory of Nazianzen, Orat. 42 (ed. J. Bernardi, SC 384, 84, ll. 10–11; PG 36, 476 C11–13): πιστεύομεν ... ὁμόδοξα.
6. ibid. (ed. J. Bernardi, 84, ll. 14–17; PG 36, 477 A3–6): τὸ μὲν ... ἀσχημονεῖτῶσαν.

<sup>370</sup> So Diekamp, lxix. Damascene is also dependent on the *Doctrina* for the extract from Leontius's *Epilyseis* which he cites in the *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως* I, 65 (PG 94, 660 B4–C6; = *Doctr. Patr.* 28, I [198, l. 24–199, l. 12]; *Epil.* 7 [288, l. 27–290, l. 10]). Cf. Diekamp's remarks, lxvi–lxviii.

<sup>371</sup> Fourteen testimonia in the *CNE* correspond exactly with texts in the *Doctrina*; another fourteen texts in the *Doctrina* are longer extracts from the same passages, and a further thirteen are shorter.

<sup>372</sup> Ed. M. Breydy, CSCO 497–8; tr. F. Nau, ROC 4 (1899), 188–219. On the date and the origin of this pseudepigraphic work, see Nau's comments, ibid. 180–5. Six texts here correspond exactly in extent with texts in the *CNE*; four are shorter and two are longer. This work exists today only in Syriac, the complete text of which has not yet been published.

<sup>373</sup> Diekamp, lxxv–lxvi.

<sup>374</sup> PG 133, 120–212.

<sup>375</sup> Diekamp, lxxvi–lxxviii.

<sup>376</sup> These are Test. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 45, 47, 48, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 70, and 78.

7. id., Ep. 101, *Ad Cledonium* I (ed. P. Gallay, 44, l. 6–46, l. 2; PG 37, 180 A6–B3): φύσεις ... θεότητι.
8. Proclus of Constantinople, *Sermon on the Nativity* (cf. C. Martin, *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 46, ll. 7–13): ὁ αὐτὸς ... ἐνωσάσης.
9. Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. I, 360 (PG 78, 388 A7–14): ἄρτος ... ὑπόστασιν.
10. Ps.-Justin (Theodoret), *Expositio Rectae Confessionis* 10 (ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corp. Apol. IV, 34, 381 B5–C7; PG 6, 1223 C4–15): τότε ... ἐπλήρωσεν.
11. ibid. (ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corp. Apol. IV, 36, 382 A1–8; PG 6, 1225 A6–14): ὅταν ... ὁμολογήσεις.
12. ibid. 11 (ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corp. Apol. IV, 38–40, 382 C6–D3; PG 6, 1225 B14–C6): ὥσπερ ... παρεδέχετο.
13. ibid. 12 (ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corp. Apol. IV, 46–50, 385 A5–C6; PG 6 1229 C8–1232 A13): ὥσπερ ... γνωρίσειεν.
14. Ps.-Irenaeus, Frag. 8 (Hippolytus, *De Libro Primo Regum, Quae de Helcana et Samuele*) (ed. W. Harvey, *Adv. Haer.* II, 479; PG 7, 1233 A13–18): ὥσπερ ... ἐπιδειχθῇ.
15. Hippolytus, *De Benedictione Balaam*, Frag. (GCS I, 2, 82): ἵνα δειχθῇ ... μεσίστης.
16. Peter of Alexandria, *De Adventu Salvatoris Nostri*, Frag. (PG 18, 521 C2–6): καὶ τῷ Ἰούδα ... φύσει.
17. Cyriacus (Cyril?) of Paphos, Frag.: ὅς ἐν μορφῇ ... μητρός.
18. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* III, 29 (PG 26, 385 A8–14): σκοπὸς ... γέγονεν.
19. id. (?), *Contra Apollinarem* I, 7 (PG 26, 1105 A14–B5): αὐτὸς δὲ ... ἐπιδειξάμενος.
20. ibid. I, 16 (PG 26, 1121 C15–1124 A7): καὶ οὕτως ... ὁ αὐτός.
21. Basil, *Adv. Eunomium* I, 18 (ed. B. Sesboüé and G. M. de Durand, SC 299, 236.9–16; PG 29, 552 C7–553 A2): ἐγὼ γὰρ ... ἰδιότητα.
22. Ps.-Basil, *Adv. Eunomium* IV (? Didymus, *De Dogmatibus et Contra Arianos* I) (PG 29, 704 C5–9): λήπτεον ... λογιζόμεθα.
23. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 2, 23 (ed. J. Bernardi, SC 247, 120. 1–5; PG 35, 432 B15–C2): τοῦτο ... ἀμφοτέρα.
24. id., Orat. 38, 15 (ed. J. Bernardi, SC 358, 138. 1–3; PG 36, 328 C11–14): ἀπεστάλη ... φύσεως.
25. id., Orat. 30, 7–8 (ed. J. Bernardi, SC 250, 240.16–242.13; PG 36, 113 A6–B10): ταῦτα ... συνόδω.
26. id., Ep. 101, *ad Cledonium* I (ed. P. Gallay, 48, ll. 15–20; PG 37, 181 C2–7): ὡς καὶ τὸ ... συμφυίας.
27. Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Apollinarem* 40 (ed. F. Moeller, GNO III/1, 195. 27–196. 5; PG 45, 1213 D5–1216 A9): εἰ οὖν φυσικὸν ... εἰσίν.

28. id., *Contra Eunomium* III, 1, 92 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 35, ll. 12–19; PG 45, 597 B11–C5): τὸν γὰρ μεσίτην ... φύσει.
29. ibid. III, 3, 66 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 131, ll. 6–13; PG 45, 705 C10–D3): ποία ... τιμῇ.
30. ibid. III, 4, 13 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 138, ll. 3–6; PG 45, 716 A10–12): πανταχοῦ ... καθορᾶ.
31. ibid. III, 4, 14 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 139, ll. 3–6; PG 45, 716 B9–13): ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ ... οἰκονομία.
32. Ps.-Julius of Rome (Apollinarius), *De Unione* 17 (ed. H. Lietzmann 192, l. 14–193, l. 2): ὁθεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ... ἀγνοήσῃ.
33. Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate* IX, 3 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 373, 6–7; PL 10, 282 B10–12): οὐκ οἶδεν ... ἐπίσταται.
34. ibid. (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 374, 12–19; PL 10, 283 A2–14): ταῦτα ... ἐστίν.
35. ibid. 11 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 382, 20; PL 10, 290 B11): ὁρᾶς ... ὁμολογεῖσθαι.
36. ibid. 11 and 14 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 383, 26–8; 385, 1–4; PL 10, 290 C2–291 A2; 292 B5–9): καὶ ἐπειδήπερ ... μορφῇ.
37. Ambrose, *De Fide ad Gratianum* II, 9, 77 (CSEL 78, 84–5, ll. 32–8; PL 16, 576 B13–C5): φυλάξωμεν ... ἐφθέγγετο.
38. ibid. III, 4, 28 (CSEL 78, 118, ll. 16–20; PL 16, 595 B14–C3): ἀλλὰ πῶς ... θεότης.
39. id., *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento* 5, 35 (CSEL 79, 240, ll. 8–12; PL 16, 827 C3–7): πλὴν ... σώματος.
40. ibid. 5, 35–6 (CSEL 79, 241, ll. 17–20; PL 16, 827 C14–D3): ἐστὶν ... θεότητι.
41. id., Ep. 39(46), *ad Sabinum*, 6 (ed. M. Zelzer, CSEL 82/10/2, 31, 79–83; PL 16, 1147 B15–C4): οὐκοῦν ... τυγχάνη.
42. id. (?), *Expositio Fidei*, Frag.: τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ... ἐκκλησία.
43. Amphilochius of Iconium, Frag. 12 (PG 39, 109 A3–6): διάκρινον ... Θεῷ.
44. id., Ep. *Ad Seleucum*, Frag. II B1–5 (ed. F. Cavallera, RHE 8 (1907), 489: ὡς τε τὴν ... περιγραφομένης.
45. ibid., Frag. II D–E2 (ed. Cavallera, 489–90): ὁ Χριστὸς ... θείαν.
46. ibid., Frag. II E7–8 (ed. Cavallera, 490): οἰκειοῦνται ... φύσεις.
47. Gelasius of Caesarea, Frag. 4 (ed. F. Diekamp, *Anal. Patr.* 45, ll. 9–23): ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ... ἡμᾶς.
48. id., Frag. 6 (ed. Diekamp 46, ll. 8–12): ἡμεῖς ... θεοῦ.
49. Augustine, Ep. 137, *ad Volusianum*, 9 (CSEL 44, 108, ll. 13–15; PL 33, 519): νῦν δὲ οὕτω ... φύσιν.
50. id., *Tractatus in Joannem* 78, 3 (CCL 36, 524, ll. 4–8; PL 35, 1836): ἐπίγνωθι ... Θεός.

51. John Chrysostom, *In Phil. Hom.* VI, 2 (PG 62, 219, l. 60–220, l. 5): ἐπειδὴ ... Θεοῦ.
52. id., *In I Tim.* Hom VII (PG 62, 537, ll. 2–7): ἐπειδὴ ... Θεὸς ἦν.
53. id., *In Ascensionem D.N.J.C.* 2 (PG 50, 445, ll. 21–8): ποιεῖ ... κατήλλαξεν.
54. Ephrem Graecus, *Sermo adv. Haereticos seu de Margarita* (ed. J. Assemani II, 263 E6–F7): τῶν δύο φύσεων ... Χριστός.
55. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* IV, 9 (ed. W.K. Reischl and J. Rupp I, 100, ll. 5–6; PG 33, 468 A5–7): διπλοῦς ... φαινόμενον.
56. Flavian of Antioch, Frag. 6 (ed. F. Cavallera, 107): τίς ὡς ἀληθῶς ... φύσεως.
57. id., Frag. 5 (ed. F. Cavallera, 107): ἔδειξε ... θεότητα.
58. Antiochus of Ptolemais, Frag. (C. Martin, *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 56, l. 27–57, l. 2): μὴ συγχέης ... ἀνθρωπότητι.
59. Proclus of Constantinople, Frag.: καὶ τὰς φύσεις ... θεολόγησον.
60. id., *Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Constantinopli* 3 (PG 65, 664 A 1–8): εἰ μὴ παρθένος ... Θεός μου.
61. Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. I, 405, *Theodosio Diacono* (PG 78, 409 A3–7): οὐκ ἔστι φυσικὰς ... Υἱός.
62. id., Ep. I, 102, *Timotheo Lectori* (PG 78, 252 C12–D4): πάση φυλακῇ ... ἐσπούδασεν.
63. id., Ep. I, 323, *Cyrillo Archiepiscopo* (PG 78, 369 B5–12): ὅτι δὲ ... ἐμβατεύσαντος.
- 63a (only in V). id., Ep. I, 303, *ad Leandrum* (PG 78, 357 C6–360 A2): ἡ φύσις ... ἐσμέν.
64. Cyril of Alexandria, *De Trinitate* I (PG 75, 680 B5–11): ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱερός ... ἀμαρτίας.
65. ibid. (PG 75, 681 C13–D1): διττὸς ... ἀνθρώπινα.
66. id., Ep. 40, *ad Acacium*, 15 (ACO I, 1, 4, 27, ll. 12–15; PG 77, 193 D6–196 A3): οἱ δὲ κατὰ ... φασίν.
67. id., *Contra Nestorium* II, 14, 2 (ACO I, 1, 6, 52, ll. 30–4; PG 76, 109 C10–D1): εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπον ... φάγεσαι.
68. id., Ep. 45, *ad Succensum* I, 7 (ACO I, 1, 6, 153, l. 23–154, l. 11; PG 77, 232 D10–233 B1): οὐκοῦν ... σάρκα.
69. id., *Quod Unus Sit Christus* (ed. G. M. de Durand, 372, ll. 36–42; PG 75, 1289 C14–D5): ἄρ' οὖν ... ἀμήχανον γάρ.
70. id., *In Hebr. II*: Frag.: καὶ οὐ δὴ ... Παρθένον ναῶ.
71. id., *Scholia* 13 (ACO I, 5, 22, ll. 31–3; PG 75, 1385 C1–5): οὐ διορίσκειον ... αὐτάς.
72. Paul of Emesa, *Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Alexandriae* I (ACO I, 1, 4, 11, ll. 7–10; PG 77, 1437 A9–14): εὐθέως ... πρόσωπον.
73. id., *Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Alexandriae* II (ACO I, 1, 4, 13, ll. 17–21; PG 77, 1441 B3–13): Ἡσαΐας ... ἀπαθής.

74. Cyril of Alexandria, *Responsio ad Sermonem II Pauli Emeseni* (ACO I, 1, 4, 15, ll. 1–3; PG 77, 989 C2–6): ἰδοὺ ... μυστήριον.
75. id., *Contra Nestorium* III, 2 (ACO I, 1, 6, 60, l. 39–61, l. 2; PG 76, 129 D7–132 A2): οὐ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε ... Ἐμμανουήλ.
76. id., *Glaphyra in Leviticum* 4 (PG 69, 576 B1–12): ὅλον δὲ πάλιν ... καθάρᾳ.
77. id., *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate* II (PG 68, 213 B14–C2): Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς νόμου ... Χριστός.
78. id., *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, Frag.: ὅρα τοίνυν ... θεϊκῶς.
79. id., *Thesaurus* 24 (PG 75, 393 C1–3): ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ... συναμφοτέρων.
80. id., *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate* IX (PG 68, 637 A7–B2): χρυσῇ ... βάσιν.
81. id., *Sermo de Fide*, Frag.: εἰ γὰρ κέκρανται ... ἠφανίσθησαν.
82. ibid., Frag.: καὶ λέλυται ... ἰδιότητα.
83. id., *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, Frag.: ἀποδιῶσάντες ... ἡ ψυχὴ μία.
84. id., *In Joannem* I, 9 (ed. P. Pusey 3, 140.19–141.4; PG 73, 161 A15–C1): ἐπεξεργάζεται ... φησίν.
85. id., *Scholia* 33, Frag.: Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν ... Λόγος.
86. id., Ep. 50, *ad Valerianum*, 2 (ACO I, 1, 3, 91, l. 31–92, l. 1; PG 77, 257 B11–15): οὐκοῦν ὁμολογουμένως ... σαρκός.
87. id., Ep. 39, *ad Joannem Antiochenum*, 5 (ACO I, 1, 4, 17, ll. 17–20; PG 77, 177 A13–B3): τὰς δὲ εὐαγγελικὰς ... διδόντας.
88. id., *Scholia* 11 (ACO I, 5, 227, ll. 11–14; PG 75, 1381 A15–B4): ὅτι δὲ ἀσύγχυτοι ... ξύλον.

## 2. The CA

The florilegium attached to the CA presents a somewhat simpler picture. Five of its twenty-seven extracts do not appear in other florilegia,<sup>377</sup> and one of these—Test. 26—is again a fragment of Cyril's *Commentary on Hebrews*, which is found only here. Test. 2, 21, and 24 also make their earliest appearances in Greek in the CA. The collection of texts which offers the most parallels to Leontius's anthology is that assembled by Severus in his various writings against Julian of Halicarnassus, the first known "aphthartist"—a dossier prepared, one imagines, by the learned ex-Patriarch himself. All but two of the parallel texts in Severus's anti-Julianist corpus<sup>378</sup> are either of the same extent as their counterparts in Leontius or longer; this suggests, *prima facie*, that Leontius did depend in some way on Severus's works for much of his documentation. John of Caesarea's treatise against "Aphthartodocetists"<sup>379</sup> also contains in its florilegium nine

<sup>377</sup> Test. 1, 8, 12, 22, and 26.

<sup>378</sup> The parallels to CA, Test. 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 23.

<sup>379</sup> Cf. n. 265.

parallels to testimonia in the CA, several of them in the same sequence as those in Leontius; only one of these<sup>380</sup> is longer than the corresponding text in Leontius, and it appears in its longer form in Severus also. Since the date of John's work is uncertain, we cannot rule out the possibility that his dossier is partly derived from that of the CA; but textual variation and the longer form of Test. 17 suggest rather that both he and Leontius used an anti-Julianist anthology partly prepared from Severus's works and partly incorporating new material: perhaps an anthology specially made for the Chalcedonians opposed to the doctrine of Christ's human incorruptibility. The hypothesis of such an intermediate collection—which seems all the more likely, in that Leontius does not noticeably depend on Severus for his arguments—provides the simplest explanation for the presence of several texts in Leontius's florilegium which are not in Severus's works: Test. 15 and 16, both translations from Ambrose (the latter of which also appears in John of Caesarea's work); Test. 21, from a treatise on charity ascribed to St Ephrem (also in John's florilegium); and Test. 24, from Cyril's lost commentary on Matthew (in John's collection in a slightly shorter form). Of the five testimonia in the CA without parallel, Test. 2 and 12 (from Ps.-Dionysius and Gregory Nazianzen) could well have been added by Leontius from his own reading. The same is true of Test. 14, from Gregory of Nyssa's *Catechetical Oration*—a passage only quoted, at much greater length, by Euthymius and Theorian—and of Test. 27, again from Gregory Nazianzen, which is out of chronological sequence here, and which appears only in a shorter form in other patristic florilegia. Test. 11 is a popular passage, which Leontius could have taken from many sources. Test. 25 is found in the fifth-century diphysite *Florilegium Cyrillianum*; and Test. 22 and 26, Cyrillian fragments not used elsewhere, may come (like Test. 78 of the CNE) from some less widely known selection of passages from the Patriarch of Alexandria's works.

Of the other extant florilegia which show significant parallels to that of the CA, the anti-Julianist collection falsely ascribed to Leontius himself in the twelfth-century cod. Vatopedi 236<sup>381</sup> seems to depend directly on Severus, rather than on Leontius or his intermediate source. The florilegium in cod. Moscow Lenin 131, again shows signs of direct dependence on Leontius. Otherwise, correspondence between the florilegium of the CA and the other ancient florilegia is probably coincidental.

The contents of the florilegium of the CA are as follows:

1. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus* IV, 25 (ed. B.R. Suchla PTS 33, 173. 6–7; PG 3, 728 B8–10): φθορὰ ... δυνάμεων.
2. Justin (?), Frag. 5 (ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corp. Apol. III, 256; PG 6, 1596 C1–1597 A9): πλάσας ... περιφέροντες.

<sup>380</sup> The parallel to Leontius, Test. 17.

<sup>381</sup> See p. 16 and n. 94.



3. Athanasius (?), *Contra Apollinarem* II, 17 (PG 26, 1161 B8–C1): ἐν δὲ τῇ ... ὁδόν.
4. Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* 24, short recension (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 353, apparatus): πάσχον ... διαφθοράν.
5. *ibid.* 26 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 360, ll. 19–27; PG 25, 141 A13–B8): ὁθεν ... ἡνέσχετο.
6. *id.*, *Ep. ad Epictetum* 10 (PG 26, 1068 A5–9): αὐτὸ ... ἄφθαρτον.
7. *id.*, *De Incarnatione* 4 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 278, ll. 30–4; PG 25, 104 C3–8): ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ... ἄφθαρτος.
8. *ibid.* 3 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 274, ll. 35–8; PG 25, 103 C7–10): εἰ δὲ παραβαίησαν ... ζωῆς.
9. Basil, *Homilia de Gratiarum Actione* 5 (PG 31, 228 C14–229 A1): ὡς οὖν κατεδέξατο ... συγχωρῶν.
10. *id.*, *Ep. 261, ad Sozopolitanos*, 3 (ed. Y. Courtonne III, 117–18; PG 32, 972 A8–B11): σαρκὸς ... ἐποίησεν.
11. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* 38.15 (ed. C. Moreschini, SC 358, 138.1–3; PG 36, 328 C11–14): ἀπεστάλη ... νόμῳ.
12. *id.*, *Orat.* 44.4 (PG 36, 612 A14–B3): εἰ μὲν οὖν ... πλησιάσαντες.
13. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* III, 3, 67 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 132, ll. 3–7; PG 45, 708 A7–11): οὕτω ... ἄφθαρτον.
14. *id.*, *Oratio Catechetica* 37, 9 (ed. E. Mühlenberg, GNO III/4, 96.18–22; PG 45, 96 D4–8): τὸ γὰρ πάντων ... μετεποιήθη.
15. Ambrose, *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento* 5, 44 (CSEL 79, 246, ll. 104–6; PL 16, 864 D9–865 A1): εἰ μηδαμῶς ... ἡγείσθαι.
16. *id.*, *De Fide ad Gratianum* III, 3, 21 (CSEL 78, 116, ll. 53–7; PL 16, 594 A10–15): ἄλλη ... ἡδύνατο.
17. John Chrysostom, *In Joannem* Hom. 80 (PG 59, 435, ll. 52–5): τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ... βασιλικοῦ.
18. *ibid.*, Hom. 87 (PG 59, 474, ll. 27–32): ὥσπερ ... ἐπεδείκνυτο.
19. *ibid.*, Hom. 67 (PG 59, 371, ll. 56–60): ὥσπερ ... σῶμα ἦν.
20. *ibid.*, Hom. 87 (PG 59, 475, ll. 5–10): ἐφάνη ... ἀκήρατον.
21. Ephrem Graecus, *Frag.*: ἀφθαρσία ... ἐφυγάδευσεν.
22. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Isaiam* V, 1 (PG 70, 1188 B5–12): ἐπειδὴ ... πόνον.
23. *id.*, *Thesaurus* 24 (PG 75, 396 C11–15): ἐπειδὴ ... λέγεται.
24. *id.*, *In Matthaeum* I, *Frag.*: πῶς οὖν ... ζωήν.
25. *id.*, *Ep. I ad Succensum*, 10 (ACO I, 1, 6, 155, l. 27–156, l. 4; PG 77, 236 B7–13): μετὰ δὲ τὴν ... μονογενοῦς.
26. *id.*, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, *Frag.*: ἐφῆκε ... εὐσεβήσωμεν.
27. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* 39.13 (ed. C. Moreschini, SC 358, 176.17–178.27; PG 36, 349 A7–B5): ἐπειδὴ ... θανατωθέντος.

## 3. The DTN

The florilegium of sixty-two texts appended to the DTN falls into four clearly discernible sections, the first three of which are briefly introduced by Leontius. Testimonia 1–36 are all extracts from the dogmatic works of Theodore of Mopsuestia—our earliest, and in most cases our only, source for the Greek text of these passages. This is followed by five short extracts from works of Diodore of Tarsus (Test. 37–41), none of which is preserved in Greek elsewhere. The third section (Test. 42–55) begins with the *Contestatio*, or public complaint, against Nestorius issued by the lawyer Eusebius in 429; this document, familiar from the *Acta* of the Council Ephesus held under Cyril's chairmanship, arranges phrases taken from Nestorius's sermons alongside similar phrases attributed to the third-century Christological heretic Paul of Samosata, designed to show that Nestorius was preaching the very doctrines for which Paul had been condemned. After a further comment by Leontius, the rest of this section (Test. 43–55) consists of short extracts from Paul and Nestorius (some of them corresponding to phrases already quoted in the *Contestatio*), and from the acts and proclamations of the Synod held at Antioch which condemned Paul in 268. The florilegium of the DTN closes with seven excerpts from other major Fathers, presented without introduction, which emphasize the unity of hypostasis in Christ (Test. 56–62).

The first three of these sections are clearly conceived as a continuous exposition of the prehistory of "Nestorian" doctrines, corresponding roughly to the order of Leontius's accusations in the body of the DTN: first, generous excerpts from Theodore, against whom Leontius has unleashed most of his fury; then a few passages from Diodore, Nestorius, and Paul of Samosata in the hope of proving a direct continuity in teaching through all four. Leontius's introduction to the first section gives the impression that he has made the extracts himself, from a complete text of Theodore's *De Incarnatione*; so he apologizes for presenting passages from this work alone,<sup>382</sup> but says that the "Nestorians" are careful not to show their documents to outsiders,<sup>383</sup> so that it was only "with difficulty and after much work and countless stratagems" that he was able to get his hands on even this treatise.<sup>384</sup> Whether one interprets this passage, with Richard, as an instance of deliberate "mauvaise foi"<sup>385</sup> or simply as excusable editorial window-dressing, Leontius's words here are surely misleading. The first section contains, in fact, six extracts from Theodore's *Contra Apollinarem* (Test. 30–5) and one from his

<sup>382</sup> p. 448, ll. 24–5.

<sup>383</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 23–4.

<sup>384</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 21–2.

<sup>385</sup> "La Tradition des fragments du traité *περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως* de Théodore de Mopsueste," *Le Muséon* 56 (1943), 57 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 41). For a modern collection of the extant fragments of Diodore and Theodore, along with an English translation and substantial commentary, see John Behr, *The Case against Diodore and Theodore: Texts and their Contexts* (Oxford, 2011).

commentary on the eighth Psalm (Test. 36), as well as the twenty-nine from *De Incarnatione*; more important, a comparison of the florilegium of the *DTN* with others containing the same texts shows that the first two and probably the first three sections of it are not excerpted directly from the original works at all, but are taken, like Leontius's other florilegia, from an earlier collection.

Eight of Leontius's extracts from Theodore and Diodore<sup>386</sup> correspond exactly with testimonia found in the Latin *Acta* of the fourth and sixth sessions of the Council of 553, and in the *Constitutum* which Pope Vigilius published the day after the Council's fifth session (14 May, 553). Five more of Leontius's extracts<sup>387</sup> appear in a longer form in these documents, and two further texts (three in the acts of the Council)<sup>388</sup> in shorter form. Eight of Leontius's extracts from Theodore<sup>389</sup> are to be found, in Greek, in Justinian's partially lost *Letter against the Three Chapters*, published in 549 or early in 550;<sup>390</sup> all but two of these also appear in the two Latin collections just mentioned. Two other of Leontius's extracts—one from Diodore,<sup>391</sup> one from Paul of Samosata<sup>392</sup>—appear in the same form in the Latin anthology known as the *Collectio Palatina*, which seems to have been assembled by a "neo-Chalcedonian," some time during the 530s or 540s.<sup>393</sup> Nine texts from the first three sections of Leontius's florilegium<sup>394</sup> also appear, in the same or shorter form, in Severus's *Philalēthēs* or his *Contra Impium Grammaticum*. Three extracts, in the same or longer form, from Leontius's sections two and three,<sup>395</sup> are used by Timothy Aelurus in the florilegium of his *Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon*;<sup>396</sup> and eight<sup>397</sup>—some in longer form, some shorter—from sections one and two appear in a Syriac anti-Chalcedonian collection, which may also be by Timothy and includes large extracts from his work.<sup>398</sup> Seven of Leontius's texts, finally, from

<sup>386</sup> Test. 16, 18, 27, 28, 31, 36, 38, and 39. J. Straub (ACO IV, I, xxxiii–xxxiv), assumes—probably rightly—that Justinian himself had these extracts translated into Latin for the benefit of Vigilius and the other Westerners at the council.

<sup>387</sup> Test. 21, 29, 32, 33, and 34.

<sup>388</sup> Test. 6 and 14 appear both in the *Acta* and in the *Constitutum*, Test. 1 in the *Acta* alone.

<sup>389</sup> Test. 6, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

<sup>390</sup> Ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians*, 47–69 (= PG 86, 1041 D7–1095 B5). For the date, cf. Schwartz, *ibid.*, 115–16.

<sup>391</sup> Test. 37. <sup>392</sup> Test. 43.

<sup>393</sup> ACO I, 5, 1; for the origin of this collection, cf. Schwartz's remarks, *ibid.* vii–viii.

<sup>394</sup> Test. 2, 4, 28, 38 and 40 in the *Philalēthēs*; Test. 4, 28, 41, 51, 52, and 53 in the *Contra Impium Grammaticum*.

<sup>395</sup> Test. 38, 44, and 45.

<sup>396</sup> Extant only in an Armenian translation, ed. K. Ter-Mekertschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Ailurus, Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalkedon festgesetzten Lehre* (Leipzig, 1908).

<sup>397</sup> Test. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 38, 39, and 40.

<sup>398</sup> This is the florilegium of cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 12156, ff. 1–63<sup>v</sup>, partially published by P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (Leipzig, 1858). On the possibility of its attribution to Timothy, cf. J. Lebon, "La Christologie de Timothé Elure," *RHE* 9 (1908), 680–4; "Version arménienne et version syriaque

parts one and two<sup>399</sup>—five longer in extent, one the same, one shorter—appear in the fragments of Cyril of Alexandria's lost work, *Contra Diodorum et Theodorum*, as cited at the Fifth Council. From these parallels, and from a comparison of the texts, Richard has argued convincingly that the florilegium of Theodore and Diodore used by Leontius and his contemporaries is essentially the same as that used by Cyril in the late 430s, when composing his treatise against those writers.<sup>400</sup> Less certain, but also probable, is Richard's suggestion that it contained, at least by the time of Timothy Aelurus (i.e. the 460s), a selection of parallel texts from Paul of Samosata and Nestorius, upon which Leontius based the third section of his florilegium. Richard also attempted to prove that this collection was, from the beginning, an unfair presentation of Antiochene doctrine, containing passages deliberately altered by hostile—perhaps Apollinarian—circles, with whom Cyril was in contact.<sup>401</sup> His arguments here, however, are less convincing; in a painstaking textual analysis of all the fragments in question, Francis A. Sullivan<sup>402</sup> has shown that the more "friendly" Syriac translation of Theodore contained in cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 14669, on which Richard rested his case, seems likelier to have been tendentiously altered.

The short fourth section (Test. 56–62) of the florilegium of the *DTN* is unusual, in that it is neither introduced with a "bridge" passage by Leontius nor referred to in his introduction to the earlier sections. Leontius's closing remarks, after Test. 62, suggest, but do not necessarily prove, that passages from other Fathers were also included in his florilegium: "I believe that the similarity of thought between Theodore and his party and the Samosatene, and the opposition and difference of their opinions from those of the holy Fathers, has been proven by all these texts."<sup>403</sup> Striking, too, is the fact that five of the seven extracts in section four are exact parallels, in extent, text, and sequence, of

de Timothée Aelure," *Handes Amsorya* 41 (1927), 713–22; E. Schwartz, *Vaticanus gr.* 1431, 126–7 and 130–1. For an exact description of the contents of this florilegium, see R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickham, "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus," *JTS* NS 21 (1970), 322–3.

<sup>399</sup> Test. 12, 14, 17, 28, 38, 39, and 40.

<sup>400</sup> M. Richard, "La Tradition des fragments," esp. 58–62; see also Richard's article, "Les Traités de Cyrille d'Alexandrie contre Diodore et Théodore et les fragments dogmatiques de Diodore de Tarse," *Mélanges F. Grat* I (Paris, 1946), 99–116 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 51). The fact that Leontius's Test. 28 and 39 correspond exactly with extracts used by the Council of 553, Vigilius and—in the case of Test. 28—Severus, but are both shorter than the versions of the same extracts given by Cyril, suggests that the sixth-century authors may all have been using a somewhat abbreviated version of Cyril's dossier.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. "La Tradition des fragments," 63–75; "Les Traités," 113; "Origéniste?" 43.

<sup>402</sup> *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (= *Analecta Gregoriana* 82; Rome, 1956). Sullivan summarizes his findings thus: "In not a single case where the text of an extract (as it appears in Leontius) differs from the correct parallel in a friendly Syriac or Latin version, have we found the hypothesis of deliberate and malicious alteration on the part of the compiler to the be the more probable explanation of the discrepancy" (p. v).

<sup>403</sup> p. 522, *Scholion Leontii* II. 10–12.

testimonia in chapter 7 of the *Doctrina Patrum*,<sup>404</sup> even though there are practically no close parallels for these testimonia elsewhere. We must either conclude that Leontius here is only using a small part of still another source—one later employed by the *Doctrina* but untapped by other patristic compilers—or else, as seems more likely, we must see the fourth section of the *DTN*'s florilegium as an addition of the eighth or ninth century,<sup>405</sup> based directly on the *Doctrina* and intended perhaps as an antidote to the "Nestorian" texts of sections one to three.<sup>406</sup>

The full list of the contents of this florilegium is as follows:

1. Theodore of Mopuestia, *De Incarnatione* 7: εἰ γὰρ ... νοουμένης.
2. *ibid.*: ὥσπερ ... ἀνθρώπους.
3. *ibid.*: Ἰησοῦς ... ἐκπλήρωσιν.
4. *ibid.*: ἡνωτο ... διάφορος.
5. *ibid.*: 8: κάγώ ... Υἱός.
6. *ibid.*: πανταχόθεν ... φαμέν.
7. *ibid.*: τὸν αὐτὸν ... δέοντα.
8. *ibid.*: 9: ἐνταῦθα ... δύναμιν.
9. *ibid.*: ὅπερ γὰρ ... τυγχάνοντος.
10. *ibid.*: 10: ὥφθη ... μανθάνομεν.
11. *ibid.*: ποίαν ... παρών.
12. *ibid.*: σκοπῶμεν ... ἐκδεξώμεθα.
13. *ibid.*: 12: διὰ τοῦτο ... ἐνώσει.
14. *ibid.*: ἄρα παύσονται ... καταστάντα.
15. *ibid.*: ἅπασι ... Μαρίας.
16. *ibid.*: ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο ... σημαντικόν.
17. *ibid.*: πολυμερῶς ... δείκνυνται.
18. *ibid.*: ὥστε οὐ μόνον ... μετουσία.
19. *ibid.*: καὶ καλέσεις ... μετουσία.
20. *ibid.*: δῆλον ... συνάφειαν.

<sup>404</sup> Test. 56, 58, 59, 61, and cp. *Doctr. Patr.* 7, IX, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. Leontius's Test 57—which only appears in manuscript P—is incorrectly attributed to the same author (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) as Test. 56, Gregory of Nazianzus, even though it is actually by Gregory of Nyssa. As Diekamp observes in his introduction (lvii), this may be a sign that the extract from Gregory Nazianzen contained in the *Doctrina* as 7, X was originally in Leontius's florilegium, too; perhaps the discrepancy between title and text is the reason why this text disappeared from the text of V and O.

<sup>405</sup> i.e. after the composition of the *Doctrina* (around 700: cf. Diekamp, lxxix–lxxx), but early enough to be in a common ancestor of all our extant manuscripts of Leontius. V and O, as we shall see, were copied in the second quarter of the tenth century.

<sup>406</sup> A third possibility, suggested by Diekamp (lvii), is that the *Doctrina* here is drawing directly from Leontius; Diekamp himself, however, has shown that the *Doctrina* cannot have depended on Leontius for any of the other parallels between them, so it is unlikely that this is the correct explanation here.

21. *ibid.*: 13: ὅς ἐφανερώθη ... ἀκριβείας.
22. *ibid.*: οὐδὲ γὰρ ... ἐγνωρίζετο.
23. *ibid.*: διόπερ ... θεοῦ.
24. *ibid.*: τοῦτο ... ἐλθεῖν.
25. *ibid.*: διόπερ ... ἡττώμενον.
26. *ibid.*: 14: ἐντεῦθεν ... κτίσεως.
27. *ibid.*: ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο ... ἀνθρώπῳ.
28. *ibid.*: 15: ὅταν τοίνυν ... γνώμης.
29. *ibid.*: πλεον ... κατόρθωσιν.
30. *id.*, *Contra Apollinarem* 4: δεδοκέναι ... ἀνασχοίμεθα.
31. *ibid.*: 3: ἐγὼ μὲν ... κοινωνίαν.
32. *ibid.*: 4: ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ... γεγενῆσθαι.
33. *ibid.*: οὐκοῦν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ... ὑποταγήν.
34. *ibid.*: 3: ἀλλ' ὅ γε Θεὸς ... Παρθένου.
35. *ibid.*: 4: τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ... συναφείας.
36. *id.*, *In Psalmum* 8 (cf. Latin version: ed. R. Devreesse, *Studi e Testi* 93 (1939), 46, l. 1–47, l. 24): διὰ τοῦτο ... ἐξουσίαν.
37. Diodore of Tarsus, *Conta Synousiastas* 1: ἀσφαλίζεσθαι ... Δαβίδ.
38. *ibid.*: χάριτι ... παραγέγονεν.
39. *ibid.*: καὶ περὶ τῶν ... ὑστέροις.
40. *ibid.*: εἴ τις βούλοιτο ... ἀπαθῆ.
41. *ibid.*: ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ... σάρκα.
42. Eusebius of Dorylaeum, *Contestatio* (ACO I, 1, 101, l. 5–102, l. 3): ὀρκίζω ... διαμαρτυρία.
43. Paul of Samosata, *Frag.*: ἄνθρωπος ... ἁγίου.
44. *id.*, *Dialogue with Malchion*, *Frag.*: ἵνα μήτε ... οἴκῃ.
45. *id.*, *Frag.*: ὁ φαινόμενος ... ἐστίν.
46. Nestorius, *Sermon* 8 (ed. F. Loofs, 247, ll. 5–8): μέγα ... ἀξία.
47. Synod of Antioch (268), *Encyclical Letter against Paul of Samosata*, *Frag.*: φησὶ ... σοφίας.
48. *ibid.*: εἰ δὲ ... συμβαίνειν.
49. *ibid.*: οὐ γὰρ ... ποιότητα.
50. *ibid.*: τί δὲ βούλεται ... ἄνθρωπος.
51. *ibid.*: ἡ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι ... σώματι.
52. *ibid.*: καίτοι ... υἱοί.
53. *ibid.*: τὴν δὲ συνάφειαν ... σώματι.
54. *ibid.*: οὔτε δὲ ... ἀνθρωπίνῳ.
55. *Acta of the Synod against Paul of Samosata* (268), *Frag.*: οὐ πάλαι ... ὑπάρχοντα.
56. Gregory Nazianzen, *Ep.* 101, *ad Cledonium* I (ed. P. Gallay, 42, l. 10–46, l. 12; PG 37, 177 C6–181 A3): εἴ τις οὐ θεοτόκον ... οὕτω λέγεται.

57. Gregory of Nyssa (listed as Gregory Nazianzen), *In Canticum Canticorum* 13 (ed. H. Langerbeck, 390, l. 22–391, l. 11; PG 44, 1056 A13–B10): *Χριστὸν ... ἁμαρτίας*.
58. Athanasius (?), *Contra Apollinarem* I, 7 (PG 26, 1105 B2–5): *ἀλλ' ὁ ὦν ... ἐπιδειξάμενος*.
59. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica* 10 (ed. E. Mühlenberg, GNO III/4, 38,5–23; PG 45, 41 B10–D1): *ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ... λαβεῖν*.
60. Ephrem Graecus, *Sermo adversus Haereses seu de Margarita* (ed. J. S. Assemani II, 268 B8–C4): *ὃ βλέπεις ... φύσεως*.
61. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. 2 ad Nestorium*, 6 (ACO I, 1, 1, 28, ll. 7–8; PG 77, 48 B12–14): *ἐὰν δὲ ... υἱός*.
62. Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep. 4.166, Archibio Presbytero* (PG 78, 1256 A14–B8): *τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ... ἐννηθρώπησεν*.

#### 4. The AFA

The only other florilegium found among the works of Leontius stands by itself, unattached to any polemical treatises: the *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*. The purpose of this collection, as I mentioned above,<sup>407</sup> is to offer a selection of well-attested extracts from the writings of Apollinarius as evidence that similar texts, circulating under the names of Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Pope Julius, are actually themselves Apollinarian forgeries. As in the three florilegia I have discussed, Leontius himself simply contributes a few opening and closing observations, as well as a connecting passage between items 2 and 3. The work is made somewhat more complicated, however, by the fact that its first two numbers are not single testimonia, but are themselves smaller Apollinarian florilegia: (a) Valentinus's *Capita Apologiae*, consisting of twelve testimonia (including two passages from Athanasius's Letter to Epictetus (Test. 1 and 2) and a passage by Valentinus himself (Test. 12) as well as nine extracts from Apollinarius); and (b) Timothy of Berytus's *Ad Homonium*, containing twenty-four extracts from Apollinarius. Timothy, who seems to have taught that the human flesh of Christ, when assumed by the Word, actually became consubstantial with the Father, and Valentinus, who strongly opposed this view,<sup>408</sup> apparently each put together a florilegium to prove the "orthodoxy" of his own position by showing that it was also the position of Apollinarius. After presenting these two small Apollinarian florilegia—presumably in their entirety—Leontius says that he is going to produce "complete and entire

<sup>407</sup> pp. 50–3.

<sup>408</sup> Cf. Valentinus's protests (p. 534, l. 26–p. 536, l. 14; p. 540, ll. 14–19) and the remarks of Leontius (p. 568, ll. 10–13, ll. 29–31).

works"<sup>409</sup> of Apollinarius, to make his case all the stronger. Of the four texts that follow (Test. 3–6), however, only one—Apollinarius's brief letter to the bishops of Diocaesaraea (Test. 3)—seems to be a complete work; the other three are again extracts, two (Test. 4–5) from the *Κατὰ μέρος πίστις* and one (Test. 6) from a work which Leontius entitles "On the Handing-on of the Renunciation and the Faith"—presumably some kind of baptismal instruction. At least the first of these four texts is taken, according to its title in the AFA, "from an ancient copy found in the library of the most holy bishop Sidon, Andrew":<sup>410</sup> apparently an older Apollinarian florilegium which Leontius used as his source. Although there are parallels to eight of the forty testimonia of the AFA in other ancient collections, there is no evidence that any patristic writer made direct use of the same sources from which Leontius produced his dossier; the correspondences, in fact, only indicate that Valentinus (in the case of Test. 1, nos. 6 and 7) and Timothy (in the case of Test. 2, nos. 3, 21, and 22) included a few rather popular passages of their master in their own collections.

A full list of the contents of the AFA is as follows:

1. Valentinus Apollinaristēs, *Capita Apologiae*. This includes the following texts:
  1. Athanasius, *Ep. ad Epictetum* 2 (PG 26, 1052 C9–11): *ταῦτα δὲ πόθεν ... θεότητι*.
  2. *ibid.* 4 (PG 26, 1056 C8–14): *εἰ ὁμούσιος ... κτίσμασιν*.
  3. Apollinarius of Laodicea, *Ep. ad Sarapionem*, Frag.: *ἐδεξάμην ... κατέγνωμεν*.
  4. *ibid.*, Frag.: *τῇ γὰρ ἐνώσει ... λέγουσιν*.
  5. *id.* (Ps.-Julius), *Ep. II ad Dionysium*, Frag.: *ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλίας ... θεότητι*.
  6. *id.* (Ps.-Julius), *Ep. I ad Dionysium*, 1 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 256, ll. 19–21): *θαυμάζω ... εἰσαχθείση*.
  7. *ibid.* 10 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 260, ll. 14–21): *ὡμολόγηται ... ἀμέριστα*.
  8. *id.*, *Epist. ad Terentium*, Frag.: *καὶ αἰτιᾶται ... ἐφελάφησαν*.
  9. *ibid.*, Frag.: *εἰ δέ τις ... ἀναθεματίζεσθω*.
  10. *id.*, *Syllogisms*, Frag.: *εἰ ὁμούσιος ... αὐτῷ*.
  11. *id.*, *Professio Fidei cum Iovio Episcopo*: *Ἀπολινάριος ... εἰρήνη*.
  12. Valentinus, Conclusion: *ἐπειδὴ Τιμόθεος ... πεποιθότες*.
2. Timothy of Berytus, *Ad Homonium*. This includes the following texts:
  1. Apollinarius of Laodicea, *Epist. ad Sarapionem*, Frag.: *καλῶς ... διάφορον*.

<sup>409</sup> *ὀλοτελεῖς καὶ ὀλοκλήρους λόγους*; p. 558, l. 25.

<sup>410</sup> p. 560, ll. 2–3; see above, p. 52, n. 344.



2. id. (Ps.-Julius), *De Unione* 1–2 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 185, ll. 9–10; 186, ll. 2–6): ἅγιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ... συνῆπται.
3. ibid., 8 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 188, ll. 9–18): οὕτω ... σαρκός.
4. id., Sermon (?) Frag.: ἀναμάρτητος ... σάρξ.
5. id., *Laudatio Mariae et de Incarnatione*, Frag.: μεῖζον ... ἐαυτῷ.
6. ibid., Frag.: καὶ ἐν ἐαυτῷ ... ὑπέληφας.
7. id., Sermon (?): οὐ μὴν ὅτι ... δυνάμει.
8. id., *Ep. ad Dionysium*, Frag.: ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ... θεότητι.
9. id., Sermon (?), Frag.: ζῶν δὲ Χριστὸς ... πατήρ.
10. id., *Opus Syllogisticum in Joannem*, Frag.: πῶς οὐ Θεὸς ... σῶματι.
11. ibid., Frag.: οὕτε οὖν ... Θεοῦ.
12. id., *Opus Syllogisticum* (?), Frag.: ζωοποιεῖ ... θεῖον.
13. id., *Ad Flavianum*, Frag.: πολλῷ ... συναμφότερον.
14. ibid., Frag.: <οὐκ> ἤδη ἀφίσταται ... ἀρχῆς.
15. id., *Contra Diodorum* I, 14, Frag.: τὸ ἐξαίρετον ... Δαβίδ.
16. ibid. 27, Frag.: ἀγανακτεῖς ... ἔνωσιν.
17. ibid. 6, Frag.: καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεται ... ἀνατρέπουσαι.
18. ibid. II, 22, Frag.: καὶ ἐπειδὴ ... Ἀβραάμ.
19. ibid. 36, Frag.: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ... ἡνῶται.
20. ibid., Summary, Frag.: εἰ ὁ Λόγος ... ἀπεφάνθη.
21. ibid., Frag.: ὡς ἄνθρωποι ... Θεός.
22. id., *Opus Syllogisticum contra Diodorum ad Heracleum*, Frag.: ὄργανον ... ὄργάνου.
23. id., Dialogue (?), Frag.: Θεοῦ σῶμα ... Θεόν.
24. id., Sermon (?), Frag.: ἄθλιοι ... ἡγούμενοι.
3. Apollinarius of Laodicea, *Ep. ad Episcopos Diocaesarienses*: κυρίοις τιμωτάτοις ... κοινωνοῦμεν.
4. id. (Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus), *Fides Secundum Partem* 30–1 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 178, l. 8–179, l. 10): ἐπειδὴ τινες ... Χριστοῦ.
5. ibid. 27–9: ὁμολογοῦμεν ... ἁγιαζομένων.
6. id., *De Incarnatione, seu in Traditionem Renuntiationis et Fidei*, Frag.: εἰ ἄνθρωπος ... ἀξίας.

For charts comparing the testimonia of Leontius's florilegia with their parallels in other florilegia, cf. Appendix IV, p. 585.

### III. LEONTIUS THE THEOLOGIAN

Since I have already described in detail the contents of Leontius's treatises, as well as the collections of earlier authorities he appends to three of them in

confirmation of his arguments, there is little reason to summarize his positions further here at any length. It may be helpful, however, to offer a few general remarks about his achievement as a late patristic theologian.<sup>411</sup>

1. Since the monograph on Leontius published by Friedrich Loofs in 1887,<sup>412</sup> shortly after the first modern appearance of the Greek text of these works, historians of early Christian theology have recognized in Leontius a thinker of great depth, whose work marks a significant development in early Christian reflection on the person of Christ. Some of this appreciation, however, seems to rest on misconceptions of what Leontius was actually doing. Loofs's pioneering analysis was marred by a readiness to conjecture the existence of a whole range of now-lost writings authored by Leontius, which would incorporate a number of fragments attributed to him in later Byzantine collections and manuscripts, and also to identify him with the author of the work *De Sectis*, now generally agreed to be a composition from later in the sixth century, and with the mid-sixth-century polemical writer known as "Leontius of Jerusalem." All of this only blurred the edges of an eventual portrait. More important, Loofs saw in Leontius's work essentially an attempt to interpret the Christ of Chalcedon in terms of Cyril of Alexandria's understanding of his person, "eine möglichst zur alexandrinischen Theologie zurückkehrende Orthodoxie."<sup>413</sup> From this starting-point, he argued that Leontius's celebrated distinction, in CNE 1, between a *hypostasis* and a nature that is "enhypostatic" (ἐνυπόστατος), was actually a new attempt to express, in terminology borrowed from the Aristotelian tradition, how the human nature of Christ could "exist within (ἐν)" the divine Person of the eternal Son, and so be real without having a *human* personal center to individuate it. I have argued elsewhere, as has Grillmeier,<sup>414</sup> that Loofs's interpretation rests on a misunderstanding of the meaning of ἐν- in "enhypostatic," which seems not to mean "hypostatized in" (as Loofs and others have thought) but simply "hypostatic," or "concretely instanced," "individually realized"—as analogies from other Greek adjectives show; ἐν- here, as in several other adjectives formed from nouns, is simply the opposite of the Greek "alpha privative."

Yet Loofs's interpretation paved the way for a whole trajectory of later interpreters of Leontius. Adolf von Harnack, drawing on Loofs's reading,

<sup>411</sup> For a fuller treatment of Leontius's theological achievement, see esp. my articles, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* 27 (1976), 333–69, and "A Richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ," *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993), 239–65. See also Aloys Grillmeier (with Theresia Hainthaler), *Christ in Christian Tradition* II/2 (London and Louisville: Mowbray/Westminster John Knox, 1995), 181–229.

<sup>412</sup> *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche* (TU III/1–2; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1887).

<sup>413</sup> *Leontius* 71; see 65.

<sup>414</sup> I argued this at length in a still-unpublished paper at the Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies; see Grillmeier, *Christ* II/2, 204–8.

categorized Leontius as a classic sixth-century "monophysite," in the school of Severus of Antioch, and even as a distant disciple of Apollinarius.<sup>415</sup> The Anglican theologian H. M. Relton published a book on Christology, in 1917, which based its approach to the personal unity of Christ on Loofs's interpretation of *enhyposstatos* in Leontius, seen now as an anticipation of modern psychology's insight that it is the *person*, understood as consciousness and the sense of self, that gives substantial, concrete existence to any intellectual *nature*.<sup>416</sup> In Christ's case, according to Relton, that individualizing, conscious center would be the second Person of the Trinity. Inspired, doubtless, also by Loofs, Karl Barth saw in the *enhyposstasia* of a human individual nature—a nature that has no hypostatic existence in and for itself, but exists "within" the divine Person of the Son of God—the very root of the asymmetrical relationship of humanity to the Word that is the heart of our salvation.<sup>417</sup> Stefan Otto, in 1968, wanted to recognize in the Christology of Leontius, and in that of some of his contemporaries, forerunners of a modern, existentialist metaphysic of the person as *absolutes Fürsichsein*—the person not simply as a single member of a larger universal class, but as a unique subject, ontologically in possession of the capabilities and characteristics of its nature.<sup>418</sup> Even Abbot Daniel Hombergen, in his more recent discussion of the role of the Origenist monks of Palestine in the sixth century, is attracted to Loofs's hypothesis that the Leontius of the six treatises edited here is the same author as Leontius of Jerusalem, and that, as an "Origenist" of the time, he offers a strongly unitive, Logos-centered interpretation of the Chalcedonian formula; Hombergen wants to see the main focus of Leontius's Origenism—which he presumably received through Evagrius's spiritual writings—as ascetical and psychological rather than Christological.<sup>419</sup> All of these interpretations, I believe, share in different ways in Loofs's mistake of conflating several sixth-century authors of the same name, and in misreading the force of the Greek word *ἐνυπόστατος* to suggest, in a way anticipating modern personalism, that Jesus's humanity exists "in" the second person of the Trinity and thus is itself, as humanity, *anhyposstatos*: not realized in an independently existing human individual. Whatever one may think of such a

<sup>415</sup> So *History of Dogma* (trans. E. B. Speirs and J. Millar; London, Edinburgh, and Oxford, 1898), 4. 236: "There is not even any trace of a theological difference between Severus and Leontius;" cf. *Outlines of the History of Dogma* (trans. E. K. Mitchell; London, 1893), 298: "Through his doctrine of the *enhyposstasia* of the human nature, he paid, in the form of a fine Apollinarianism, full regard to the idea of redemption." It is hard to imagine how Harnack could explain, from this starting-point, Leontius's extensive, powerful critiques both of Severus's Christology and of the work of Apollinarius.

<sup>416</sup> Herbert Maurice Relton, *A Study in Christology* (London, 1917).

<sup>417</sup> See *Church Dogmatics* IV/2, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Edinburgh, 1958), 49–50.

<sup>418</sup> Stefan Otto, *Person und Subsistenz* (Munich, 1968).

<sup>419</sup> Daniel Hombergen, *The Second Origenist Controversy* (see above, p. 13 and n. 70), 139–40, 152, 176.

Christological model, it seems to go well beyond the intentions and concerns of Leontius of Byzantium.

2. My own understanding of Leontius's thought is that he is, in all his extant writings, above all a consistent defender and interpreter of the concepts and terminology of Chalcedon—a "strict Chalcedonian," in the phrase of Marcel Richard and Aloys Grillmeier.<sup>420</sup> Much of his effort in the *CNE*, extended and developed in the *Epilyseis* and crystallized in a more lapidary form in the *Thirty Chapters*, is aimed at clarifying the meaning of the main terminology used to speak of Christ in the Chalcedonian definition—substance (*οὐσία*), nature (*φύσις*), individual (*ὑπόστασις*), "person" (*πρόσωπον*), in the sense of *persona* or role—as well as the phrases used there to relate these terms to one another: that Christ "subsists in two natures without confusion, without change, without division, without separation"; that he is "complete in divinity, complete in humanity"; that he is "consubstantial with the Father in his divinity, consubstantial with us in his humanity." These classical, familiar phrases all had a history by the time of Chalcedon, all had intellectual and emotional implications for the parties to the Christological debate. Leontius's working assumption seems to be that if their meaning is properly clarified, with the help of the Trinitarian model developed by the Cappadocian Fathers and some definitions borrowed from contemporary Greek philosophy, all people of good judgment should be able to accept the Chalcedonian formula as the only right way to speak about the complex, saving reality of Jesus.

The analysis of Chalcedon's language that Leontius offers, especially in these first three works, can seem overly technical to a modern reader, but it is important to see that his efforts are more than just academic hair-splitting. At the end of his treatise against Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Antiochene tradition, Leontius insists that "our battle is not about phrases, but about the realities themselves, and about their union and organic identity with each other, which the Fathers thought had come to be in a substantial way ..."<sup>421</sup> For Leontius, this is only intellectually conceivable in terms of a real and subsistent universal being and an equally real and subsistent individual, both expressed in terms of essence or nature and hypostasis—the same paradoxical interplay of terms in which the Cappadocian Fathers had categorized the supreme "theological" Mystery of God as both one and three. "Nature" or "substance" refers to *reality as definable*, able to be characterized by generic features—*being*

<sup>420</sup> See esp. Marcel Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance," *MSR* 1 (1944), 35–88 [= *Opera Minora* III, no. 59]; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* II/2, 181–270.

<sup>421</sup> *DTN* 42 (PG 86.1380 D). This sentence may be an intentional echo of Plato, *Republic* I (352 d5–6): "Our discussion is not about just anything at all, but about the question of the way one must live!"

as categorized by the mind, graspable by the insight of reason (λόγος); "hypostasis" refers to an *individually existing thing*, which possesses "being by itself (τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι)"—the particular being, marked off by accidental features and denotable by a proper name, yet conceivable only because it also participates in a universal class, because it has an intelligible universal substance or nature. Human hypostases are called "*persons* (πρόσωπα)," because of the particular role they play—the "mask" they wear—in human history, analogous to the characters (πρόσωπα), recognizable by their masks, that were acted out in an ancient drama. Natures, to remain what they are, must remain limited to the same, consistent definitions. Hypostases, by contrast—being unique historical instances of timeless universals—can also bring together in their historical existence two or more defined natures; so a human person participates at once in the radically different natures or substances, the universal realities, of the spiritual soul and the material body. The Mystery of Christ—unique within history, and saving in its very uniqueness—is the union within a single concrete individual, a single hypostasis with a proper name, of the eternal God and a historically limited, fully normal human being. The historical being—the hypostasis—of Christ the Lord is the realization of both the eternal Word, the Son of God, and the man Jesus, the son of Mary, as two complete and different substances in one historical individual. And it is the "mode of union" of these two substances—God and man—as Jesus the Son, Leontius ultimately confesses, which constitutes the message of the Gospel.<sup>422</sup>

3. Leontius's detailed, careful arguments to support the Chalcedonian formula as the only fully adequate articulation of the Mystery revealed in Christ—along with his affirmation of the full, pristine humanity of Christ, and his rejection of formulations of the Mystery that truncate or distort it in an overly unitive or overly divisive direction—form together a synthesis that, although modest and limited in scope, still seems persuasive. Not all the questions raised by the Chalcedonian formula are answered in his treatises. There is danger, for instance, that the sheer balance and formality of the Chalcedonian formula, as Leontius presents it eighty years later, may still leave unanswered the question of *who* the "one hypostasis," constituted by the Incarnation, really is. So one of the main tasks of the Second Council of Constantinople, in 553, was to clarify that it is indeed *God the Word* who is born fully human, as the child of Mary, and who dies on the cross in his own vulnerable humanity.<sup>423</sup> Leontius is hesitant, it seems, to speak of the synthesis of realities that constitutes Jesus as a

"hypostatic union," and only uses that phrase twice, seemingly in passing;<sup>424</sup> his reason may be that it could be taken to suggest, in his context, a union formed out of two already-existing hypostases or persons, or simply that, as a phrase favored by Cyril of Alexandria in his later letters, it was also dear to critics of Chalcedon like Severus of Antioch. But Leontius makes it clear, through his analysis of Chalcedonian terms, that the union achieved in the concrete historical "person" or hypostasis, Christ, is not simply a harmonious conjunction of two wholly separate, active beings. It is a "union that involves substance (ένωσις κατ' οὐσίαν),"<sup>425</sup> a union "which has come to exist substantially, not just relatively, so that the Logos is, in a complete humanity, what the 'inner man' is in us (οὐσιωδῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ σχετικῶς γεγονῶς, ὡς εἶναι ἐν τῇ τελείᾳ ἀνθρωπότητι ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος)." <sup>426</sup> It is a union that is not just relational—as the accidental orientations of one earthly reality to another are understood by the philosophers to be—but a union "in actual substance," a union that really brings two wholly different substances together, yet nevertheless leaves them unchanged in their very union.<sup>427</sup>

Leontius struggles here to capture, in philosophically precise terms, what he sees to be the Mystery of Christ, relying for help not only on the earlier Greek theological tradition, but on Aristotle's *Organon*, Porphyry's *Eisagogē*, and the explanations of the fifth- and sixth-century commentators on Aristotle. But the implications of the Mystery of Christ are nothing less than cosmic. In the "unconfused union" of God and a human individual, God the Son has himself become involved in the complex web of ontological relationships that define the created order. The *union* of God and humanity in Christ is not that of a new, mixed nature, which combines both and is therefore neither of them; the union is rather one that is realized in a concrete, existing, historical individual, who is fully God and fully human—who is himself defined, in nature and hypostasis, by his relations to other classes of substance and to other humans, respectively, and who exists as both Son of God and son of Mary. So, in the man Jesus, humanity, "while reaching in its very being the definition of human perfection, shared in all the good things which come from the Word; or rather, possessing the very fount of good things in the Word, it poured forth from itself all that the Word has, by means of the Word."<sup>428</sup> It is the very integrity of both human nature and divine nature, existing in unity as one concrete, historical individual, that makes salvation for the whole fallen race of historical human individuals possible. The balance and metaphysical symmetry of the Chalcedonian portrait

<sup>422</sup> *Epil.* 8 (PG 1937D–1940B).

<sup>423</sup> See Anathemas 2, 3, 6, 10 (Alberigo-Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, 114–18).

<sup>424</sup> Preface to CNE's florilegium (p. 176, l. 25); CA (p. 378, l. 16).

<sup>425</sup> CNE 7 (p. 166, l. 1; p. 168, l. 26).

<sup>426</sup> DTN 42 (p. 442, l. 13; p. 444, l. 2).

<sup>427</sup> See CNE 2 (p. 136, l. 15); CNE 3 (p. 144, ll. 2–3); *Epil.* 4 (p. 282, ll. 26–9).

<sup>428</sup> CA (p. 364, ll. 7–8).

of Christ captures for Leontius, it seems, the substantially relational heart of the Mystery of salvation: "God with us."

#### IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS

##### 1. The Principal Manuscripts

Only one manuscript contains all the works of Leontius edited here. This is codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 2195 (V), a beautiful and well-preserved manuscript produced in Constantinople in the second quarter of the tenth century, in which Leontius's writings occupy ff. 1–184. Once the property of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553), an influential papal legate during the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–34), V found its way, along with forty of Salviati's other Greek manuscripts, into the possession of the Colonna family at some unknown date after the Cardinal's death; as *Columnensis* 34, it was one of the ninety-three Colonna manuscripts acquired for the Vatican Library by its new prefect, Cardinal Angelo Mai, in July 1821.<sup>429</sup> Besides the writings of Leontius, V contains several other important works of later patristic theology: the *Epistula de Duabus Naturis* by the sixth-century monk Eustathius<sup>430</sup> (ff. 185–208); Justinian's *Contra Monophysitas*<sup>431</sup> (ff. 208–63); Maximus Confessor's comments on the Pseudo-Dionysius's Epistle to Gaius, the last of his *Ambigua ad Thomam*<sup>432</sup> (ff. 263–70); Photius's work *De Sancti Spiritus Mystagogia*<sup>433</sup> (ff. 271–317); and finally—in a later hand—several of Photius's letters (ff. 317–27). This list of contents suggests

<sup>429</sup> See Salvatore Lilla: *Codices Vaticani Graeci* [VIII] (*Codd.* 2162–2254: *Codices Columnenses*) (Vatican City, 1986), 124–8; for the history of the collection before being acquired by the Vatican Library, see *ibid.* xi–xxiii. I am grateful to Dr Lilla for showing me a typescript of his description of Vat. Gr. 2195 while the catalogue was still in progress, during my own visit to the Library in 1974.

Little else is known about the origin of the *Columnenses Graeci*, now Vat. Gr. 2162–254. They ought not, at any rate, to be confused with the rich collection of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna (1569–1608), partly derived from the library of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85) and acquired, after Cardinal Colonna's death, by Giovan Angelo Altamps (1611), then by Pope Alexander VIII (1689) for his private collection, and eventually by Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758) for the Vatican, where they now form part of the *Ottoboniani*. Not all of Salviati's manuscripts became part of the *Columnenses*; others bearing his mark IO CAR de SALVIATIS can be found today in Florence, in London, and in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. See W. Weinberger, "Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde" II, *Sitzb. der phil.-hist. Klasse der kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss.* (Wien) 161, 4 (1909), 49, n. 3; G. Mercati, "Il Plutarco di Bartolommeo da Montepulciano", *Opere Minore* IV (= ST 79: Rome, 1937), 201 and n. 1.

<sup>430</sup> PG 86, 901–41.

<sup>431</sup> Ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians*, 5–43; PG 86, 1104–45. Vat. Gr. 2195 is the only extant manuscript of this work.

<sup>432</sup> PG 91, 1045–60.

<sup>433</sup> PG 102, 280–392.

that V was copied some fifty years after the death of Patriarch Photios in 886, for a person or group in the imperial capital interested in the mainstream tradition of Byzantine orthodoxy.

An Oxford manuscript, codex *Laudianus Graecus* 92<sup>B</sup> (O), contains all of Leontius's works except the AFA.<sup>434</sup> Produced, like V, in Constantinople in the second quarter of the tenth century, this octavo-size codex bears Archbishop Laud's name, and the acquisition-date 1640; it was one of eleven Greek manuscripts sent by the archbishop to the Bodleian Library on 6 November of that year, as part of his fourth donation to the library.<sup>435</sup> There is no record of where and how Laud had acquired this particular manuscript. Its singed edges, however, and slightly charred first page, as well as its new Laudian binding in brown calf, suggest that it had had a violent history before it reached the archbishop, and that it may be one of the many manuscripts he acquired from the collections of German monasteries and Jesuit colleges ravaged by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years War.<sup>436</sup>

Five leaves are now missing from O: two folios after f. 96 and two more after f. 100—which form together the two outside sheets of a single quire—and one further folio after f. 156. As a result, the text is defective from the last sentence of the *Epilyseis* to the end of *Epap.* 8,<sup>437</sup> from *Epap.* 20 to the middle of *Epap.* 25,<sup>438</sup> and for most of chapters 6 to 8 of the *DTN*.<sup>439</sup> Folios 182<sup>r-v</sup> and 185<sup>r-v</sup> are written in a different hand from the rest of the text, although a contemporary one: presumably they are replacements for a sheet lost from the quire shortly after the book was copied. In addition, two lacunae have been absorbed into O's text of the CA, each of some 18–20 lines of writing on O's scale;<sup>440</sup> presumably two leaves were missing from an ancestor here, but the scribe of O was either unaware of the omission or hoped to conceal it.

Besides its five genuine works of Leontius, O also contains, as I have mentioned before,<sup>441</sup> a small treatise entitled *κεφάλαια κατὰ διαφόρων αἵρετικῶν*, inserted between the main text of the *DTN* and its florilegium (ff. 175<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>). This work is, in fact, Maximus Confessor's *Opusculum* 13, *περὶ τῶν δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων*.<sup>442</sup> In addition, O includes (ff. 210<sup>v</sup>–227<sup>v</sup>) three

<sup>434</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues* I (Oxford, repr. 1969), 580–2.

<sup>435</sup> See R. W. Hunt's introduction to vol. II of Coxe's catalogue (Oxford, repr. 1973), xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>436</sup> Dr Hunt suggests that the reason so many of the Laudian manuscripts were given to the Bodleian in new, uniform bindings may be that their covers had been damaged or torn off in the course of acquisition; new bindings would especially be a mark, then, of manuscripts acquired in Germany: *ibid.* ix, xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>437</sup> p. 310, l. 10–p. 316, l. 22.

<sup>438</sup> p. 324, l. 7–p. 326, l. 26.

<sup>439</sup> p. 418, l. 22–p. 420, l. 12.

<sup>440</sup> p. 344, ll. 7–21 and p. 350, ll. 15–28.

<sup>441</sup> p. 48 and n. 319.

<sup>442</sup> PG 91, 145–9. This apparently early work of Maximus is a set of ten theses directed against "monophysite" Christology. Little else is known about its occasion or place of composition.



complete patristic letters after the end of the florilegium of the DTN: Cyril of Alexandria's two letters to Succensus<sup>443</sup> and Timothy of Berytus's Epistle to Prosdocium, attributed here to Julius of Rome.<sup>444</sup> Although these three works—classic documents of a strongly unitive Christology, presented here *in toto*—can scarcely have formed part of Leontius's own dossier, the fact that O includes them without comment before the final colophon<sup>445</sup> suggests that they had been added to O's version of τὰ Λεόντια, and perhaps even substituted for the critical AFA, before the collection reached O's scribe. The tendency of this version of the Leontian collection thus seems somewhat less sympathetic to Leontius's two-nature emphasis than is that of V.

There is also a copy of O, from the early eighteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: cod. *Parisinus Suppl. Grec. 163*. A note in the margin of f. 1 explains its origin: "Ex cod. Bodleiano. Misit doct. D. Ernest Grabe." According to H. Omont,<sup>446</sup> this manuscript—which also contains a copy of the *Excerpta Leontina* in a different hand (ff. 306–11)—once belonged to the Paris Dominicans,<sup>447</sup> but it is not known for whom the scholar Johann Ernst Grabe, who lived in Oxford from about 1698 until his death in 1711, originally made it. Since this manuscript is not an independent witness to the text, I have not used it in preparing this edition.

One other manuscript, now in *Genoa*, contains the Foreword to the collected edition, the CNE, and its florilegium: *codex 27* (G) of the Biblioteca della Missione Urbana di San Carlo, now part of the collection of the Biblioteca Franzoniana.<sup>448</sup> This beautiful eleventh-century codex, written in double columns in the so-called "Perlenschrift," contains an important collection of patristic controversial works, some of them otherwise unknown. These include Serapion of Thmuis's *Contra Manichaeos* (ff. 1–8);<sup>449</sup> Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos*

<sup>443</sup> Letters 45 and 46: ed. E. Schwartz, ACO I, 1, 6, 151–62; PG 77, 228 C5–245 D4.

<sup>444</sup> Ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904), 283–6. O is the only source for the full Greek text of this letter; for its attribution to Timothy of Berytus, cf. Lietzmann, *ibid.* 156–7.

<sup>445</sup> The colophon shows that τὰ Λεόντια were considered to be a comprehensive refutation of heresy by the time O was copied: τετέλεσται σὺν Θεῷ ἡ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἀνατροπὴ καὶ θρίαμβος τοῦ μακαρίου Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ἀσκητοῦ (f. 227').

<sup>446</sup> *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III (Paris, 1898), 226.

<sup>447</sup> The convent of the "Jacobins" in the Rue Saine-Honoré, source of nineteen Greek manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale: cf. Omont, I, xix.

<sup>448</sup> The contents of Genoa 27 were reported, rather inaccurately, by Cardinal J. B. Pitra in his *Analecta Sacra V* (1888), 44–6; the manuscript itself, but (alas) not the contents, is more accurately described by A. Ehrhard, "Zur Catalogisierung der kleineren Bestände der griechischen Handschriften in Italien," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10 (1893), 204–5 (repr. in C. Samberger, *Catalogi codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus Bibliothecis Italicis asservantur I* (Leipzig, 1965), 278–9).

<sup>449</sup> Ed. R. P. Casey (= Harvard Theological Studies XV: Cambridge, Mass., 1931); a less adequate text appears in PG 40, 900–24.

(ff. 8–79);<sup>450</sup> Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus* (ff. 79–291);<sup>451</sup> an extract from Athanasius's *Contra Gentes* (ff. 291–3);<sup>452</sup> five Greek *opuscula* of Theodore Abu Qurra (ff. 293–7);<sup>453</sup> four anonymous controversial fragments (ff. 297–301);<sup>454</sup> Zachary of Mytilene's brief response to a Manichean pamphlet (ff. 301–3);<sup>455</sup> a selection of polemical extracts from the Patriarch Nicephorus, Photius, Theodore Abu Qurra, and Maximus Confessor (ff. 303–28);<sup>456</sup> and finally Leontius's Foreword and CNE (ff. 328–53). G's origin, like that of V and O, is unknown; the fact that its quires are marked with Armenian numerals suggests that it may at least have been rebound<sup>457</sup> in an Armenian monastery, either in Constantinople or further east. It belonged to a collection of some 300 Greek manuscripts which Filippo Saoli—a Genoese scholar, a diplomat, and later bishop of Brugnato—bequeathed to the Hospizio dei Incurabili in Genoa at his death in 1526.<sup>458</sup> During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Saoli's collection seems to have been well known in Rome; Sirleto apparently borrowed a manuscript of Athanasius from it,<sup>459</sup> and Francisco Torres, the first translator of Leontius, certainly used Genoa 27 for a number of his translations of patristic controversial works.<sup>460</sup> A few years later Giovanni Santa Maura (d. 1613), a Cypriot copyist at the Vatican, also studied Genoa 27 and made a list of its contents.<sup>461</sup> By 1746, however, only thirty-nine manuscripts were left in Saoli's collection at the Hospizio dei Incurabili; they were bought—to save them from destruction—for the library of the Congregation of the Missione Urbana di San Carlo. When the building which housed that library was destroyed in World War I, the collection was incorporated into the Biblioteca Franzoniana.

<sup>450</sup> PG 18, 1069–1256.

<sup>451</sup> PG 75, 9–656.

<sup>452</sup> cc. 32–4: PG 25, 64–9.

<sup>453</sup> *Opuscula* 26–30: PG 97, 1561–79.

<sup>454</sup> These are listed in Pitra, *Anal. Sacra V*, 67.

<sup>455</sup> This is published in Pitra, *Anal. Sacra V*, 67–70; the Latin translation of Torres appears in PG 85, 1143–4. It may originally have been part of a larger anti-Manichean work of Zachary's, which included the anathemas published by Marcel Richard from cod. Vatopedi 236, in the introduction to his edition of the works of John of Caesarea (CCG 1, xxxiii–xxxix).

<sup>456</sup> The information given by Pitra and Ehrhard is too vague here to allow an exact account of G's contents.

<sup>457</sup> A. Brinkmann, "Die Streitschrift des Serapion von Thmuis gegen die Manichäer," *Sitzb. der königl. preussischen Akad. der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1894), 486–7, established that two of the four double leaves in the third quire of G are in the wrong sequence; this is presumably a sign that the manuscript had, at some stage, become loose and required rebinding.

<sup>458</sup> Cf. Ehrhard, 192–3 (repr. Samberger, 266–7).

<sup>459</sup> Cf. G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei Manoscritti Greci di Genova, di varie Badie Basiliane d'Italia, e di Patmo* (= ST 68: Rome, 1935), 12–13.

<sup>460</sup> These include the works of Serapion of Thmuis and Titus of Bostra mentioned above, the little tract of Zachary of Mytilene against the Manichaeans, and probably a number of shorter extracts contained in G: see H. Canisius, *Antiquae Lectionis*, Tomus V (Ingolstadt, 1604). Torres also used Genoa 27 for his translation of the CNE, even though V was his main source: cf. p. 99 below.

<sup>461</sup> His list is now Vat. Lat. 10957, ff. 14–16; cf. Mercati, *Per la storia* 18, n. 1.

G adds four extracts from Cyril of Alexandria to the florilegium of the CNE as it appears in V and O, before the closing phrase, *χρήσεις τοῦ πρώτου λόγου* (f. 352<sup>v</sup>). Two of these texts are from the second letter to Succensus,<sup>462</sup> two from the *Dialogus de Incarnatione Unigeniti*.<sup>463</sup> While it is not impossible that these four texts belong to Leontius's original collection, the wordy and circumstantial titles given them in G—very different from Leontius's other titles—and the absence of parallels in the related florilegia<sup>464</sup> make that most unlikely. I have omitted them from this edition. G also adds, immediately after the closing phrase mentioned above, a fragment of what purports to be the dialogue between Paul of Samosata and the Presbyter Malchion, his official examiner, at the Antiochene Synod which condemned Paul in 268.<sup>465</sup> This text and the four extracts from Cyril may have well been added to Leontius's florilegium from some later, independent collection of Christological texts.

The Jesuit savant Jacques Sirmond (1559–1651) made a copy of the latter part of G—including the text of Leontius—which became part of the library of the Collège de Clermont.<sup>466</sup> This copy is now in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin, numbered *Berolinensis Phillippicus Graecus* 80. Since it is not an independent witness, however, I have not referred to it in preparing this edition.

One Paris manuscript contains the part of Leontius's Foreword related to the DTN, followed by the DTN itself and its florilegium: cod. *Parisinus Graecus* 1335 (P), ff. 186<sup>r</sup>–202<sup>v</sup>. This fourteenth-century manuscript contains a large collection of theological, historical, and canonical texts, most of them connected

<sup>462</sup> Ep. 2 *ad Succensum*, 3 (ACO I, 1, 6, 160, ll. 14–24; PG 77, 241 D4–244 A10); *ibid.* (ACO I, 1, 6, 160, l. 25–161, l. 3; PG 77, 244 A13–B3).

<sup>463</sup> *Dialogus de Incarnatione Unigeniti*: ed. G. M. de Durand, SC 97, 280, l. 21–282, l. 3; Pusey 127, l. 18–128, l. 3; PG 75, 1244 A14–B4; and *ibid.*, de Durand 294, ll. 5–8; Pusey 143, l. 20–145, l. 3; PG 75, 1249 D1–4.

<sup>464</sup> Although the Second Letter to Succensus was very popular with the compilers of ancient florilegia, the only exact parallel which I have been able to find for the first of these extracts from it is in the florilegium of Timothy Aelurus's *Letter on Isaiah of Hermoupolis*, included by Zacharias Rhetor in his *Ecclesiastical History* IV, 12; this collection, however, seems to have no direct connection with that of the CNE. The second passage has a parallel only in Ephrem of Amida's tract *Ad Domnum et Joannem*; the third and fourth have no parallels in florilegia at all, as far as I know.

<sup>465</sup> This was published by J. B. Pitra, *Anal. Sacra* III (Paris, 1883), 600–1, and more recently by H. de Riedmatten, *Les Actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* (Fribourg, 1952), 156–7.

<sup>466</sup> Sirmond's codex—originally Claromontanus 175; acquired in the eighteenth century by the Dutch bibliophile Johan Meerman (1753–1815), to become Meermannianus 153; then bought in 1824 by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), to become Phillippicus 1484; and finally acquired by the Prussian government after Phillipps's death—begins with some patristic Old Testament commentaries; ff. 110<sup>r</sup>–190<sup>v</sup> contain the collection of Genoa 27, from f. 293 (the *opuscula* of Theodore Abu Qurra) onwards. Cf. W. Studemund and L. Cohn *Verzeichniss der reichischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I (Berlin, 1890), 32–3.

with medieval Byzantine controversies.<sup>467</sup> Its patristic section largely concerns Christology, and includes Gregory of Nyssa's Epistle 2, "On Those Going Up to Jerusalem" (ff. 92–3);<sup>468</sup> thirty-eight letters of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen (ff. 93–133); Catecheses 12 to 15 of Cyril of Jerusalem—on the person and work of Christ (ff. 133–66);<sup>469</sup> several small tracts of John Chrysostom (ff. 166–81); Proclus of Constantinople's *Tomus ad Armenios* (ff. 181–6);<sup>470</sup> and Cyril of Alexandria's celebrated Twelve Anathemas (ff. 202–3),<sup>471</sup> as well as the DTN. A preface (ff. 2<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>) identifies the collector as a certain Joachim, "least of monks," who dedicates the work to his "brother" (in religion?) George Cainas. There are no clues, however, to the identity of either of these men, or to the precise reason for which the collection was put together.

One other codex contains the same collection as P: a paper manuscript now in Venice, cod. *Marcianus Graecus* Z 575, signed by the otherwise unknown scribe Nikolaos Phagianes and dated 9 August 1426. This manuscript apparently belonged to the Patriarchal library in Constantinople until the early seventeenth century, when it was bought by the Venetian Giacomo Gallicio, brought back to Venice, and given by him—with twenty other Greek manuscripts—to the Venetian republic in the autumn of 1624, in return for the release of a prisoner named Bernardino Vespa.<sup>472</sup> My own study of the text of the DTN in Marc. Gr. 575 has shown that it is a direct copy of P,<sup>473</sup> and I have therefore omitted its readings, too, from the apparatus of the present edition.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, 14–16. Among many other documents, the collection included, according to its table of contents (ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>), three texts which apparently formed part of the propaganda of the anti-Palaeologan Arsenite party during the Byzantine schism of 1265–1310. Two of these texts have been lost from P, but the *Testament of the Patriarch Arsenius* still appears on ff. 338<sup>v</sup>–340<sup>r</sup>. (Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* [= Archives de l'orient chrétien 10: Paris, 1966], 99, n. 1; Darrouzès is therefore mistaken when he says that all the Arsenite material has disappeared from the collection.) This suggests that the collection was formed, at the latest, in the early years of the fourteenth century.

<sup>468</sup> Ed. G. Pasquali (Berlin, 1928), 11–17 (= GNO VIII/2, 13–19); PG 46, 1009 B1–1016 A3.

<sup>469</sup> Ed. W.K. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich, 1848–60), II, 2–202.

<sup>470</sup> PG 65, 856–73.

<sup>471</sup> ACO I, 1, 1, 40, l. 22–42, l. 5; PG 77, 120 B14–121 D8.

<sup>472</sup> Cf. K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* II (Venice, 1873), ρκέ, n. 3; M. Finazzi, "La donazione della raccolta di codici greci di Giacomo Gallicio all'Repubblica di Venezia," in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionici* (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 24: Padua, 1976), 103–18.

<sup>473</sup> Marc. Gr. 575 preserves all the distinctive readings of P, right and wrong, and the twenty-nine readings peculiar to itself are all further errors, with two exceptions: p. 430, l. 7 *ἐπιρρωλογούμενος* for P, *ἐπιρρωλογούμενος*, where Marc. Gr. 575's additional -γο- is written above the word, probably, in the same hand, as a correction; and p. 432, l. 6, where Marc. Gr. 575 does not repeat *ἡ μόνος*, as P does. Both of these variations can be seen as straightforward corrections by the scribe Phagianes. In addition, at p. 466, ll. 13–14, Marc. Gr. 575 omits the words *ἔστιν ὑπόστασιν ... καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον*, a gap of exactly one line in P; this omission can easily be explained by the repetition of *τὸ πρόσωπον* in the text.

If my observations above<sup>474</sup> about Leontius's florilegia are correct, all four manuscripts would seem to be descended from a version of his works edited some time after the beginning of the eighth century. Only this would explain the agreement of V, O, and P in including Test. 56–62 of the florilegium of the DTN, which seem to depend on the *Doctrina Patrum*; and the existence of such a hyparchetype would also best explain the apparent displacement of Test. 8 and 9 of the CNE in V, O, and G. Any other difference between the original text of Leontius's works and this eighth-century version (which I have labeled (a) in the stemma below, p. 88) is a matter of pure conjecture.

A comparison of the readings of V, O, and P, however, in the DTN shows quite clearly that V and O are descended from a more immediate common ancestor, which I have called (β) in the stemma. V and O contain a good number of readings which a comparison with P shows to be simply mistakes: a series of accusatives in place of datives at p. 412, l. 21; ὄν for ὦν at p. 420, l. 3; the repetition of καὶ ὄντως at p. 426, l. 17; ἐφαρμόζοντας for ἐφαρμόζοντες at p. 442, l. 12; ἀμέπτου for ἀμέπτους εἶναι at p. 444, l. 28; προπίνοντας (O: προπίνοντες) for προτείνοντας at p. 446, l. 15; γνωρίζειν for γνωρίζει at p. 456, l. 21; ὀφείλοντος for ὀφείλοντι at p. 458, l. 29; τε for δὲ at p. 460, l. 8; the omission of τῇ at p. 462, l. 20; ὅσον for ὅσων at p. 464, Test. 4, l. 4; τὸ for τῷ at p. 468, Test. 8, l. 11; σημαίνων for σημαίνειν at p. 472, Test. 13, l. 7; the repetition of λοιπὸν at p. 472, Test. 14, l. 13 and the repetition of συμ before παραλαμβάνεται, *ibid.*, l. 22; the omission of τὸν at p. 476, Test. 19, l. 18; σοι for σου at p. 480, Test. 24, l. 10; ἀξιώσιν for ἀξιῶσαι at p. 490, Test. 35, l. 16; and possibly προκεχωρήκει at p. 498, Test. 41, l. 9. Against the background of these common errors, a number of other readings in which VO disagree with P, though just possible in themselves, can be rejected as mistaken; these include the abbreviation of a phrase in P at p. 426, l. 6; the omission of part of a scriptural quotation at p. 428, l. 21, and of σου in a scriptural text at p. 430, l. 20; the addition of καὶ Θεοδώρου—inappropriate in the context—at p. 444, l. 16; the expansion of a scriptural reference at p. 448, l. 11; an awkward change of word-order at p. 448, l. 19; προσῆκεν for προσῆκον at p. 454, l. 21; the omission of ἡ at p. 456, l. 21; ταύτῃ for αὐτῇ at p. 460, l. 17; the addition of εἶναι at p. 464, Test. 4, l. 6; ἐσχάτων for the biblical ἐσχάτου at p. 476, Test. 17, l. 5; the change of word-order from that in the parallel sources at p. 502, l. 14; οὐχὶ ἕνα for οὐκ ἔστιν at p. 504, l. 9; the position of γὰρ at p. 512, Test. 56, l. 15, and the omission of καὶ, *ibid.* l. 16; the addition of μὲν at p. 514, l. 9; and κατοικεῖν for κατοικεῖ at p. 522, Test. 62, l. 3. The presence of Test. 57 in P alone, with its mistaken attribution to Gregory Nazianzen, could also be a sign of confusion in (a) between this text of Gregory of Nyssa and another, by the other Gregory,

<sup>474</sup> pp. 54–5 and 65–8.

which occupied its place in the *Doctrina Patrum*,<sup>475</sup> realizing that its attribution was incorrect, the copyist of (β) may have chosen to omit it altogether rather than to attempt a correction.

P, then, seems clearly to represent a different branch of the manuscript tradition from V and O; the small number of errors shared by V and P against O,<sup>476</sup> or by O and P against V,<sup>477</sup> are all explainable either as coincidences or as signs of independent correction by the scribes of O or V. In a number of instances, however, P's variance from VO is better explained as an attempt of the scribe to improve on the original text than as a preservation of the correct reading; in a few places,<sup>478</sup> for example, P seems to be atticizing, in others,<sup>479</sup> trying to improve or expand a text that is already perfectly adequate. The effect of such changes is generally a rather flattening one.<sup>480</sup>

Of the three other principal manuscripts, V seems to offer the most "primitive," unembellished version of what Leontius wrote. On the other hand, a number of features of the three florilegia in V can only be explained by the assumption that V's florilegia have been corrected, either against the original texts or against other collections. This certainly seems to be the case at 42, Test. 21, l. 4 (γεγενῆσθαι for γενέσθαι); at 57, Test. 54, l. 6 (εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς for ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς); at 184, Test. 34, ll. 1 and 2 (two omissions in OP); and at 200, Test. 62, l. 5 (ἦν for ἡ), where V seems to preserve correct readings even though, in some cases, the poorer alternative is supported by other florilegia. This hypothesis, too, seems to be the best explanation for V's reading, φαιδρυνόμενον, at 39, Test. 14, l. 4: this unusual word makes better sense than OG's alternative, φρουρούμενον, in the context, but the alternative is supported by all the other florilegia and was, presumably, in the Leontian hyparchetype (β) as well. Unfortunately, the original text of this fragment of Hippolytus is lost. The influence of external sources explains, too, the presence of Test. 63<sup>4</sup> in V's version of the CNE. This little letter of Isidore of Pelusium does not appear in the florilegium of OG or in any other ancient florilegium; Severus, however, when disputing the accuracy of the two texts in the florilegium of John of

<sup>475</sup> See n. 404.

<sup>476</sup> ἐπαγγελίαν for ἀπαγγελίαν at p. 416, l. 15; χρηματίζει for χρηματίση at p. 432, l. 31; αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν at p. 452, l. 22; αὐτῷ for ἐαυτῷ at p. 458, l. 14.

<sup>477</sup> The omission of με at p. 412, l. 16; οὐκ for οὐδέ at p. 428, l. 30; σεαυτὸν for σε αὐτὸ at p. 430, l. 12; σὺν for σὺ at p. 432, l. 8. There are a large number of instances in the florilegium of the DTN in which V seems to offer a correct reading against a mistaken one in O and P, but, as we shall see below, V's florilegia show strong signs of having been corrected independently, either against the original texts or against other florilegia.

<sup>478</sup> πωλουμένου for πιπρασκομένου at p. 420, l. 2; πράττειν for δράσειν at p. 424, l. 5.

<sup>479</sup> e.g. p. 416, l. 30; p. 420, l. 23; p. 452, l. 11.

<sup>480</sup> e.g. the change in word-order in p. 450, l. 23; γενέσθαι for γεγενῆσθαι at p. 452, l. 5; αὐτοῦ for αὐτῷ, *ibid.*, l. 25.

Caesaraea's *Apologia*<sup>481</sup>—the parallels to Test. 61 and 63 of the *CNE*!—cites this letter to strengthen his own argument, and the compiler of V may well have added it here (in suitably diphysite form: cf. l. 7) for that reason. Finally, the hypothesis of a correction of V's florilegia provides the readiest explanation for the confusion surrounding Test. 27 of the *CNE*. This extract from Gregory of Nyssa appears here, minus its first three lines, in G; in V, it appears in a longer form (parallel, even down to its title, to an extract from the same passage in *De Sectis* 9) after Test. 31, and in O it is omitted completely. Presumably, G offers us both the position and the mutilated form in which it appeared in the hyparchetype ( $\beta$ ). Because the beginning of the extract was obviously missing, O's scribe probably thought it best to leave the passage out, and to begin the selections from Gregory of Nyssa with Test. 28; V, on the other hand, apparently supplemented the defective text in ( $\beta$ ) by drawing on *De Sectis*'s version, which he added at the end of the extracts from Gregory of Nyssa (Test. 28–31), without bothering to shorten it or to alter the ascription in the title to Leontius's usual *ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ*. That the extract originally began with the incipit of the version in V and ended with the explicit of that in G is confirmed by the parallels in the *Doctrina Patrum* and Nicephorus.

There is strong, if not absolutely conclusive evidence that the two remaining principal manuscripts, O and G, share, in addition, a common ancestor not shared by V, which we shall call ( $\gamma$ ). This evidence consists, first of all, in some apparent common errors of the text of the *CNE*: ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον for κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον at p. 146, l. 5; καλοῦσιν for ὀνομάζουσι at p. 160, l. 20 (where V is supported by the apparently independent witness S); the omission of οὐ at p. 164, l. 5; the omission of ἐξ at p. 168, l. 10; χώρου for χόρου, *ibid.* l. 18; ἄλλο for ἄλλος at p. 186, l. 13. Although V's text of the florilegia seems to have been corrected against outside sources, as we have just seen, there are a number of cases where OG give an inferior reading which is not supported by parallel florilegia, and which may therefore also be common derivations from the Leontian tradition: the mistaken title of Test. 24 (p. 202); the truncated end of Test. 43 (p. 222); the incorrect reversal of word-order in the title of Test. 76 (p. 252); the omission of τε and ἄμα at p. 254, Test. 77, ll. 4–5; συνέσει for συναινέσει at p. 258, Test. 83, l. 7; the omission of περὶ at p. 262, Test. 87, l. 5. The crux of p. 126, l. 17, where V allows Leontius to call his unidentified enemies ἀκροφιλοσόφους, while O gives σαρκοφιλοσόφους and G σαπροφιλοσόφους, seems also most easily explained if we take V's reading as correct,<sup>482</sup> O's as a

<sup>481</sup> *Contra Impium Grammaticum* III, 39 (251, ll. 4–7; tr. 184, ll. 33–4).

<sup>482</sup> It may well be a reference to a phrase in Plato, *Rep.* VI (499 C): τοῖς ἄκροις εἰς φιλοσοφίαν; cp. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 79: τοὺς ἄκρους τῶν φιλοσοφούντων.

mistaken development from this in ( $\gamma$ ), and G's as an attempt to make sense of ( $\gamma$ )'s reading. And there are other common deviations in OG which seem more likely to represent attempted improvements than the original text: the omission of ἄφρσιν (which has been added to the scriptural quotation) at p. 142, l. 9; the substitution of present for perfect tense at p. 148, l. 2; the omission of καὶ at p. 152, l. 25; the omission of a grammatically odd εἴη at p. 154, l. 14; λογιζονται for the more colourful συλλογίζονται at p. 158, l. 4; ἐαυτοῦ for αὐτοῦ at p. 224, Test. 47, l. 12. While it is true that not all of these variants of OG need be regarded as errors derived from a common source, they suggest, when taken together, at least the strong possibility that such a source did exist.

In addition, both O and G show signs of independent attempts to improve on Leontius's text. O, especially, tends to present a streamlined version, simplifying some of Leontius's contorted phrases,<sup>483</sup> changing unusual forms and constructions to more normal ones,<sup>484</sup> introducing elisions,<sup>485</sup> and generally producing a smoother but less distinctive kind of prose than that found in the other manuscripts.<sup>486</sup> O shows numerous variations from the other witnesses in word-order, many of them without any obvious explanation,<sup>487</sup> and its text of the florilegia also shows some signs of correction against external sources<sup>488</sup> and of attempts to harmonize Leontius's testimonia with each other.<sup>489</sup> G, too, seems at times to be simplifying or clarifying the text of Leontius,<sup>490</sup> at times to be expanding it,<sup>491</sup> making it more emphatic,<sup>492</sup> more elegant,<sup>493</sup> or more like

<sup>483</sup> e.g. p. 116, l. 13; p. 118, l. 23; p. 134, l. 4 and l. 8; p. 142, l. 17; p. 148, l. 5; p. 164, l. 4; p. 174, l. 26 (where the redundant τελευταίαν is omitted); p. 178, l. 2.

<sup>484</sup> e.g. p. 164, l. 15 (καρτερόν for κρατερόν); p. 174, l. 13 (παραδείγματα for ὑποδείγματα); p. 414, l. 3 (κάμοι for κάμοσ). O tends to change perfects into presents or aorists: e.g., p. 126, l. 17; p. 128, l. 23; p. 148, l. 2; p. 260, Test. 84, l. 7; p. 282, l. 21, l. 26, l. 30; p. 430, l. 11.

<sup>485</sup> e.g. p. 174, l. 15; p. 202, Test. 25, l. 10; p. 204, Test. 25, l. 6; p. 210, Test. 31, l. 2; p. 270, l. 26.

<sup>486</sup> See the variants at p. 122, l. 8; p. 154, l. 19; p. 164, l. 14 (κέχρηται); p. 174, l. 8; p. 270, l. 17; p. 418, l. 1; p. 422, l. 7.

<sup>487</sup> e.g. p. 128, l. 7; p. 136, l. 10; p. 142, l. 17 (perhaps altered to produce a better clausula); p. 144, l. 2; p. 164, l. 26; p. 168, l. 13 (perhaps an attempt to clarify the meaning); p. 196, Test. 16, l. 6.

<sup>488</sup> At p. 204, Test. 26, Title, where O alone numbers the Epistle correctly; at p. 228, Test. 53, l. 17 (λίει); at p. 242, Test. 68, ll. 6–7 (πρὸς παράδειγμα) and l. 8 (συντεθείμεθα); at p. 250, Test. 73, l. 6 (Χριστοῦ for Υἱοῦ). O's incorrect reading of ἈΛΒΙΑΝΟΝ for ΣΑΒΙΝΟΝ in the title of Test. 41 (p. 218) may be due to the influence of some other florilegium; cp. Eulogius, Or. 3, who has ἈΛΒΙΝΟΝ here.

<sup>489</sup> Cf. the ending in O of *CNE*, Test. 24 (p. 202) and *CA*, Test. 11 (p. 398); in the florilegium of the *CA*, O tends to standardize the titles of the excerpts, too, along the pattern set in the florilegium of the *CNE*: cf. Test. 11 (p. 396), 13 (p. 398), 15 (p. 400), 17 (*ibid.*), 22 (p. 404).

<sup>490</sup> e.g. p. 128, l. 11; p. 162, l. 5 (καὶ ἐν οἷς); p. 168, l. 6 (repetition of εἰς).

<sup>491</sup> e.g. p. 156, ll. 6–7, l. 10; p. 164, l. 12 (adding a biblical phrase); p. 174, l. 25; p. 252, Test. 75, l. 3.

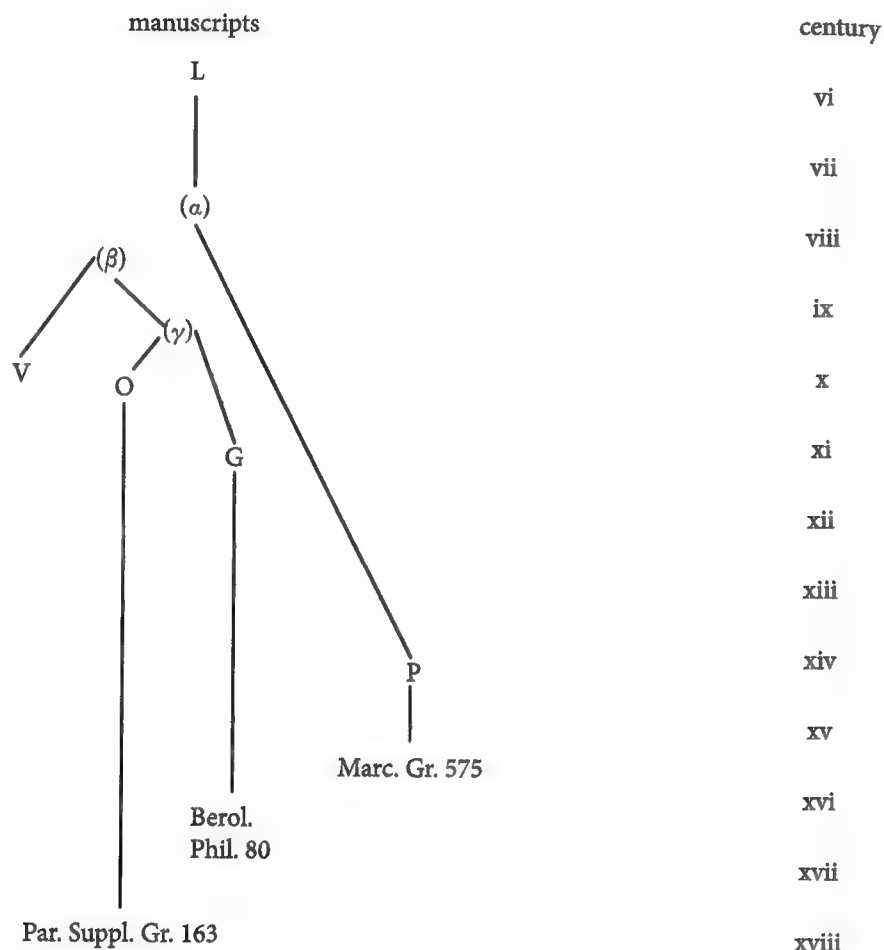
<sup>492</sup> e.g. p. 146, l. 3.

<sup>493</sup> e.g. p. 152, l. 3. Cf. also the parallel created in G at p. 158, l. 15, by changing ὀνόμασεν to ὀνόμακεν, and that at p. 186, *Scholion Leontii*, l. 13, by changing τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦτον ἀστέρων for ἀστρων at p. 172, l. 13 may be a deliberate attempt to use the more poetic word.



Attic Greek.<sup>494</sup> And there is evidence that G, like its fellows, has corrected the florilegium of the CNE by means of other sources.<sup>495</sup>

We can, therefore, with some confidence express the relationships between the main manuscripts by the accompanying stemma.



<sup>494</sup> e.g. p. 130, l. 24 (ἐθέλετε); p. 168, l. 1 (ὑπὸ for παρὰ to express agency); p. 178, l. 29 (πέισαι for πείσαι); p. 238, Test. 64, l. 23 (ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ for ἐπὶ Υἱῶ).

<sup>495</sup> At p. 182, Test. 4, l. 13, where G alone supplies ἀρνήσασθαι; at p. 190, Test. 11, l. 12, where G's addition, φύσει, is supported by some manuscripts of the original; at p. 192, Test. 12, l. 3 (ἐργάζετο); at p. 204, Test. 26, l. 12, where G omits a τὸ with the original; at p. 236, Test. 63, l. 11 (αὐτὸς for αὐτό); at p. 240, Test. 67, l. 12 (τῶ for τὸ); at p. 244, Test. 69, ll. 9–10, where G twice agrees with the original against VO; and at p. 260, Test. 84, l. 5 (παρὰτέτραφθαι).

## 2. Fragmentary Witnesses

(a) The *Excerpta Leontina*: A group of seven manuscripts (here collectively labeled *A*) contains, under the title ἀπὸ τῶν Λεοντίων, the collection of nineteen short fragments—seventeen of them identifiable in our text of Leontius's works—which I have called the "Excerpta Leontina". The oldest of these is cod. *Palatinus Graecus* 281 (h), formerly in the Vatican and now in Heidelberg; this is signed by a scribe called Nikolaos and dated 14 January 1040.<sup>496</sup> According to the same colophon, the book "was collected from many works (πονημάτων) by Romanos of Seleucia, a *secretis* [an imperial bureaucrat] and judge"; it contains five short works attributed (wrongly) to Psellos, excerpts from Philoponus's commentary on the *De Anima* of Aristotle, the *Excerpta Leontina*, the beginning of Question 38 of Photius's *Quaestiones ad Amphiloichium*,<sup>497</sup> ten Greek theological *opuscula* of Theodore Abu Qurra, and a summary of some technical works on music—all texts likely to have interested a Byzantine intellectual in the early Middle Ages. On the face of it, the colophon seems to say that the secretary Romanos was responsible for assembling the entire collection, though of course it is possible that he, too, was drawing on earlier florilegia. Whatever the origin of his collection, it is taken over wholly or in part by the other manuscripts of family *A*, all which depend on (h) either directly or through lost intermediate copies. These manuscripts are as follows:

1. *Escorial* 15 (R. I. 15), ff. 164<sup>r</sup>–165<sup>v</sup> (e). Written in a different hand from the rest of this eleventh-century manuscript, but in one which also dates from shortly after 1050,<sup>498</sup> these two tightly packed leaves contain the *Excerpta Leontina*, the extract from Photius, and five of the *opuscula* of Theodore Abu Qurra, all from the collection of Romanos of Seleucia.
2. *Vienna*, cod. *Philosophicus Graecus* 174, ff. 121<sup>v</sup>–124<sup>r</sup> (w). Copied in a scholarly hand of the second half of the thirteenth century, this manuscript apparently contains all of Romanos's collection except the section on music, as well as a number of logical and mathematical works.<sup>499</sup>
3. *Vatican*, cod. *Palatinus Graecus* 262, ff. 194<sup>v</sup>–202<sup>r</sup> (p). This manuscript dates from the second half of the fifteenth century and includes, from

<sup>496</sup> For a description of this manuscript, cf. H. Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Palatini Graeci* (Rome, 1885), 157–8.

<sup>497</sup> PG 101, 264 D4–269 C9.

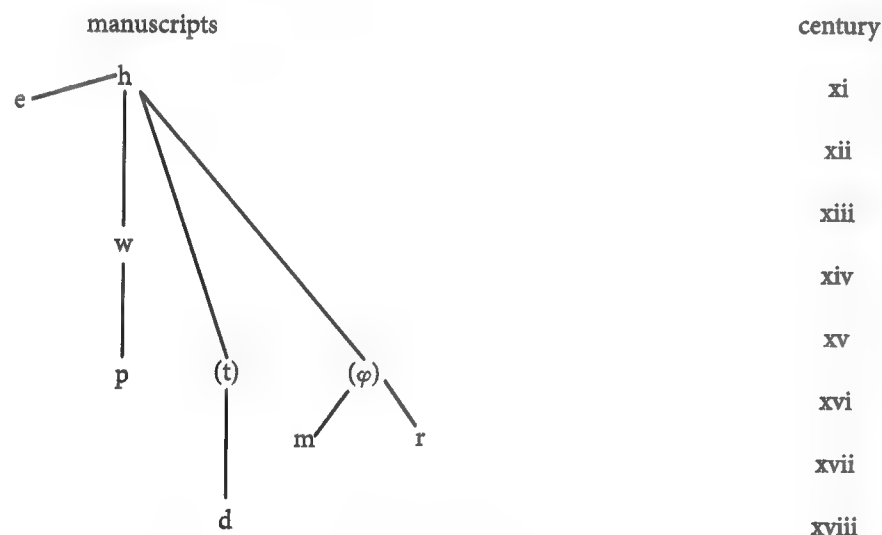
<sup>498</sup> P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la biblioteca de el Escorial*, I (Madrid, 1936), 49, agrees that the main body of Escorial 15 is in an eleventh-century hand, but sees ff. 164<sup>v</sup>, l. 27–165<sup>v</sup> as "de una mano posterior." For the contents of ff. 164<sup>v</sup>–165<sup>v</sup>, cf. Revilla, 63–4.

<sup>499</sup> Cf. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961), 280–1. Prof. Hunger dates this manuscript to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Romanos's collection, the works of Ps.-Psellos, the excerpts from Philoponus, the *Excerpta Leontina*, and the beginning of the excerpt from Photius.<sup>500</sup> It appears to be descended from w.

4. *Escorial* 252 (Y. I. 13), ff. 159–62 (m),<sup>501</sup> and
5. *Vatican, cod. Reginensis Graecus* 108, ff. 21<sup>r</sup>–24<sup>r</sup> (r),<sup>502</sup> are both copied in the same sixteenth-century hand. They contain all of Romanos's collection except the works of Ps.-Psellos, and are probably removed from (h) by at least one intermediate ancestor (φ), now lost.
6. *Paris, cod. Supplément Grec* 163, ff. 306–11 (d). At the end of Grabe's copy of O, another eighteenth-century hand has added one of the little treatises of Theodore Abu Qurra and the *Excerpta Leontina* from Romanos's collection, with the mysterious marginal note that they are derived from "Til. cod. d. 591".<sup>503</sup> I have called this ancestor of the text in *Suppl. Gr.* 163 (t).

We can, then, make the accompanying stemma for the manuscripts of group A.



<sup>500</sup> Cf. Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Palatini Graeci*, 144.

<sup>501</sup> Cf. G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la real biblioteca de el Escorial*, II (Madrid, 1965), 96–7.

<sup>502</sup> Cf. H. Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii P.P. II* (Rome, 1888), 77–8; Stevenson erroneously dates this manuscript to the fifteenth century.

<sup>503</sup> ff. 305 and 306, margin.

Of the nineteen fragments included in the *Excerpta Leontina*—some of them only a few lines long—the last two, as I have mentioned above,<sup>504</sup> are paraphrases of passages in Ammonius Hermeiou's commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The other seventeen are all taken from Leontius's works: thirteen from the *CNE*, four from the *DTN*. Although they include some celebrated passages, which would probably appear in any anthology of Leontius, they tend to be mainly of an anti-Nestorian color; in some places<sup>505</sup> a vaguer pronoun has been changed to *Νεστόριος* or *Νεστοριανοί* to make the polemical reference unmistakable. Each excerpt is usually introduced with *ὅτι*, and the text of Leontius is often treated with a good deal of freedom—so much so that it is impossible to discern any clear relationship between group A and any one of the main Leontius manuscripts. Except for no. 15, their sequence corresponds to that of Leontius's text.

The contents of the *Excerpta Leontina* are as follows:

1. p. 132, l. 19–p. 134, l. 20 (οὐ ταῦτόν ... διάφορος).
2. p. 138, ll. 10–11 (διττόν ... θεωρεῖσθαι).
3. p. 140, l. 12–p. 142, l. 3 (εἰ μὲν οὖν ... σώματος).
4. p. 164, ll. 16–19 (ἄρρητος ... δύο).
5. p. 166, ll. 1–23 (οἱ τὴν ἔνωσιν ... ἐστὶ).
6. p. 168, ll. 1–9 (ἔδει ... Υἱόν).
7. p. 168, ll. 10–12 (μῆς ... γινομένης).
8. p. 168, ll. 20–1 (τῆς δὲ ... ἀλήθεια).
9. p. 170, ll. 3–25 (τῶν δὲ ... οὐσία).
10. p. 172, ll. 19–22 (καὶ καθόλου ... δράσειεν).
11. p. 176, ll. 11–13 (τὸ κατὰ ... νέφος).
12. p. 178, ll. 2–5 (ἀσεβῆς ... δεξαίμεθα).
13. p. 178, ll. 16–18 (οὐκοῦν ... ἀνθέστηκεν).
14. p. 442, ll. 3–4 (καὶ τί δεῖ ... φύσεων).
15. p. 440, ll. 9–10 (τοιαῦτα ... Χριστοῦ).
16. p. 442, l. 13–p. 444, l. 3 (ὁ τρόπος ... ἔνωσιν).
17. p. 444, ll. 10–14 (ἐπειδήπερ ... εἰσάγετε).
18. Ammonius Hermeiou, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* (ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* IV, 3 (Berlin, 1891)), 32, l. 2–33, l. 16; cf. *Fragmentum Incertum* 1, p. 224.
19. *ibid.* 21, ll. 8–9; cf. *Fragmentum Incertum* 2, p. 224.

(b) Another witness to two short passages of Leontius is *cod. Parisinus Supplément Grec* 8, f. 312<sup>v</sup> (S). This twelfth-century manuscript chiefly contains

<sup>504</sup> above, pp. 53–4.

<sup>505</sup> p. 581, l. 1, l. 10; p. 583, l. 13.

works of the Ps-Dionysius and John Damascene. After Damascene's *De Duabus in Christo Voluntatibus*,<sup>506</sup> however, it includes a brief text entitled "An Answer (ἐπίλυσις) against Those Who Say, 'If <Man> is Two Natures, One Must Say That <Christ> Will be Three Natures and as Many Energies,' as Severus Said." The passage begins with a short historical note on Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus, then quotes—without identification—two neighboring passages in question 6 of the *CNE*: p. 158, ll. 11–13 (δύο ... φύσεις) and p. 160, l. 7–p. 162, l. 9 (μέρη ... ἔσχευ). A colophon at the end of the second excerpt (f. 312<sup>v</sup>) identifies the whole passage as the end of Damascene's *Βίβλος Πάνδεκτος*; Lequien<sup>507</sup> and Loofs<sup>508</sup> have accepted this and assign the passage, including its unacknowledged quotations from Leontius, to Damascene's lost work.

(c) One other manuscript, cod. *Atheniensis* 1431, ff. 34<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup> (T),<sup>509</sup> in the National Library of Greece, offers a heavily interpolated version of a passage in section 8 of the *Epilyseis*: p. 302, l. 1–p. 304, l. 3. This twelfth-century manuscript contains the text of the *De Sectis* and includes the passage from Leontius, without identification, at the end of Actio 9 of that work. This is followed by further reflections and syllogisms on the union of natures in Christ, before *De Sectis*, Actio 10 begins. I have included the readings of T in the appropriate place in the apparatus for the sake of completeness, even though they are often distant from Leontius's text.

### 3. Secondary Witnesses

Passages from Leontius's works are quoted by a handful of later writers, and their witness, too, offers some limited help towards establishing the text. These secondary sources are as follows:

(a) The *Doctrina Patrum*. In addition to five extracts from the *De Sectis* said to be ἐκ τῶν σχολίων Λεοντίου, the *Doctrina* presents a short passage from the section on ἐπίνοια in *Epil* 7 (p. 288, l. 26–p. 290, l. 10; = *Doctr. Patr.* 28, I: 198, l. 24–199, l. 12), and the whole text—in rather altered form<sup>510</sup>—of the *Epaporēmata* (= *Doctr. Patr.* 24, II: 155, l. 11–164, l. 3). Since the latter work

appears complete in the *Doctrina*, I have simply cited the three relevant manuscripts of the collection along with those of Leontius in the apparatus of the *Epaporēmata*.

(b) *John of Damascus*. Aside from the one reference to Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος we have mentioned before,<sup>511</sup> John Damascene never alludes to Leontius by name. The Damascene's Christology, however, shows a considerable similarity to that of Leontius, and Loofs argued at some length that John drew ideas and even expressions directly from Leontius's works.<sup>512</sup> Most of the "besonders auffällige Parallele" Loofs cites<sup>513</sup> are, as hidden quotations, somewhat debatable. The only direct quotation of Leontius by John Damascene seems to be his citation, at Πηγὴ Γνώσεως I, 65 (ed. B. Kotter, PTS 7, 135.84–97; PG 94, 660 B4–C6), of the same passage from the *Epilyseis* (p. 288, l. 26–p. 290, l. 10) which appears in the *Doctrina*. Here again, the Damascene gives no hint of his source.

In addition, a number of passages in John Damascene's anti-monophysite work, the *Contra Jacobitas*, seem to be paraphrasing passages in Leontius. These include a loose parallel to the text from the *Epilyseis* I have just mentioned, at *Ctr. Jac.* 29 (ed. B. Kotter, PTS 22, 120.2–9; PG 94, 1452 A1–11); a parallel to *Epil.* 7 (p. 294, ll. 16–18) at *Ctr. Jac.* 47 (ed. Kotter, 124; 1457 B2–5); a parallel to a sentence from *Epap.* 6 at *Ctr. Jac.* 61 (ed. Kotter, 131; 1468 C5–6); a distant parallel to *Epap.* 9 at *Ctr. Jac.* 63 (ed. Kotter, 131; 1468 C14–D2); a parallel to *Epap.* 15 at *Ctr. Jac.* 67 (ed. Kotter, 132; 1469 A7–B4); a possible parallel to *Epap.* 18 at *Ctr. Jac.* 68 (ed. Kotter, 132; 1469 C9–11); a close parallel to part of *Epap.* 27 at *Ctr. Jac.* 58 (ed. Kotter, 130; 1468 A7–10); and another close parallel, to *Epap.* 29, at *Ctr. Jac.* 77 (ed. Kotter, 134; 1473 A1–B5). Except for the second parallel to *Epil.* 7 (p. 294, ll. 16–18), all of these similarities need prove no more than that the Damascene was acquainted with the *Doctrina Patrum*.<sup>514</sup>

(c) *The Patriarch Nicephorus*. As I have already pointed out,<sup>515</sup> Nicephorus seems to be one of the few patristic compilers whose florilegia depend directly on those of Leontius. In addition, the Patriarch quotes Leontius himself (*CNE* 3; p. 142, l. 12, ll. 7–19) once in the florilegium to his *Antirrhetica II* (ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spic. Sol.* I, 348, ll. 12–17).

(d) *Euthymius Zigabenus*. The twelfth-century theological compiler, Euthymius Zigabenus, includes *Epap.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26, and 27 in the florilegium attached to Titulus 16 of his *Panoplia Dogmatica* (PG 130, 1068 B7–1073 B12). The text Euthymius gives for these passages is closest

be closely related (cf. Diekamp, xxxvi–xxxviii), also place the *Epap.* in section 30 of the florilegium rather than section 24. Manuscript B (Vatopedi 507), which tends to abbreviate, omits the work altogether.

<sup>511</sup> p. 16 and n. 90. <sup>512</sup> Leontius von Byzanz, 122–5. <sup>513</sup> Leontius von Byzanz, 122.

<sup>514</sup> On Damascene's use of the *Doctrina*, cf. esp. Diekamp, lxvii–lxix.

<sup>515</sup> Cf. p. 57.

<sup>506</sup> PG 95, 128–85. <sup>507</sup> PG 95, 225 A1–228 C3. <sup>508</sup> Leontius von Byzanz, 123.

<sup>509</sup> This manuscript is listed as a Nomocanon by J. and A. I. Sakellios, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐθνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1892), 256–7. I am very grateful to Miss Maryse Waegeman, of the University of Ghent, for calling my attention to this excerpt and sending me a transcription of it.

<sup>510</sup> Mai's edition of the *Epaporēmata*, reproduced in Migne, is based on the Vatican manuscript (A) of the *Doctrina*, the celebrated Vat. Gr. 2200; since chap. 9 is missing from the manuscript, Mai supplied it from John Damascene, *Ctr. Jac.* 63 (PG 94, 1468 C12–D2). The other two *Doctrina* manuscripts which contain the *Epaporēmata*—Bodl. Misc. Gr. 184 (C) and Par. gr. 1144 (D)—include chap. 9, but give it and chap. 10 in reverse order. These two manuscripts, which appear to

to that of manuscript C of the *Doctrina Patrum*;<sup>516</sup> as Loofs pointed out,<sup>517</sup> there is no reason to think that Euthymius had first-hand knowledge of the *Λεόντια*.

(e) *Nicetas Choniates*. As I have mentioned above,<sup>518</sup> Nicetas Choniates also includes these chapters of the *Epaporēmata* in his revised edition of Euthymius's handbook, and adds chapter 13. The text he gives of that short chapter—as represented by one good thirteenth-century manuscript of his work, Thomas Roe 22—seems not to depend on the *Doctrina*, as Euthymius apparently does, but it is obviously too brief to allow any conclusions to be drawn.

## V. THE SCHOLIA

Manuscripts V, O, and G all contain marginal scholia, some of them of considerable importance and interest. Except for comments of a purely exclamatory kind, or indications of divisions in the text, I have included all of them in a separate section of the apparatus, and have added some simple marginal diagrams found in these manuscripts as Appendices I and II.<sup>519</sup> The following is a list of these scholia, according to different hands which seem to have written them.

### (a) In manuscript V:

Σ<sup>1</sup>: These are marginal comments added by a scribe contemporary with the scribe of the text, probably the same one who copied the works of Eustathius and Justinian that immediately follow (ff. 185–263). Written in brown ink, usually in small uncial letters, they are by far the largest group of scholia in V, and generally explain difficult passages or obscure references in the text. The kind of information they occasionally offer (e.g. identifying the Abba Nonnus<sup>520</sup> or a text from Evagrius<sup>521</sup>) and the terminology they use (e.g. referring to the “monophysites” as *Ἀκέφαλοι*)<sup>522</sup> suggest that some of them, at least, are from the sixth century, perhaps even contemporary with Leontius himself. They appear at the following places: p. 128, l. 5; p. 134, ll. 3–5 and ll. 11–13; p. 136, ll. 3–4, l. 4 and l. 25; p. 138, l. 1 and ll. 10–12; p. 138, l. 17 and ll. 22–3; p. 144, l. 23,

<sup>516</sup> Cf. the variants at p. 322, l. 9; p. 326, l. 11; p. 328, ll. 24–5; and especially two places where Euthymius observes deletions marked in C: 98, l. 13 and 104, ll. 14–15. Cf. Diekamp, lxxv–lxxvi.

<sup>517</sup> *Leontius von Byzanz*, 125.

<sup>518</sup> p. 54.

<sup>519</sup> pp. 75–6. The diagram given as Appendix II (from O, f. 48<sup>v</sup>) resembles a diagram contained in two thirteenth-century manuscripts of the commentaries of Ammonius Hermioui and John Philoponus on Aristotle's *Categories*, in each case illustrative of *Cat.* 1a20. (Cf. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* IV, 4 (Berlin, 1895), 25, for the diagram in Ammonius; *ibid.* XIII, 1 (Berlin, 1898), 28, for the same diagram in Philoponus.) Considering the similarity of Leontius to these two Alexandrian contemporaries in other respects, it is possible that these diagrams may go back to the authors themselves.

<sup>520</sup> p. 128, ad l. 5.

<sup>521</sup> p. 142, ad ll. 22–3.

<sup>522</sup> p. 562, ad ll. 12–14.

l. 24, l. 25, and l. 26; p. 146, l. 1; p. 148, l. 1 and ll. 1–2; p. 154, ll. 5–9, ll. 16–17, and ll. 17–20 (App. I); p. 154, ll. 10–11; p. 258, Test. 84, l. 4; p. 300, ll. 1–2 and ll. 13–20; p. 302, ll. 1–3; p. 306, ll. 3–6.

Σ<sup>2</sup>: Another small hand, also contemporary with the scribe of the text, has added a few comments explaining difficult words in the opening pages of the *CNE*. These appear at: p. 116, l. 1 and l. 5; p. 118, l. 7, l. 9, l. 25 and l. 27; p. 138, ll. 17–19.

Σ<sup>3</sup>: A later hand has made a few marginal corrections of the text, in a rough, black scrawl. These include a proposed change of the word-order at p. 136, ll. 14–15,<sup>523</sup> δέξαιτ' for δέξοιτ' at p. 138, l. 21, and the substitution of ἔτερον ... ἔτερον for ἔτερος ... ἔτερος at p. 218, Test. 40, ll. 3–4.

Σ<sup>4</sup>: A fourth hand, which I have identified as that of Francisco Torres, Leontius's first translator, had made a number of textual corrections and conjectures in the margin of V. These include the change of ἀλλ' οὐ to ἄλλου at p. 274, l. 21, the suggestion of εἰ for ἦ at p. 292, l. 30, the suggestion of χερσὶν for χεροῖν at p. 412, l. 5, the proposal of χιλιάσι for μυριάσι at p. 422, l. 15, the correction of ἐλευθεροῦντος to ἐλευθεροῦντι at p. 434, l. 19, the suggestion of σπεύδοντος for σπεύδοντι at p. 434, l. 28, the substitution of τῷ for τὸ at p. 436, l. 18, and probably the suggestion of κρίσεις for φύσεις at p. 468, Test. 7, l. 2.

Σ<sup>5</sup>: Finally, a third tenth-century hand has added the explanation of the unusual word ἀμαρευμάτων at p. 436, l. 21.

### (b) In manuscript O:

Σ<sup>1</sup>: A tenth-century hand, probably that of the main scribe of the manuscript, has added most of the marginalia in O; most of them are either indications of subject or exclamations of approval, and I have not included them in the apparatus. I have included, however, the diagrams on p. 266 (App. I) and p. 267 (App. II), and the explanation of ἡμεδαπῶν at p. 416, l. 18.

Σ<sup>2</sup>: A twelfth-century scholarly hand has added a comment—now partially obliterated by the singeing of the margins—at p. 300, ll. 15–16.

Σ<sup>3</sup>: At the end of Maximus Confessor's tract περὶ τῶν δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων, which O includes, as a work of Leontius, between the *DTN* and its florilegium (ff. 175<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>), a third hand, possibly of the thirteenth century, has added part of 2 Macc. 6.13–14 in the bottom margin. This has no apparent connection with the text on the page.

Σ<sup>4</sup>: Twice a later hand has written a phrase in a bottom margin which appears to be: τῷ ἐντιμοτάτῳ εὐγενεστάτῳ (p. 356; p. 408). These may both be the

<sup>523</sup> Σ<sup>3</sup> proposes to read: εἰλήφαμεν τὸ παράδειγμα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ οὐσίᾳ....



work of the same writer, or the second may be an attempted imitation of the first. They appear to be pen-trials.

(c) In manuscript G: Apart from one marginal note, which may be copied from V, in Torres's hand (p. 142, ll. 22–3), all the scholia in G are in the same difficult scholarly hand of the eleventh or twelfth century. Most of them are explanatory comments on Leontius's argument, rather than simply verbal elucidations. They appear at p. 144, ll. 23–6; p. 146, ll. 1–2, ll. 14–16; p. 148, ll. 7–8, l. 17; p. 148, l. 20–p. 150, l. 2; p. 150, ll. 5–7, l. 9; p. 154, ll. 15–17 (App. I); p. 158, l. 13; p. 160, ll. 12–14; and p. 258, Test. 84, l. 14.

## VI. EARLIER EDITIONS

There is no complete modern edition of the Greek text of Leontius. The only edition which does exist, presently accessible in the collection of Migne (PG 86, 1268–1396, 1901–76, and 2004–9), was made by Cardinal Angelo Mai. Prefect of the Vatican Library from 1819 until 1833, Mai had rediscovered the Greek text of Leontius—until then only known to the scholarly world through the published sixteenth-century Latin translation of Francisco Torres (Turrianus)—in two of the Colonna manuscripts, newly acquired by the Vatican: Vat. Gr. 2195—our codex V—and Vat. Gr. 2200, codex A of the *Doctrina Patrum*, which contains Leontius's *Epaporēmata*. Apparently much excited by his discovery,<sup>524</sup> Mai began publishing the *Λεόντιος*: first, in 1832, the thirty-six extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia in V's text of the DTN, along with Leontius's introductory and concluding comments;<sup>525</sup> then, in 1833, the *Epaporēmata* (in the *Doctrina*-version), along with other excerpts from Vat. Gr. 2200;<sup>526</sup> and finally the rest of Leontius's works, from V, eleven years later.<sup>527</sup> But Mai omitted all of Leontius's florilegia from his editions, except for those texts which had never been published before; he confused both the order and the titles of the

<sup>524</sup> Mai's estimate of Leontius as "in theologia scientia aevo suo facile princeps" (*Spicilegium Romanum* X<sup>1</sup> (Rome, 1844), v), has often been used as a lemma for beginning a critical discussion of Leontius's works. Mai considered the Greek text of Leontius to be "elegant oppido et purus" (ibid. vi)—an opinion that might not be shared by all of Leontius's struggling readers—and observed, perhaps more justifiably, that the publication of the works in their original language would increase the accessible resources of theological Greek "non mediocri locutionum atque idiotismorum numero" (ibid., Pt. 2, 151, n.). As a result, Mai confessed, he gave himself to editing the bulk of the text of Leontius for the 1844 edition, "non sine meo labore nisque per aestivos Romani caeli calores" (ibid.). Perhaps we may attribute the deficiencies of his text to the heat of that Roman summer.

<sup>525</sup> *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, VI (Rome, 1832), 299–312 (= p. 448, l. 13–p. 494, l. 2).

<sup>526</sup> *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, VII (Rome, 1833), 40b–45b.

<sup>527</sup> *Spic. Rom.* X<sup>2</sup>, 1–151.

works,<sup>528</sup> and his text is marred by errors and by omissions of sometimes a line or more of the manuscript's text—defects which were only amplified when his edition was later reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca*. I have not included the variants of Mai's edition in the present apparatus unless it is clear that he was offering them intentionally as emendations.

The only other published text of Leontius until now, aside from occasional extracts from the florilegia,<sup>529</sup> has been Torres's Latin translation. This was first published in Heinrich Canisius's *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tomus IV, 1 (Ingolstadt, 1603).<sup>530</sup> Born in Spain about 1509, Francisco Torres came to Rome in 1540—after finishing his studies at the University of Alcalá—and became a member of the household of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, where he stayed until Salviati's death in 1553. At some time during those years Torres was ordained a priest, but he seems to have devoted himself primarily to scholarship, and published his first theological work in 1549. Torres soon became part of the learned Roman world at the center of the Counter Reformation, and won the friendship of two distinguished humanists and future cardinals: Girolamo Seripando, the general of the Augustinians, and Guglielmo Sirleto, later librarian of the Vatican (1572–85). After Salviati's death in 1553, Torres lectured on the Scriptures at the Sapienza for a year (1555), was appointed by Pope Paul IV to his reform commission, along with Sirleto, in 1556, and joined the household of Seripando (now cardinal archbishop of Salerno) in 1561. He was present at the Council of Trent as papal theologian from 1561 to 1563. A first-rate Hellenist himself,

<sup>528</sup> Cf. above, p. 28, n. 155.

<sup>529</sup> The Greek text of the three fragments of Paul of Samosata in the florilegium of the DTN (Test. 43–5: pp. 504–6), for instance, were first published by J. W. Feuerlein in his *Dissertatio de haeresi Pauli Samosatani* (Göttingen, 1741), 10–11, from a copy of the passages in P (ibid. 8). J. G. Ehrlich, in another *Dissertatio de erroribus Pauli Samosatani* (Leipzig, 1745), 22–4, first published Leontius's excerpts from the synodal letter condemning Paul (DTN, Test. 47–54: pp. 508–12), apparently basing his text on his copy of O. And the Oxford scholar M. J. Routh, who seems not to have known of Ehrlich's work, republished all the fragments concerning Paul from O some seventy years later, and added Test. 55 (p. 512) as well (*Reliquiae Sacrae* II, 1 (Oxford, 1814), 475–6, 484–6, 496–7, 510–15). H. B. Swete apparently used (and freely emended) Mai's edition of the fragments of Theodore in the DTN, when he published the fragments of Theodore's dogmatic works as an appendix to his edition of Theodore's Pauline commentaries (*Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, II (Cambridge, 1888), Appendix A, pp. 289–322). And Hans Lietzmann made full use of the AFA—as well as of the epistle of Ps.-Julius contained in O—in publishing the fragments of Apollinarius (*Apollinarius von Laodicea*, esp. 103–8). For other published versions of individual extracts in Leontius's florilegia, see the apparatus.

<sup>530</sup> This translation was reprinted by Margarin de la Bigne in the *Bibliothecae veterum Patrum et auctorum ecclesiasticorum*, Tomus II (Paris, 1610; Cologne, 1618), and again by Andreas Gallandius in the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum antiquiorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (Venice, 1788). An enlarged edition of Canisius's whole collection, including Torres's Leontius, was published at Antwerp, beginning in 1725, by Jacques Basnage, with the title *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum*. This seems to have been the most accessible edition of Torres's translation until Migne republished it, along with Mai's edition of the Greek text. For page references, cf. pp. 98–9, nn. 535–7.

Torres was always keenly interested in Greek patristic literature, and devoted a great deal of his considerable energy to finding and studying original patristic texts.<sup>531</sup> His letters, for instance, show him in southern Italy in 1559 and 1561, hunting for manuscripts in Greek monasteries there, and his edition—the first complete one—of the *Apostolic Constitutions* was published in Vienna in 1563. In 1567, at the age of almost 60, Torres entered the Society of Jesus, bringing with him a redoubtable library of books and manuscripts, which now became the property of the Roman College.<sup>532</sup> He continued his research and publishing, as a Jesuit, until his death in 1584.<sup>533</sup>

One of Torres's main patristic interests seems to have been the careful translation into Latin of Greek polemical works of every kind—first of all, presumably, as models for himself and his associates in composing their own tracts against contemporary heresy and schism. The whole corpus of these translations was referred to by later writers—and perhaps by Torres himself—as his *Hoplothea* or “armory,”<sup>534</sup> and may have been conceived originally as a single, wide-ranging project to recover early controversial theology. Although the works of some twenty-five authors were eventually published in Torres's translation, none of them appeared in print until well after his death. Most of them, including his translation of Leontius, were first printed in the last three volumes of Heinrich Canisius's *Antiquae Lectiones*, in 1603–4. In the dedicatory epistle to volume IV of his collection, Canisius thanks the Jesuit librarian Possevino for giving him, in Venice, Torres's translation of Leontius's works,

<sup>531</sup> H. Höpfl writes, “Das Aufsuchen griechischer Väterhandschriften hatte Franc. Torres (Turrianus) zu seiner Lebensaufgabe gemacht ...” (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata* [= *Biblische Studien*, 18, 1–3: Freiburg, 1913], 52, n. 2).

<sup>532</sup> This is first attested by Antonio Possevino, librarian of the Society of Jesus and secretary to Fr General Everard Mercurian, at the end of his *Apparatus Sacer* III (Venice, 1606): Appendix, p. 29. For a study of some of these manuscripts formerly belonging to Torres, cf. O. Kresten, “Zu griechischen Handschriften des Francisco Torres, S.J.,” *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 12 (1970), 179–96.

<sup>533</sup> For the data of Torres's life, cf. esp. C. Gutierrez, *Españoles en Trento* (Valladolid, 1951), 446–73; for his publications, cf. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* VIII (Brussels and Paris, 1898), 113–26.

<sup>534</sup> Gabriel Vázquez, SJ (1549–1604), for instance, refers to two passages in the *Contra Acephalos* of John Maxentius, “quem noster Franciscus Turrianus latinum fecit in sua Hoplothea, nondum edita” (*Comm. in Tertiam Partem S. Thomae* I, 16, 4, no. 24 [Alcalá, 1609], 211). Giovanni Battista Bandini di Castello (1551–1628), scholar and *correttore* at the Vatican, prepared a full list of the works translated by Torres, under the title “Auctores et opera quae continentur in Oplotheca P. Francisci Turriani”; this list now is in the Vatican Library, cod. Reg. Lat. 1598, ff. 65–72. Cf. G. Mercati *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche Romane nei secoli XVI–XIX* (= ST 164: Rome, 1952), 18–19. A reference to “la stampa della *Panoplia* di padres (sic) Torres” in the diary of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio (1532–1602) suggests—if it is, as Mercati thinks, a reference to the *Hoplothea*—that Pope Gregory XIII, Torres's friend and patron, was discussing the publication of the leaned Spaniard's translations as early as 1584, the year of Torres's death: cf. G. Mercati, “Del diario del cardinale di Santa Severina,” in *Opere Minore* II (= ST 77: Rome, 1937), 499 and n. 3.

“nec Graece nec Latine umquam visa.”<sup>535</sup> Later, in a note added at the end of the text, Canisius reveals that the manuscript Possevino gave him was “badly damaged, I know not where, by water, bookworms, and grubs”;<sup>536</sup> presumably it had lain uncared-for in some Roman storeroom until Possevino took the initiative to have it published, and gave it to Canisius. Canisius published the translation, followed by Torres's own marginal notes,<sup>537</sup> in 1603, probably after asking Jakob Gretser, another Jesuit humanist and a professor at Ingolstadt, to read the manuscript through and make the necessary corrections.<sup>538</sup>

For centuries after Torres's translation appeared, it was generally assumed that he had based it on a lost Greek manuscript which he himself had owned, and which he had given to the Roman College when he became a Jesuit.<sup>539</sup> This confusion undoubtedly stems from Possevino, who published a list of the works in Torres's *Hoplothea*—including the translation of Leontius—under the heading, “Libri Graecae (sic) manuscripti quos Franciscus Turrianus theologus Societatis Jesu antequam Societati nomen dedisset hinc inde, praesertim e magna Graecia conquisiverat, et in eandem Societatem Romae illatos, plures Latinitati donavit, qui extant in tribus postremis tomis Antiq. lect. Henrici Canisii.”<sup>540</sup> Certainly Torres had owned Greek manuscripts, but there is no evidence—beyond Possevino's list of the contents of the *Hoplothea*—that a copy of Leontius was among them. If he did possess one, it was probably a copy of V or G, since a comparison of his translation with the Greek of these manuscripts, as well as the marginalia in his hand in both of them, shows beyond question that he used them in making his translation. Presumably he had come to know V, which was part of Salviati's library, while he was a member of the cardinal's household; he may even have made the draft of his translation at that time. G, from which he translated Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis, and Zachary of Mytilene,<sup>541</sup> may have been drawn to his attention by his friend Sirleto, who knew the Genoa library; or Torres may have visited Genoa himself

<sup>535</sup> *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tomus IV, 2–3.

<sup>536</sup> *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tomus IV, 163.

<sup>537</sup> *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tomus IV, 165–71.

<sup>538</sup> Hugo Roth, another Ingolstadt Jesuit, who compiled a list of Gretser's writings, includes a translation of Leontius of Byzantium under the year 1603, which, Roth says, is not listed elsewhere among his works. Presumably Roth is mistaken; what Gretser apparently did in 1603 was simply prepare Torres's damaged manuscript for publication. Cf. Sommervogel, III, 1770.

<sup>539</sup> So, for example, Basnage, at the end of his introduction to the translation of Leontius (Canisius–Basnage I, 534); Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 11–12; V. Grumel, “Léonce de Byzance,” 401. Loofs was convinced that variations in text and sequence of works in the printed editions proved “zweifelloos die Verschiedenheit der Handschriften des Turrianus und des Cardinals Mai” (p. 12).

<sup>540</sup> *Apparatus Sacer* III: Appendix, 29; his list of the *Hoplothea* is on pp. 29–33.

<sup>541</sup> See above, p. 81 and n. 461. On Torres's dependence on G for the translations of Titus and Serapion, see also R. P. Casey, “The Text of Titus and Serapion,” *HTR* 21 (1928), 98–100.

during his northern travels. In any case, the existence of a separate "Codex Turrianus," textually distinct from V or G, seems to be a myth and nothing more.

The version of Torres, then, cannot be regarded as an independent witness to the text of Leontius. Nevertheless, it is often a more reliable witness than Mai's edition and its reproduction in Migne, and has great value as a careful translation by a scholar who knew both his theology and his Greek very well. I have referred to it constantly in forming my own text of Leontius, and have noted in the apparatus its variations from the manuscripts, whenever these seem to be attempts at improving on their readings.

## VII. THIS EDITION

It remains only to say a few words about this edition. Although I have punctuated the text generously, and in an unashamedly Western way, I have tried to preserve the wording of the manuscripts whenever it is intelligible, even if it could be emended easily to give grammatically or stylistically better Greek. Although in a number of places I have found it necessary to add (in angled brackets) or to delete (in squared brackets) a word or a phrase in order to make sense of a passage, I have only rarely had to correct the Greek of manuscripts to a form not offered by at least one of them. Leontius is a subtle and highly intelligent writer; even if his language is not always as "utterly elegant and pure" as Mai deemed it to be, it is usually correct according to the standards of sixth-century academic Greek. Most of the anomalies and peculiarities his writings contain<sup>542</sup>

<sup>542</sup> These include, perhaps most strikingly, a certain looseness in the use and sequence of moods, and a tendency to use the particle *ἄν* to suggest potentiality, without regard for the mood of the accompanying verb. So we find Leontius using the optative (with *ἄν*) in the protasis, the future or present indicative in the apodosis of a general condition (p. 166, l. 17; p. 278, l. 30–p. 280, l. 2); using the subjunctive third plural, in parallel with a third plural imperative, to express an affirmative command (p. 158, ll. 27–8); using an optative (without *ἄν*) in parallel with an indicative, to express a general tendency (p. 386, l. 7); or using the indicative after *ἵνα* (p. 432, ll. 30–1 [VP]). As for *ἄν*, Leontius uses it with the perfect indicative (p. 308, l. 32–p. 310, l. 1) or, more frequently, with the future indicative (p. 166, ll. 14–15; p. 278, l. 28; cf. p. 142, l. 17 [VO])—especially in dubitative questions (p. 130, l. 25; p. 378, l. 23; p. 380, ll. 4–5). At least once he omits *ἄν* in the apodosis of a present contrary-to-fact condition (p. 338, l. 18). A number of these peculiarities can be found in the writings of contemporaries such as Zachary of Mytilene (*Ammonius* (ed. M. Minniti Colonna: Naples, 1975)), ll. 1024–5 and note, p. 217 [indic. after *ἵνα*]; ll. 375–6, 1021–2, and 1081–2, with notes, pp. 205–8 [use of *ἄν*]; Aeneas of Gaza (*Theophrastes* (ed. M. E. Colonna: Naples, 1958), 33, ll. 5–6; 44, ll. 11–12; Ep. 16 (ed. L. Massa Positano: Naples, 1961), 47, ll. 15–16); and John Philoponus (*De aeter. mundi* 18.2 (ed. H. Rabe: Leipzig, 1899), 615, ll. 11–12). W. Schmid considers them to be "Vulgarismen" typical of late, atticizing Greek (*Der Atticismus*, IV (Stuttgart, 1887), 619–21).

Other linguistic oddities in Leontius include his use of *μάλιστα* where one would expect *μᾶλλον* (p. 340, l. 32; but cf. Euripides *Iph. Aul.* 1594; Apoll. Rhod., *Arg.* III, 91); his use of a dative of source with *δέω*, *need* (p. 434, l. 27); his use of a dative of agent with participles (p. 448, l. 25;

seem to be fairly normal for the period, and to remove them by emendation would be to destroy precious evidence for this stage of the Greek language's development.

The principal manuscripts, too, have proved surprisingly reliable mirrors of a language which is both complicated in itself and which comes from an earlier age than their own. For reasons which I have explained above, I consider P to represent an earlier stage in the tradition of the text of the DTN than V or O, and V to preserve the most "primitive" version, linguistically speaking, of the other works. While I have tried to judge each variant on its own merits, I have also let myself be guided by these two general observations, especially in the *Epil.*, *Epap.*, and CA, where our only Leontian manuscript witnesses are V and O.

The only surprising element in the format of this edition may be the symbols I have used to distinguish the speakers in the dialogue of the CA. These are Leontius's own symbols—the cross for the orthodox speaker, the asterisk or star for the "Aphthartodocetist"—as he explains in the Foreword to the collected edition (2, l. 25–3, l. 2); they appear in both manuscripts which contain this work.

Where sections of the text are numbered in the manuscripts (i.e. in the CNE, the *Epap.*, and the DTN), I have marked the same divisions with Greek numerals. In the florilegia, however (where the manuscripts disagree in their numbering), and in the *Epilyseis* (where numbering of sections seems appropriate but is not given in the manuscripts) I have added Arabic numbers.

In the arrangement of the works I have followed the order of the manuscripts, even though this means allowing the *Epilyseis* and the *Epaporēmata* to remain between books I and II of the "collected edition." Presumably this arrangement—in which these two anti-monophysite works are appended to the CNE, without being counted separate parts of the collected edition—was part either of the conscious design of Leontius, or that of his earliest editors.

As for the apparatus, I have divided it into four sections (although there only a few pages on which all four actually appear together). When the manuscripts contain scholia, I have put them uppermost; below them I have identified direct biblical, classical, and patristic references in the text, wherever possible; next, I have listed witnesses to the text other than Leontian manuscripts, including, for the florilegia, both the original texts of the passages and places where the same extracts appear in other florilegia; the bottom section contains the textual variants from all sources.

p. 450 l. 5 and l. 17); and his use of an apparent double accusative after *ἀπράζω* (p. 412, ll. 16–17). The last two of these peculiarities occur in the DTN, where we also find an unusual number of epic or poetic forms (eg., *τῆλε*: p. 422, l. 7; *ἄέθλος*: p. 424, l. 13 [V]; *κακοῖο*: p. 428, l. 28 [perhaps in a proverb or quotation]; *εἶπαν*: p. 434, l. 22 [VO]; *ἀτὰρ δὴ*: p. 446, l. 4). Perhaps the rhetorical excitement of this work, in the context of its time, is the reason for these apparent attempts at literary sophistication.

In the section of the apparatus which lists other textual witnesses, if there are a number of parallels to one of Leontius's extracts in other florilegia, I have arranged them in the following order: first, extracts with exactly the same *incipit* and *explicit* as those of Leontius; then extracts beginning before Leontius's *incipit*, but with the same *explicit* (to which I have also given the symbol ↑); then extracts with the same *incipit* as the text in Leontius, but ending later (with the symbol ↓); then extracts beginning before Leontius's *incipit* and ending after his *explicit* (with the symbol ⇕); then extracts beginning before Leontius's *incipit* and ending before his *explicit* (with the symbol †); then extracts beginning after his *incipit* and ending after his *explicit* (with the symbol ‡); and finally, extracts beginning after Leontius's *incipit* and ending before his *explicit*, arranged according to the point at which they begin and then according to their relative length. Within these classes, I have arranged the references in chronological order. A key to the abbreviations used in this part of the apparatus is given below. In the lowermost, textual section of the apparatus I have given the variants in the four major manuscripts of Leontius very fully, omitting only etacisms, variations between οὕτως and οὕτω, and the use or omission of the movable -ν. I have selected only important variants in the other textual witnesses. When citing variants in works which now exist only in an ancient translation, I have given the relevant Greek word, without further explanation, whenever it is clear what that was; otherwise I have given the variant in Latin or Syriac.

## VIII. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. Editions of Leontius

- (a) Greek text: ed. A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* VI (Rome, 1832), 299–312 (fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia from *DTN*);  
ibid. VII (Rome, 1833), 40b–45b (*Epaporēmata*, from Vat. Gr. 2200);  
A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* X<sup>2</sup> (Rome, 1844), 1–151 (the remaining works of Leontius).
- (b) Latin translation of Francisco Torres (Turrianus): in H. Canisius (ed.), *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tomus IV, 1 (Ingolstadt, 1603), 1–171;  
H. Canisius and J. Basnage, *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum Historicorum* I (Antwerp, 1725), 527–60.  
Also published in:  
M. de la Bigne (ed.), *Bibliotheca Patrum et Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum* II (Paris, 1610), 572–681;  
A. Gallandius (ed.), *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* XII (Venice, 1778), 658–718.

### 2. Works about Leontius

- Altaner, B., "Der griechische Theologe Leontius und Leontius der skythische Mönch," *THQ* 127 (1947), 147–65.
- Casamassa, A., "I tre libri di Leonzio Bizantino contro i nestoriani e i monofisiti," *Bess* 25 (1921), 33–46 (= *Scritti Patristici* I (Rome, 1956), 88–103).
- Cross, Richard, "Individual Natures in the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium," *JChS* 10 (2002), 245–68.
- Daley, Brian, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* NS 27 (1976), 333–69.
- Daley, Brian, "A Richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ," *StPatr* 24 (1993), 239–65.
- Daley, Brian, "Maximus Confessor, Leontius of Byzantium, and the Late Aristotelian Metaphysics of the Person," in Bishop Maxim (Vasiljević) (ed.), *Knowing the Purpose of Creation through Resurrection* (Alhambra, Calif.: Sebastian Press, 2013), 55–70.
- Declerck, José, "Encore une fois Léonce et Pamphile," in A. Schoors and P. Van Deun (eds.), *Philohistōr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (OLA 60; Leuven 1994), 210–16.
- Dell'Osso, Carlo, *Il Calcedonismo. Leonzio di Bisanzio* (Rome: Monopoli, 2003).
- Dell'Osso, Carlo, "Still on the Concept of Enhypostaton," *Aug* 43 (2003), 63–80.
- Dell'Osso, Carlo, "Leonzio di Bisanzio e Leonzio di Gerusalemme: una chiara distinzione," *Aug* 46 (2006), 231–59.
- Dell'Osso, Carlo, *Cristo e Logos. Il Calcedonismo del VI Secolo in Oriente* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2010), 111–55.
- Ermoni, V., *De Leontio Byzantino et de eius doctrina Christologica* (Paris, 1895).
- Evans, David B., *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (= DOS 13) (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
- Fracea, Ilia, 'Ο Λεόντιος Βυζάντιος. Βίος καὶ συγγράμματα (κριτική θεωρήση) (Athens, 1984).
- Gray, Patrick T. R., *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden, 1979).
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "An Anonymous Severian Monophysite of the Mid-Sixth Century," *PBR* 1 (1982), 117–26.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "Neo-Chalcedonianism and the Tradition: From Patristic to Byzantine Theology," *ByF* 8 (1982), 61–70.
- Grillmeier, Aloys, *Christ in Christian Tradition* II/2 (London and Louisville, 1995), 181–229.
- Grumel, V., "Léonce de Byzance," *DThC* IX (Paris, 1926), 400–26.
- Grumel, V., "L'Union hypostatique et la comparaison de l'âme et du corps chez Léonce de Byzance et saint Maxime le Confesseur," *EOr* 25 (1926), 393–406.
- Grumel, V., "Le Surnaturel dans l'humanité du Christ viateur d'après Léonce de Byzance," in *Mélanges P. Mandonnet* 2 (= Bibliothèque Thomiste 14; Paris, 1930), 15–22.
- Grumel, V., "La Sotériologie de Léonce de Byzance," *EOr* 36 (1937), 385–97.
- Hamerschmidt, E., "Einige philosophische und theologische Grundbegriffe bei Leontius von Byzanz, Johannes Damascenus und Theodor Abu Qurra," *OS* 3 (1955), 147–54.
- Jugie, M., "La Béatitude et la science parfaite de l'âme de Jésus viateur d'après Léonce de Byzance et quelques autres théologiens byzantines," *RSThPh* (1921), 548–59.



- Junglas, J. P., *Leontius von Byzanz. Studien zu seinen Schriften, Quellen und Anschauungen* (Diss. Breslau, 1907; = *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte* VII, 3 (Paderborn, 1908)).
- Loofs, F., *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche* (= *TU III*, 1-2) (Leipzig, 1887).
- Loofs, F., "Leontius von Byzanz," *RE*<sup>3</sup>, XI (Leipzig, 1902), 394-8.
- Lynch, J. J., "Leontius of Byzantium: A Cyrillian Christology," *TS* 36 (1975), 455-71.
- Orbe, A., *La Epinoia. Algunos preliminares históricos de la distinción κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* (en torno a la filosofía di Leoncio Bizantino) (Rome, 1955).
- Otto, S., *Person und Subsistenz. Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontius von Byzans* (Munich, 1968).
- Perrone, Lorenzo, "Il Dialogo contro gli aftartodoceti di Leonzio di Bisanzio e Severo di Antiochia," *CrSt* 1 (1980), 411-43.
- Rees, S., "Leontius of Byzantium and his Defense of the Council of Chalcedon," *HTR* 24 (1931), 111-19.
- Rees, S., "The Life and Personality of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* 41 (1940), 263-80.
- Rees, S., "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* NS 19 (1968), 229-42.
- Reindl, H., *Der Aristotelismus bei Leontius von Byzanz*. Diss. Munich (1953).
- Relton, H., *A Study in Christology* (London: SPCK, 1917).
- Richard, M., "Léonce et Pamphile," *RSPHTh* 27 (1938), 27-52 (= *Opera Minora III* (Turnhout and Louvain, 1977), no. 58).
- Richard, M., "Le Traité 'De Sectis' et Léonce de Byzance," *RHE* 35 (1939), 695-723 (= *Opera Minora II*, no. 55).
- Richard, M., "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance," *MSR* 1 (1944), 35-88 (= *Opera Minora II*, no. 59).
- Richard, M., "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?" *REB* 5 (1947), 31-66 (= *Opera Minora II*, no. 59).
- Rügamer, W., *Leontius von Byzanz. Ein Polemiker aus dem Zeitalter Justinians* (Würzburg, 1894).
- Shults, F. LeRon, "A Dubious Christological Formula: From Leontius of Byzantium to Karl Barth," *TS* 57 (1996), 431-46.
- Stiernon, D., "Léonce de Byzance," *Cath* VII (Paris, 1975), 383-7.
- Stiernon, D., "Léonce de Byzance," *DSP* IX (Paris, 1976), 651-66.
- Theodorou, A., "Χριστολογική όρολογία και διδασκαλία Λεοντίου του Βυζαντίου," *Theol (A)* 26 (1955), 212-22; 421-35; 584-92; 27 (1956), 32-44.
- Watt, J. H. I., "The Authenticity of the Writings Ascribed to Leontius of Byzantium," *StPatr* 7 (= *TU XCII*: Berlin, 1966), 320-36.

### 3. Historical, Philosophical, and Theological Background

- Abramowski, Luise, "συνάφεια und ἀσύγχυτος ἔνωσις als Bezeichnung für trinitarische und christologische Einheit," *Drei christologische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1981), 63-109.

- Abramowski, Luise, "Ein nestorianischer Traktat bei Leontius von Jerusalem," in *Symposium Syriacum III*: OCA 221 (1983), 43-53.
- Alivisatos, H. S., *Die kirchliche Gesetzgebung Kaiser Justinians I.* (Berlin, 1913).
- Amann, E., "Trois-Chapitres," *DThC* XV (Paris, 1947), 1868-1924.
- Anastos, M. V., "The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *DOP* 6 (1951), 125-60.
- Armstrong, A. H. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967).
- Bacht, H., "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)," *Chalkedon II* (1953), 193-314.
- Binns, John, *Ascetics and Ambassadors for Christ* (Oxford, 1994).
- Blaudeau, Philippe, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451-491)* (Rome, 2006).
- Brock, Sebastian, "The Conversation with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," *OCP* 47 (1981) 87-121.
- Bruckmann, F., *Ἐνωσις καὶ ὑπόστασις*. Die ersten zehn Anathematismen des fünften ökumenischen Konzils (Konstantinopel 553) als Dokument neuchalkedonischer Theologie," *AHC* 36 (2004), 1-166; 263-388.
- Cameron, A., *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970).
- Carcione, Filippo, "L' 'aftartodocetismo' di Giustiniano: una mistificazione strumentale del dissenso politico-religioso," *SROC* 7 (1984), 71-8.
- Carcione, Filippo, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale della 'Seconda Controversia Origenista' (536-543)," *SROC* 8 (1985), 3-18.
- Carcione, Filippo, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della 'Seconda Controversia Origenista' (543-553)," *SROC* 9 (1986), 131-47.
- Chitty, D. J., *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966).
- Chrysos, E., "Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολίτου περὶ τῆς ἐ' οἰκουμένης συνόδου καὶ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ἰωριγένους," in *Θεολογικὸν Συμπόσιον* (Festschrift P. K. Christou: Thessalonica, 1967), 259-73.
- Chrysos, E., "Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔριν περὶ τὰ τρία κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν ἐ' οἰκουμένην σύνοδον (ABla 3) (Thessalonica, 1969).
- Colonna, M. E., "Zacaria Scolastico: il suo *Ammonio* e il *Teofrasto* di Enea di Gaza," *AFLF(N)* 6 (1956), 107-18.
- Daley, Brian, "Boethius' Theological Tracts and Early Byzantine Scholasticism," *MS* 46 (1984), 158-91.
- Daley, Brian, "What Did 'Origenism' Mean in the Sixth Century?" in Gilles Dorival and Alain Le Boulluec (eds.), *Origeniana Sexta* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 627-38.
- Daley, Brian, "Nature and the 'Mode of Union': Late Patristic Models for the Personal Unity of Christ," in Stephen Davis, Daniel Kendall, and Gerald O'Collins (eds.), *The Incarnation* (Oxford, 2002), 164-96.
- DeHalleux, André, "Hypostase et 'personne' dans la formation du dogme trinitaire (ca. 375-381)," *RHE* 79 (1984), 313-69; 625-70.
- Dell'Osso, Carlo, *Cristo e Logos. Il Calcedonismo del VI Secolo in Oriente* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2010).

- Dempf, A., "Philosophiegeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu den Religionsedikten Justinians," *SBAW* (1969), 1, 3–15.
- Devreesse, R., "Le V<sup>e</sup> concile et l'orthodoxie byzantine," in *Miscellanea G. Mercati* III (= ST 123: Rome, 1946), 1–15.
- Diekamp, F., *Die Origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil* (Münster, 1899).
- Diekamp, F., *Analecta Patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik* (= OCA 117) (Rome, 1938).
- Dörrie, H., "Υπόστασις: Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte," *NAWG* (1955), 35–92.
- Downey, G., "Ephraemius, Patriarch of Antioch," *ChH* 7 (1938), 364–70.
- Draguet, R., *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ* (Louvain, 1924).
- Duchesne, L., *L'Église au sixième siècle* (Paris, 1925).
- Elert, W., *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie* (Berlin, 1957).
- Festugière, A. J., *Les Moines d'Orient* (Paris, 1961–4).
- Flusin, Bernard, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Skythopolis*, Études augustiniennes (Paris, 1983).
- Frend, W. H. C., *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972).
- Galtier, P., "L'Occident et le néo-chalcédonisme," *Gr* 40 (1959), 54–74.
- Geffcken, F., *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907). (On Aeneas of Gaza and Zachary of Mytilene.)
- Grillmeier, A., "Vorbereitung des Mittelalters. Eine Studie über das Verhältnis von Chalkedonismus und Neuchalkedonismus in der lateinischen Theologie vom Boethius bis zum Gregor dem Grossen," *Chalkedon* II (1953), 791–831.
- Grillmeier, A., "Der Neu-Chalkedonismus: um die Berechtigung eines neuen Kapitels in der Dogmengeschichte," in *Festschrift B. Altaner: HJ* 77 (1957), 151–66 (= *Mit Ihm und in Ihm* (Freiburg, 1975), 371–85).
- Grillmeier, A., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, I (London, 1975); II/2 (London and Louisville, 1995).
- Grillmeier, A., "Die Rezeption des Konzils von Chalkedon in der römisch-katholischen Kirche," in *Mit Ihm und in Ihm* (Freiburg, 1975), 335–70.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden, 1979).
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "An Anonymous Severian Monophysite of the Mid-Sixth Century," *PBR* 1 (1982), 117–26.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "Neo-Chalcedonism and the Tradition: From Patristic to Byzantine Theology," *ByF* 16 (1982), 61–70.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "Leontius of Jerusalem's Case of a 'Synthetic' Union in Christ," *StPatr* 18 (1985), 151–4.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "Through the Tunnel with Leontius of Jerusalem: The Sixth-century Transformation of Theology," in P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Brisbane, 1996), 187–96.
- Gray, Patrick T. R., "The Sabaite Monasteries and the Christological Controversies (478–533)," in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (OLA 98; Leuven, 2001), 237–43.

- Guillaumont, A., *Les "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Evagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (= Patristica Sorbonensia 5) (Paris, 1962).
- Haacke, R., "Die kaiserliche Politik in den Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (451–553)," *Chalkedon* II (1953), 95–117.
- Harnack, A. von, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1909<sup>4</sup>) (On Leontius: II, 406–8). English translation (based on 3rd edn.): *History of Dogma* (London, Edinburgh, and Oxford, 1894–9). (On Leontius: IV, 232–7).
- Helmer, S., *Der Neuchalkedonismus: Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*. Diss. Bonn (1962).
- Hermann, T., "Johannes Philoponos als Monophysit," *ZNW* 29 (1930), 209–64.
- Hombergen, Daniel, *The Second Origenist Controversy: A New Perspective on Cyril of Skythopolis's Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism* (Rome: StAns 132, 2001).
- Jugie, M., "Julien d'Halicarnasse et Sévère d'Antioche," *EOr* 24 (1925), 129–62; 257–85.
- Jugie, M., "L'Empereur Justinien a-t-il été aphthartodocète?" *EOr* 31 (1932), 399–402.
- Knecht, A., *Die Religionspolitik Kaiser Justinians I.* (Würzburg, 1896).
- Krausmüller, D., "Leontius of Jerusalem, a Theologian of the Seventh Century," *JTS* 52 (2001), 637–57.
- Lang, Uwe M., "The Date of the Treatise 'De Sectis,'" *OLoP* 29 (1998), 89–98.
- Lang, Uwe M., *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century* (Leuven, 2001).
- Lebon, J., *Le Monophysisme sévérien. Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Eglise Jacobite* (Louvain, 1909).
- Lebon, J., "Ephrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche (526–544)," in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller I* (Louvain and Paris, 1914), 205 ff.
- Lebon, J., "La Christologie du monophysisme sévérien," *Chalkedon* I (1951), 425–580.
- Loofs, F., "Die 'Ketzer' Justinians," in *Harnack-Ehrung: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1921), 232–48.
- McLeod, F. G., *The Image of God in the Antiochene Tradition* (Washington, 1999).
- Meyendorff, J., *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, DC, 1969). French edition: *Le Christ dans la théologie Byzantine* (Paris, 1969).
- Meyendorff, J., *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1974).
- Moeller, C., "Le Chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Chalkedon* I (1951), 637–720.
- Moeller, C., "Le Cinquième concile oecuménique et la magistère ordinaire au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *RSPhTh* 35 (1951), 413–23.
- Moeller, C., "Textes 'monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *ETL* 27 (1951), 467–82.
- Murphy, F. X., "Constantinople II," in F. X. Murphy and P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III* (= Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques 3: Paris, 1974), 9–130.
- Oehler, K., "Aristoteles und Byzanz," in *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter: Aufsätze zur Geschichte des griechischen Denkens* (Munich, 1969), 272–86.

- Oehler, K., "Die Kontinuität in der Philosophie der Griechen bis zum Untergang des byzantinischen Reiches," in *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter: Aufsätze zur Geschichte des griechischen Denkens* (Munich, 1969), 15–37.
- Perrone, Lorenzo, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (Brescia, 1980).
- Richard, M., "L'Introduction du mot 'hypostase' dans la théologie de l'incarnation," *MSR* 2 (1945), 5–32; 243–70 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 42).
- Richard, M., "Le Néo-chalcédonisme," *MSR* 3 (1946), 147–56 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 56).
- Rubin, B., *Das Zeitalter Justinians* (Berlin, 1960).
- Saffrey, H. D., "Le Chrétien Jean Philopon et la survivance de l'École d'Alexandrie au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REG* 67 (1954), 396–410.
- Schemmel, F., *Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel vom V.–IX. Jahrhundert*. Wissenschaftliche Beilage zu dem Jahresbericht des königlichen Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in Berlin (Berlin, 1912).
- Schwartz, E., "Johannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller," *SHAW* (1912), 16.
- Schwartz, E., "Über die Reichskonzilien von Theodosius bis Justinian," *ZSRG* 42 (1921), 208–53 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* IV (Berlin, 1960), 111–58).
- Schwartz, E., *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (= *TU* XLIX, 2) (Leipzig, 1939).
- Schwartz, E., "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians," *SBAW* (1940), 2, II, 32–72 (= *Ges. Schr.* IV, 276–328).
- Seitz, K., *Die Schule von Gaza* (Heidelberg, 1892).
- Sellers, R. V., *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London, 1953).
- Simonetti, Manlio, "La letteratura antimonofisita di occidente," *Studi di cristologia postnicaena* (Rome, 2006), 371–414.
- Simonetti, Manlio, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano," *Studi di cristologia postnicaena* (Rome, 2006), 459–78.
- Speigl, J., "Der Autor der Schrift *De sectis* über die Konzilien und die Religionspolitik Justinians," *AHC* 2 (1970), 207–30.
- Speigl, J., "Die Religionsgespräch mit den severianischen Bischöfen in Konstantinopel im Jahre 532," *AHC* 16 (1984), 264–85.
- Stein, E., *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, 1949–59).
- Straub, J., "Die Verurteilung der Drei Kapitel durch Vigilius," *Kleronomia* 2 (1970), 347–75.
- Tixeront, J., "Des concepts de 'nature' et de 'personne' dans les Pères et les écrivains ecclésiastiques des V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *RHLR* 8 (1903), 582–92.
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union. Ein Beitrag zu den philosophischen Voraussetzungen und zur innerchalcédonischen Transformation eines Paradigmas," *Kl* 14 (1982) 215–312.
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz, "Christ's Image versus Christology: Thoughts on the Justinianic Era as Threshold of an Epoch," in P. Allen and E. M. Jeffreys, *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Brisbane, 1996), 197–223.
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalkedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians," in J. J. van Oort and J. Roldanus,

- Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der Christologischen Formel von Chalkedon* (Leuven, 1997), 60–95.
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz, "Der Neuchalkédonismus als Vorbereitung des Monothelitismus. Ein Beitrag zum eigentlichen Anliegen des Neuchalkédonismus," in J. J. van Oort and J. Roldanus, *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der Christologischen Formel von Chalkedon* (Leuven, 1997), 373–413.
- Van Esbroeck, Michel, "L'Homélie de Pierre de Jérusalem et la fin de l'origénisme palestinien à 551," *OCP* 51 (1985), 33–59.
- Vosté, J. M., "L'Oeuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste au II<sup>e</sup> Concile de Constantinople," *RB* 38 (1929), 382–95; 542–54.

#### 4. The Florilegia

##### (a) Works about Florilegia

- Devreesse, R., "Le Florilège de Léonce de Byzance," *RevSR* 10 (1930), 545–76.
- Richard, M., "Notes sur les florilèges dogmatiques du V<sup>e</sup> et du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines* I (Paris, 1950), 307–18 (= *Opera Minora* I, no. 2).
- Richard, M., "Les Florilèges diphysites du V<sup>e</sup> et du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Chalkedon* I, 721–48 (= *Opera Minora* I (1951), no. 3).
- Richard, M., "Le Florilège du cod. Vatopédi 236 sur le corruptible et l'incorruptible," *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 249–73 (= *Opera Minora* I, no. 4).
- Schermann, T., *Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Florilegien von V.–VIII. Jahrhundert* (= *TU* 28 (Leipzig, 1904), 1–104).

##### (b) Works Related to Individual Texts in Leontius's Florilegia

- Amann, E., "Chronique d'ancienne littérature chrétienne. Un nouvel ouvrage de Théodore de Mopsueste," *RevSR* 20 (1940), 491–528.
- Behr, John, *The Case against Diodore and Theodore: Texts and their Contexts* (Oxford, 2011).
- Conybeare, F. C., *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter* (London, 1907).
- de Riedmatten, H., *Les Actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* (= *Paradosis* 6) (Fribourg, 1952).
- Devreesse, R., "Par quelles voies nous sont parvenus les commentaires de Théodore de Mopsueste?" *RB* 39 (1930), 362–77.
- Devreesse, R., *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (= *ST* 141) (Rome, 1948).
- Greer, Rowan, *Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian* (London, 1961).
- Lietzmann, Hans, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904).
- Loofs, Friedrich, *Paulus von Samosata. Eine Untersuchung zur altkirchlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* (= *TU* XLIV) (Leipzig, 1924).

- McLeod, F. G., *The Roles of Christ's Humanity in Salvation: Insights from Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, 2005).
- McLeod, F. G., *Theodore of Mopsuestia* (London, 2009).
- McNamara, K., "Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian Heresy," *IThQ* 19 (1952), 254–74; 20 (1953), 172–91.
- Mühlenberg, E., *Apollinaris von Laodicea* (Göttingen, 1969).
- Norris, R. A., *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford, 1963).
- Richard, M., "La Tradition des fragments du traité *περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως* de Théodore de Mopsueste," *Le Muséon* 56 (1943), 55–75 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 41).
- Richard, M., "Les Traités de Cyrille d'Alexandrie contre Diodore et Théodore et les fragments dogmatiques de Diodore de Tarse," in *Mélanges F. Grat* I (Paris, 1946), 99–116 (= *Opera Minora* II, no. 51).
- Romanides, J. S., "Highlights in the Debate over Theodore of Mopsuestia's Christology and Some Suggestions for a Fresh Approach," *GOTR* 5 (1959–60), 140–85.
- Sullivan, F. A., *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (= *AnGr* 82) (Rome, 1956).

## 5. Language

- Blass, F., Debrunner, A., and Rehkopf, F., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1975).
- Böhlig, G., *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (= *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten* 2) (Berlin, 1956).
- Dieterich, K., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (= *Byzantinisches Archiv* 1) (Leipzig, 1898).
- Kühner, R., Blass, F., and Gerth, B., *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1890–1904).
- Ljungvik, H., *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala, 1932).
- Maas, P., "Rhythmisches zu der Kunstprosa des Konstantinos Manasses," *BZ* 11 (1902), 505–12 (= *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1973), no. 115: 426–34).
- Maas, P., "Die Rhythmik der Satzschlüsse bei dem Historiker Prokopios," *BZ* 21 (1912), 52–4 (= *Kl. Schr.*, no. 116: 434–6).
- Meyer, W., *Der accentuierte Satzschluss* (Göttingen, 1891).
- Schmid, W., *Der Atticismus* (Stuttgart, 1887–93).
- Wolf, K., *Studien sur Sprache des Malalas* (Munich, 1912).

## Leontii Monachi Byzantini Opera



## SIGLA

### Codices Manuscripti

#### (a) Codices Leontii principales

- V: Vaticanus Graecus 2195 (saec. x)
- O: Oxoniensis Laudianus Graecus 92B (saec. x)
- G: Januensis 27 (olim in Bibliotheca Missionis Urbanae S. Caroli; nunc in Bibliotheca Franzoniana) (saec. xi)
- P: Parisinus Graecus 1335 (saec. xiv)

#### (b) Codices fragmenta Leontii continentes

- S: Parisinus Supplementi Graeci 8 (saec. xii)
- T: Atheniensis 1431 (saec. xii)

#### (c) Codices "Excerpta Leontina" (A) continentes

- h: Heidelbergensis Palatinus Graecus 281 (saec. xi)
- e: Escorialensis Graecus 15 (R. I. 15) (saec. xi)
- w: Vindobonensis Philosophicus Graecus 174 (saec. xiii)
- p: Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 262 (saec. xv)
- m: Escorialensis Graecus 252 (Y. I. 13) (saec. xvi)
- r: Vaticanus Reginensis Graecus 108 (saec. xvi)
- t: Parisinus Supplementi Graeci 163 (saec. xviii)

#### (d) Codices Florilegii quod *Doctrina Patrum* nuncupatur (*Epaporemata* Leontii continentes)

- A: Vaticanus Graecus 2200 (saec. ix)
- C: Oxoniensis Miscellaneus Graecus 184 (saec. xii)
- D: Parisinus Graecus 1144 (saec. xv)

[ ]: verba inclusa omittenda sunt

< >: verba inclusa ab editore addita sunt

...: verba omissa in relatione comprehenduntur

...: verba omissa in relatione non comprehenduntur

ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ  
ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ  
ἘΓΟΥΝ ΠΡΟΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ  
ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ

Foreword or Introduction,  
by the Blessed Hermit Leontius,  
to the Work that Follows

[PG 86 1268 B] Ἄνδρες μὲν θεοφιλεῖς καὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχοντες τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διαλέξεις, ὥς συχνῶς πεποιήμεθα, ἀποδεξάμενοι, προὔτρεψαν ἡμᾶς ἐγγράφως τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων ἐπαπορήσεων καὶ λύσεων ὑποτυπώσεις τινὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παραδοῦναι, 5 ὥς πού τις ἔφη, "λήθης φάρμακον καὶ μνήμης ἐμπύρευμα," χρόνου τε, ᾧ τὰ πάντα καλύπτεται, ψυχαγωγίαν αὐτοῖς εἰσφέρειν δυνησομένης. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλάκις ἐνοχληθέντες ἀνεβαλλόμεθα καὶ δι' ἕτερα μὲν πλείστα, διὰ δύο δὲ μάλιστα. δι' ἓν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν πρὸς συγγραφικὴν ἔξιν, ὅτι μὴδὲ τῆς ἔξω παιδείας μετεσχέκαμεν, καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν δὲ 10 διδασκαλίαν, ἣν ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιχορηγεῖ τοῖς καθαροῖς τὴν καρδίαν, οὕτω κεκτήμεθα—οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι, [1269 A] μικρόν τι ἑμαυτοῦ συνιείς, τῶν νυνὶ σοφῶν πάντῃ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοούντων—ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πόνους ἀγνωμοσύνη πολὺν ὄκνον ἐνεποιεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ μου πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχῆσαι τῷ ἐπιτάγματι τῆς 15 ἀγάπης. Οὗς γὰρ μὴ πέπεικε τὰ μετὰ τοσαύτης χάριτος καὶ σοφίας Θεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἔξω φιλοσοφίαν ἀκρότητος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας ἐκτεθέντα συντάγματα, πῶς ἂν ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος καὶ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς προφερόμενος διανοίας καὶ γλώττης πείσειεν λόγος;

Ὅμως (οὐ γὰρ τοῖς κεκρατημένοις ἐγχειρεῖν, τῆς δὲ τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων 20 ἀσφαλείας ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν ἐπιτετάχασι) πειθαρχεῖν φιλίῳ προστάγματι νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἔγνωμεν. Καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς πάντας λόγους συνετάξαμεν. ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τῆς ἀντιθέτου καὶ [B] ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως Νεστορίου τε καὶ Εὐτυχούς ἐν ταύτῳ τὰς ἀνθυποφορὰς καὶ τὰς ὑπαπαντήσεις κεφαλαιωδῶς περιέχει,

Scholion ad 24, κεφαλαιωδῶς: ἐν συντόμῳ V (Σ<sup>2</sup>)

5 λήθης φάρμακον: cf. Euripides, *Palamedes*, fr. 582, 1.1 (ed. A. Nauck (Leipzig, 1876), 155); μνήμης ἐμπύρευμα: cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 8.22 (PG 35, 810 C13) 22 τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως: cf. 1 Tim. 6.20; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* titulus; Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 27.1

6 ψυχαγωγίας G εἰσφέρεις G 7 δὲ om. OG 13 παλαιοὺς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων πόνους: παλαιοὺς Πατέρας O 14 ἐπιτάγματι: πράγματι O 20 ἐπιτεταχόσι G post πειθαρχεῖν add. δὲ V 24 ὑπαπαντήσεις; παντήσεις G

Devout men, eagerly longing for divine teaching, and approving of the public disputations which we have frequently held, have urged us to give them some sort of written copies of the questions and solutions we have often proposed orally: because they can provide them with what someone once called "a remedy against forgetfulness," "a hidden spark for the memory," an exercise against time, by which all things are hidden. But we have often put it off, because we were burdened with work and for many other reasons, but especially for two: first, because we do not have sufficient practise in writing, since we never had any worldly education; and also because we have not yet received the spiritual instruction which God's grace supplies to the pure of heart—for I am not ashamed to have some little knowledge of myself, when those who are now considered wise are completely ignorant of themselves—and secondly, their foolish arrogance towards the ancient labors of the holy Fathers makes my mind very hesitant to obey this command of love. For if writings set forth with so much of God's grace and wisdom, and with so much excellence in worldly philosophy and other kinds of learning, have failed to persuade them, how may this brief work do so, produced by little intelligence or eloquence?

Nevertheless, we have decided to obey this friendly command now, even if we did not do so before (for they did not tell us to lay hands on the strong or to have a care for the safety of the healthy). We have composed three books in all. The first of them contains, in summary form, replies to and refutations of the contradictory pseudo-insights of Nestorius and Eutyches, in one essay;

σχεδόν τι ἐν ὀλίγοις τὰς πάσας αὐτῶν περικλείων ἐπαπορήσεις· ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πεποιήμεθα λόγον, ἐκάστου δηλαδὴ κεφαλαίου τὰ ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναφέρεσθαι δυνάμενα συμπεριέχοντος. Ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφή πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον σκοπὸν καιρίως τέθιται “τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα  
5 τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα ἐναντίας δοκίσεως Νεστορίου τε καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπή” —ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν τὴν θεότητα δοκίσει, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν, μετ’ εὐπρεπούντων ὀνομάτων δογματίζουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων προσθεμένους τῇ  
10 κατεφθαρμένη ἐννοίᾳ τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν ἀποτείνεται· τούτους γὰρ [C] καὶ μάλιστα δικαίως ἂν τις ἐλέγξειεν, διαφορὰν ἐπισταμένους καὶ ιδιότητος καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου Κυρίου, «τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ». Τοὺς γὰρ πρὸς τὰς φύσεις ἀντιστατοῦντας καὶ τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν ἀρνούμενους μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, ιδιότητάς τε καὶ  
15 ἐνεργείας τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀθέσμως συγχέοντας, οὐ μᾶλλον γελῶμεν τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἢ οἰκτείρομεν τῆς ἀσεβείας, περὶ τοῦ τρόπου διαπορούντας τῶν μηδὲ ὁμολογουμένων αὐτοῖς μηδὲ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ὑποκειμένων φύσεων· ὑποθέσθαι γὰρ ἔδει πρῶτον αὐτοὺς τὴν φύσιν τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος εἶναί τε καὶ φυλάττεσθαι  
20 μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, καὶ οὕτω περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα τούτων σχέσεως καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως πολυπραγμονεῖν. [D] Διαλογικῶς δὲ χαρακτῆρι διεσχημάτισται οὗτος ὁ λόγος, οὐδὲν, ὥς οἶμαι, τῶν λυσιτελούντων τε καὶ ὁρώντων εἰς τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου ζήτησιν καταλιπών. Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ συγχεθῇ τὰ πρόσωπα, τὸ μὲν τοῦ διαπορούντος πρόσωπον ἀστερίσκῳ,  
25 τὸ δὲ τοῦ τὰς λύσεις ἐπάγοντος τῷ σταυροειδεῖ κατεσημνηάμεθα τύπῳ. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀλόγως πεπράχαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀστέρι μὲν τὴν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ἀτράνωτον ἐκείνου γνώσιν ὑπηνιξάμεθα, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπασπιστὴν τῷ τροπαίῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ καθωπλίσαμεν.

Scholion ad 4, καιρίως: ἐπιτηδείως, ἄρμοζόντως V (Σ<sup>2</sup>)

9–10 Tit. 2.13

VOG 2 ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ: ὑπ’ αὐτὸ V 3 συμπεριέχοντος: περιέχοντος V  
4 ἐπικείμενον G 5 Νεστορίου τε καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς om. O 7 εὐπρεπούντων:  
εὐπρεπῶν τῶν VO εὐπρεπῶν G 10 εὐνοία G 12 τοῦ: καὶ VG  
17 μηδὲ: μηδ’ O κατ’ αὐτοῖς V αὐτοῖς V τοῦ Χριστοῦ om. OG  
22 ἐσχημάτισται O 23 τοῦ προκειμένου: προκειμένην O 27 γνώσιν:  
γνώμην O 28 καθωπλίσσαμεν G

it includes, under a few headings, practically all their objections. We have arranged this book in chapters, with each chapter including whatever can be referred to it. The title is adapted to the aim of what follows: *An Examination and Refutation of the Opposed Fantasies of Nestorius and Eutyches on the Divinity of Christ*—since the one puts forth fanciful theories in fine-sounding words, according to his good pleasure, on the divinity [of Christ], the other on his humanity.

The second book is directed against those of our own party who adhere to the corrupt opinions of the Aphthartodocetists [= “Incorruptibilists”]. For one can reproach them with special justice, since they recognize the distinction and the properties and energies of the one, single Lord and God, our Savior Jesus Christ. For as far as those who resist the distinction of natures are concerned, who deny any difference between them after the union and confuse the properties and energies in them in an improper way, we laugh at their ignorance, just as much as we pity their irreverence in worrying about the manner [of being] in natures which they do not admit to, or believe exist. They ought first to concede that the nature of Christ’s divinity and the nature of his humanity exist and are preserved after the union, and then busy themselves with their relationship to one another and with the manner of their existence. This book is arranged in dialogue form, and omits, I think, nothing which would be a profitable contribution to the investigation of the subject. And so that the characters might not be confused, we have marked the character of the questioner with a star, and that of the one who provides the answers with a cross. We have not done this arbitrarily, but with the star we are hinting at the faint, unclarified knowledge of the one, and we have armed the other, the warrior of truth, with the trophy of the cross.



Ἐπιγέγραπται οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος· "Πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν προσθεμένους τῇ κατεφθαρμένῃ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν διάλογος".

[1272 A] Ὁ δὲ τρίτος καὶ τελευταῖος τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει κατὰ τῶν ὑποκρινομένων τὴν μεγάλην καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, καὶ τὰ Νεστορίου πρεσβευόντων. Οὗτοι γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων μύσται, τὰς τε θείας γραφὰς καὶ τὰς προηγησάμενας ἀγίας συνόδους προσίεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐ φρονούντες μὲν κατ' αὐτὰς, προκάλυμμα δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσεβείας ταύτας ποιοῦμενοι, πρὸς ἐξαπάτην τῶν ἀπλουστέρων—οἷον Ἀπολινάριος μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνιος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, Νεστόριος δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Εὐτυχῆς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ—οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀγίαν ὑποκρίνονται σύνοδον, ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσέβειαν συγκαλύπτοντες τῇ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ τῶν προσώπων, ἅμα δὲ σφίσιν [B] αὐτοῖς προοδοποιοῦντες τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγχείρησιν. Ὡν τὴν πανουργίαν μετὰ τῆς συμπεπλεγμένης ἀσεβείας ἀνακαλύψαι βουλόμενοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς πρῶτους αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας πατέρας τὸν ἔλεγχον μετηγάγομεν, τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς ἀθεότητος εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγοντες, οὕτω τε καθάπαξ αὐτὰς ἀποφράττειν καὶ τῆς ἀθέου φορᾶς ἀνακόπτειν σπουδάζοντες τῷ ἀπλῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ρεῦμα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀφανισθήσεται, ἐπειδὴ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι πέφυκε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτέλεσματα. Τὸν δὲ λόγον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων εἰς κεφάλαια καταδιείλαμεν, ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου παραγράψαντες διὰ τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ὁ λόγος οὕτως· "Τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀρχοειδεστέρας τῶν Νεστοριανῶν ἀσεβείας, καὶ τῶν ταύτης πατέρων, φωρὰ καὶ θρίαμβος."

Scholion ad 5, πρεσβευόντων: μετὰ αἰτιατικῆς, τιμῶντων μετὰ δοτικῆς, δυσωπούντων V (Σ<sup>2</sup>); ad 7, προσίεσθαι: προσδέχεσθαι V (Σ<sup>2</sup>); Ad 18, μετώπον: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς V (Σ<sup>2</sup>); Ad 20, φώρα: ἐλέγχος, δεῖξις V (Σ<sup>2</sup>)

VOG; ab l. 4, VOGP ante 4 add. P ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΗΜΙΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ Η ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ 3 ἀναφορὰν: ἀνατροπὴν V 5 πρεσβευόντων: φρονούντων G οὗτοι: οὕτω O 6 προηγουμένας O 7 προίεσθαι O 10 ταύτην G 11 πρὸς om. G δὲ: δὲ V 15 ἀποκαλύψαι G 17 τὸ ἐμφανὲς: τοῦμφανὲς G 22 κατεδιείλομεν O καταδιείλομεν P διειλήφαμεν G 25 φωρὰ OGP

This book, then, is entitled: *A Dialogue against Those of our own Party who Adhere to the Corrupt Doctrine of the Aphthartodocetists.*

The third and last book contains the refutation of those who pretend allegiance to the great ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, even though they stand for the doctrines of Nestorius. For they, like doubtless the rest of the devotees of heresy, seem to accept the holy Scriptures and the previous holy Synods, but they do not follow them in their hearts, and make them a veil for their own impiety, to deceive the simple—as Apollinarius and Macedonius professed to follow Nicaea, Nestorius both it and that of Constantinople, Eutyches both of them as well as that of Ephesus. So these [heretics], too, profess allegiance to the holy Synod of Chalcedon, at the same time concealing their impiety with a trustworthy appearance, and preparing their own attack on the truth. Wishing to reveal their villainy, and the impiety interwoven with it, we have turned our accusations against the original ancestors of their impiety, to bring into the open the sources and springs of their godlessness, hoping by one simple argument of truth to cut them off and to push them back from their lifeline. For in this way the remaining stream of impiety will disappear, since when the sources of evil are destroyed, what is produced from them is usually destroyed, as well. We have divided this book of refutations into chapters, putting a number at the start of each to make them easier to remember. This book is entitled: *An Unmasking and a Triumph over the Secret and More Fundamental Impiety of the Nestorians, and of that Heresy's Fathers.*

[C] Παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ τοὺς ἐντευζομένους τῷ δετῷ μετρίῳ συντάγματι  
 συγγνώμην ἡμῖν νέμειν ἐν οἷς τε μὴ καιρίως τοὺς ἐναντίους βεβλήκαμεν,  
 καὶ εἴ τι τοῦ δέοντος ἀσθενέστερον προηγωνισμένοι τῆς ἀληθείας  
 φανείημεν. Τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀξίας τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοίως πάντες  
 5 ἀπολειπόμεθα· τῷ δὲ ζήλῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἄλλος ἄλλου διενηνόχαμεν.  
 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν προπαρασκευὴν ἕκαστος δηλονότι καὶ τὸ μέτρον  
 ἔξει τῆς χάριτος. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ προτρέπομεν τὸν ἐντευζόμενον,  
 ἵνα εἴ τι μὴ σαφῶς αὐτῷ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρησθαι δόξειεν, ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 θεωρήματος βαθύτητα ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐνίων λέξεων παρηλλαγμένην σημασίαν  
 10 τε καὶ ἰδιότητα, τοῦτο μὴ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐντευξιν κακίζειν· ἐπιστήσας  
 γὰρ δις ἢ καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν νοῦν, [D]τρανουμένην αὐτῷ  
 εὐρήσει τῶν λεγομένων τὴν διάνοιαν. Αὐτοτελὴς δὲ μισθὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν  
 ζήτησιν πόνου, τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ εὕρησις. Χρήσεις γε μὴν τῶν συνταγμάτων  
 ἐκάστω τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθειμένοις συνηγορούσας ὑποτετάχαμεν, τὴν  
 15 ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν μαρτυρίας πιστούμενοι.

We ask those who read this humble treatise to pardon us if we have not wounded our enemies mortally, or if we seem to have fought for the truth more weakly than was fitting.

Compared with the dignity of the subject, all of us alike are deficient; we differ from one another only in the zeal of our piety. Everyone, too, of course, receives a measure of grace proportionate to his own preparedness for it. And this I urge lovingly on the reader: that if anything should seem to him to have been said by us unclearly, either because of the depth of the issue or because of the ambiguous meaning and character of certain expressions, he should not criticize it at first sight. For if he applies his mind twice or more to what we have said, he will find that the meaning of our expressions becomes clearer. The discovery of the truth is a sufficient reward for the labor of seeking it. We have added to each of our essays passages which support what we ourselves have written, for we hope to confirm the truth of what we have said also by the testimony of the past.

VOGP 2 νέμειν: ἀπονέμειν P 3 διηγωνισμένοι O 8 ἵν' O  
 εἰρησθαι: εἰρημένων O 9 ἐνίων: τῶν O 10 τούτῳ V 12 αὐτοτελὴς δέ:  
 αὐτῷ τε ἔσται G 14 τὴν ἀλήθειαν: ἀλήθειαν τὴν G

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α'  
ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥ  
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΤΗΤΑ  
ἘΝΑΝΤΙΑΣ ΔΟΚΗΣΕΩΣ  
ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ  
ἘΛΕΓΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΡΟΠΗ

Leontius of Byzantium:  
An Examination and Refutation  
of the Opposed Fantasies  
of Nestorius and Eutyches on the Divinity  
and Humanity of Christ

Book I  
(*Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*)

[1273 A] Τὸν περὶ ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας λόγον, ἡγοῦν προσώπου καὶ φύσεως (ταῦτὸν γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ περὶ ταῦτὸν ἐκάτερα), συγκεχυμένον καὶ ἀτράνωτον παρὰ τοῖς νῦν ὄντα σοφοῖς, τρανώσαι τε καὶ διασαφῆσαι προὔθεμην, ἄλλα τέ τινα κεφάλαια τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενα τῆς πρώτης  
 5 ζητήσεως ἐπιλύσασθαι, Θεοῦ συνεφαπτομένου ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῶν λογισμῶν ὑπερείδοντος διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων εὐχῶν· αἷς καὶ θαρρῶν, εἰς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καθήκα ἐμαυτὸν ἐξέτασιν. Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ὥς οἱ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάντες, καὶ μίαν ἔχοντες τὴν πρὸς τε τὸ καλὸν καὶ τοὺς θεηγόρους ἄνδρας ἐναντίωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς  
 10 τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ἐζηλωκότας καὶ προῖσχομένους διαπτύουσι, καὶ τιμῶντες ἡμᾶς ταύτη λελήθασι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ [B] τῆς ἀτιμίας. Οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰ τε θεῖα παίζουσι καὶ τοὺς θεολόγους ὑβρίζουσι· καὶ τί μέγα, εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς μηδὲν ὄντας ἐξουθενοῦσιν; Ὡν τοῦτο μόνον ἄξιόν ἐστι θαυμάζειν, ὅτι πάσης μὲν ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐν ἔργοις σπουδαίως ἀμελοῦσιν,  
 15 κελεύουσι δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι σοφούς, καὶ εἰσιν οἷον ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος συνετοί, καὶ τὸ θέλειν αὐτοὺς μόνον εὐπαιδεύτους ἀπέφηεν· “Ἀκροφιλοσόφους” αὐτοὺς τις τῶν ἀστειοτέρων χαριέντως ὠνόμακεν. Ἀλλ’ οὐ χρὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μοχθηρὰν προαίρεσιν ἡμᾶς γέ τι καθυφεῖναι ἢ τῆς παρρησίας ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, τούναντίον μὲν οὖν, τοῖς τῶν μακαρίων  
 20 ἀνδρῶν ἀθλήμασι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὡς τὰ μάλιστα παραθήγεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτὸν πάσχειν τῷ θερμοτάτῳ σιδήρῳ. Ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ στομοῦται τῷ ψυχρῷ προσομιλήσας ὕδατι· καὶ [C] ἡμεῖς τοῖς τούτων ἀγῶσι πρὸς τοὺς ἄθλους ῥωννύμεθα. Εἴεν δὴ οὖν τῷ τομωτάτῳ λόγῳ, “ὥσπερ μαχαίρα διστόμῳ”, τὴν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα αὐτῶν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνστασὶν τε καὶ  
 25 ἀντιπαράταξιν διατέμνοντες,

I have proposed to clarify and explain the concepts of hypostasis and essence, or of person and nature (for both [pairs] are the same, and each refers to the same thing), since they are confused and unclear in the minds of those who are now considered wise; and I shall explain some other matters connected with this first investigation, if God joins in our enterprise and overlooks, through your prayers, the weakness of our arguments. It is those prayers which gave me the courage to set down and investigate this subject. We are not unaware that those who now oppose us, making one single resistance both to holiness and to those who speak holy things, show the same contempt both for them and for us who are zealous for their teaching and propound it; unknowingly, they honor us by letting us share this dishonor. These same people make fun of sacred things and commit outrage against the theologians; is it a great thing, then, if they have no regard for us, who are worth nothing? This is the only remarkable thing, in fact: that they carefully neglect all practical virtue, but officially proclaim themselves to be wise. They are, one might say, intelligent by decree; their will alone proves their education so that one wit has playfully named them, “Philosophers at the Top.” But we need not yield anything of our freedom to fight, simply because of their wicked politics; on the contrary, we must be very greatly stimulated to courage by the struggles of the saints, and be affected like hot iron. For iron is hardened by its contact with cold water, and we are strengthened for the fight by their battles. Well, then, let us cut through the resistance and opposition of both sides to the truth with the sharpest argument, like a two-edged sword, and let us refute them, beginning with the following consideration.

23 Hebr. 4.12

VOG Titulus TOY AYTOY ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΑΣΚΗΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΓΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΡΟΠΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑΣ ΔΟΚΗΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ G  
 2 post φύσεως add. οὐ V, secunda manu 4 κεφάλαια om. O 8 τε om. O  
 12 τὰ τε: καὶ τὰ G καὶ τοὺς θεολόγους ὑβρίζουσι om. G μὲν om. G 16 αὐτοὺς  
 post εὐπαιδεύτους transp. G 17 ante Ἀκροφιλοσόφους add. ὡς V σαρκοφιλοσόφους O  
 σαπροφολοσόφους G χαριέντως om. O ὠνόμασεν O 20 τὰ om. G  
 22 ἀγῶσι: ἀγωνίσμασιν G 23 δὴ: δὲ V 25 διατεμνόντες V



ἀνατρέψωμεν, τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχόμενοι.

Οἱ τῆς Νεστορίου ἀνθρωπολατρίας καί γε οἱ τῆς Εὐτυχοῦς φαντασίας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἐκατέρας φαντασίας μαθηταὶ—καλῶς γὰρ αὐτοὺς [1276 A] εὐλαβῆς καὶ θεῖος ἀνὴρ οὕτω κέκληκεν, «Ἐναντιοδοκῆτας» ἐκατέρους  
 5 καλέσας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν θεότητα, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα δοκῇσι λέγουσιν εἶναι ἐν τῷ Σωτῆρι, πλὴν ὅσον ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τὴν “εὐδοκίαν” καὶ τὴν “ἀξίαν” ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα φαντασίας, ὁ δὲ τὴν “ἄρρητον σάρκα” ἀντὶ τῆς “φύσει οὐχ ἡμετέρας” προϊσχονται, εὐπρεπέσιν ὀνόμασι καὶ εὐφήμοις ῥήμασιν, ὥσπερ χρώμασιν ἐπιπλάστοις, τὸ τῆς ἐναντίας μὲν,  
 10 Ἰσῆς δὲ ἀσεβείας δυσειδὲς ἀποσεμνύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντες· ὥσανεὶ τούτου ἐσπουδασμένου ἡμῖν κάλλος ἀσκεῖν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας χρυσοῦν ὄντως πρόσωπον ἐποπτεύειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐρασμιώτερον, κἂν τὸ τῆς λέξεως εὐπρεπὲς καὶ παιδρὸν μὴ προσῇ· μὴδὲ γὰρ κομμωτικῶν αὐτὴν προσδεῖσθαι καλλωπισμάτων, [B]φυσικῶς κάλλει λελαμπρυσμένην καὶ  
 15 μὴδὲν δεομένην τῆς ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων ὥσπερ προστριμμάτων ἀπατηλῆς ἐπιμορφώσεως. Οὗτοι δὲ οὖν, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀπομαχόμενοι, διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸν κατ’ αὐτῆς ἐμερίσαντο πόλεμον, ταῖς αὐταῖς προτάσεσιν ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποχρώμενοι σκοπόν· ὥστε τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων συμφωνίαν ἐνὶ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλέγχῳ πρὸς τῶν  
 20 γνωρίμων αὐτῆς ἀνατρέπεσθαι, καὶ γίνεσθαι περιουσίαν νίκης τῆς πονηρίας τὴν συμφωνίαν. Οἷς γὰρ ἂν θάτερον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν συμπεπλεγμένων ἀνατρέψαιμεν, συνανατέτραπται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος.  
 [C] Ἰστέον γὰρ ὡς ταῦτόν πέπονθε περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν Εὐτυχῆς πρὸς Νεστόριον, ὁ περὶ τὴν θεολογίαν Σαβέλλιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειον. Ἐκεῖνοί τε  
 25 γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς τὸ ἴσον κακὸν ἐμπεπτώκασιν, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν συγχέων τὰς ὑποστάσεις, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συνδιαιρῶν ταύταις καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν.

The disciples of Nestorius’ man-worship and of Eutyches’ reduction to fantasy—or better, the disciples of both kinds of fantasy: well has a certain pious and godly man [= Nonnus] labeled them, in calling each of them “opposite kinds of docetist.” For the one group says there only seems to be divinity in the Savior, the other [there only seems to be] humanity; except insofar as each group tries to give a respectable appearance to its opposing, but equally ugly impiety by smearing it with the colors of fine-sounding names and pious phrases—one group proposes “good pleasure” and “dignity,” instead of saying the divinity is an illusion; the other speaks of “ineffable flesh,” instead of saying “naturally not [like] ours.” As if we were interested in fitting ourselves out with verbal beauty rather than gazing on the truly golden face of truth, than which nothing is lovelier—even if there is no elegance or brilliance of style involved. For truth needs no further ornament for its decoration, but is splendid with natural beauty and has no need of deceptive transformation of language, like cosmetic powders. So these heretics, fighting with both each other and the truth, have divided up the war on her in opposite camps, each of them using the same propositions for their own ends. As a result, their concord in opposition can be defeated by a single assault of truth at the hands of her pupils, and agreement in wickedness will pave the way for overwhelming victory. For by the same arguments we shall use to defeat one of the confederates in impiety, we shall find that the other side, too, has been defeated along with them.

For one should realize that Eutyches stands in the same relationship to Nestorius on the subject of the Incarnation [*oikonomia*], that Sabellius does to Arius on that of the Trinity [*theologia*]. For they have also fallen in opposite ways into the same evil: the one confuses the hypostases into one because of the essence; the other, because of the hypostases, divides the essence along with them.

Scholion ad 5, εὐλαβῆς καὶ θεῖος ἀνὴρ: περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Νόννου φησί V (Σ') G

VOG 2 γε om. V post δὲ add. οἱ V 6 εἶναι post Σωτῆρι transp. O  
 7 ἀξίαν: ἀταξίαν G σάρκα: οὐσίαν O 8 οὐχ: καὶ codd. προϊσχονται V  
 10 δυσώδες G ἀποσεμνύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντες: ἀποσεμνύνοντες G 16 τε om. O  
 17 αὐτῆς: αὐτοῖς O 20 αὐτῆς: αὐτοῖς O 22 ante συνανατέτραπται add.  
 τούτοις V συνανατρέπεται O 24 τὸν om. G τε om. G

καὶ οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, ὁ μὲν τέμνει τὰς φύσεις εἰς ὑποστάσεις, ὁ δὲ  
 φύρει τὰς φύσεις εἰς φύσιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιεῖ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὑποστάσεις, ὁ  
 δὲ τὰς φύσεις εἰς φύσιν ἀναχέει. Οἷς γὰρ προβλήμασι διαιρουμένην ὑπὸ  
 τῶν προτέρων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν Τριάδα, τούτοις συγχρομένην ὑπὸ τῶν  
 5 ὑστέρων εὐρίσκομεν τὴν οἰκονομίαν· οἷς δὲ διαιροῦσι τὴν οἰκονομίαν οἱ  
 νῦν, τούτοις ἐκεῖνοι συγχέουσι τὴν θεότητα. Φέρε δὴ οὖν τὰς προτάσεις  
 αὐτῶν τὰς σοφιστικὰς εἰς μέσον τῷ λόγῳ παραγάγωμεν, [D] καὶ ὥσπερ  
 ἐν δικαστηρίῳ χώραν αὐτοῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐνδόντες, οὕτω  
 διαλῦσαι τὰς ματαιὰς αὐτῶν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπινοίας πειρασόμεθα.  
 10 Α' Φασὶ γάρ· "Εἰ δύο φύσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ φατε, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ  
 φύσις ἀνυπόστατος, δύο ἄρα ἂν εἶεν καὶ αἱ ὑποστάσεις."

Εἰς δὲ ἔστιν ἀμφοτέροις, ὡς ἔφην, ἀγών, καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς ἡ διάφορος· οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἵνα ταῖς φύσεσι συνεισαγάγωσι τὰς ὑποστάσεις, οἱ δὲ ἵνα διὰ τῶν  
 ὑποστάσεων καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἀνέλωσι, τῷ αὐτῷ κέχρηται προβλήματι.  
 15 Ἀλλ' ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν οἱ τῆς Εὐτυχοῦς μοίρας· ὁ μὲν γάρ τις  
 κοινὸς ἡμῖν πρὸς ἑκατέρους, ὁ δὲ ἰδιὸς ἔστι [1277 A] πρὸς τούτους ἀγών.  
 Τί δὲ ὑμεῖς φατε; Μίαν ἀπλῶς λέγετε φύσιν; "Οὐ," φασὶν, "ἀλλὰ μίαν  
 σεσαρκωμένην." Οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ χαριέστερον ὑμῖν συμπλακῆναι  
 τὴν μὲν δὴ μίαν ἣν φατε τοῦ Λόγου φύσιν λαβόντες ἔχομεν παρ' ὑμῶν.  
 20 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἔστω ἡ διαμάχη, ἣν φύσιν μὲν ἐτέραν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 Λόγου φαμὲν ἡμεῖς, σὰρξ δὲ πρὸς ὑμῶν καλεῖσθαι φιλεῖ. Τί φατε περὶ τῆς  
 σαρκὸς ταύτης; Ἐχει φύσιν, ἢ οὐσίαν, ἢ μέρος γε φύσεως; (Τοῦ δὲ πόσου,  
 ὑμεῖς ἂν εἴητε κύριοι, εἴτε ἡμισυ, εἴτε τρίτον, εἴτε τι ἄλλο ποστημόριον  
 25 ἀνούσιος, ἢ φύσεως ἁμοιρος; Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀποφεύξεσθε τὴν ὑμετέραν  
 ἀπορίαν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι σὰρξ ἀνούσιος, ἢ φύσεως ἐκτός, δείξατε τίς οὐσα  
 καὶ [B] πῶς ἔχουσα τυγχάνει αὐτῇ, καὶ ἡμεῖς στέρξομεν. Εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐσχάτης  
 ἔστιν ἀμαθίας σάρκα ὑποτίθεσθαι, οὐκ οὖσαν τοῦθ' ὅπερ καὶ λέγεται,

VOG 7 μέσων τῶν λόγων G 9 διασῶσαι G πειρασώμεθα G 11 ἄρα  
 om. OG αἱ om. O 12 ὡς ἔφην om. O; ante ἀμφοτέροις transp. G ante ἀγών  
 add. ὁ G 13 συνεισάγωσι G 15 ἀκουσάτωσαν G 16 πρὸς τούτους ante  
 ἰδιος transp. G τούτους: ἑκατέρους O 18 κωλύσει G 20 ἡ διαμάχη: ἴδια  
 μάχη O 23 ποστημόριον O 24 ἐθέλετε G 25 ἀπεκφεύξεσθε G; fort.  
 legendum ἀποφεύξαισθε ὑμετέραν: ἡμετέραν Torres 26 ἀπορίαν: ἐπηρείαν G  
 27 post ἡμεῖς add. γε O 28 οὐκ οὖσαν om. O

And these, too, taken in the opposite order, do the same: the one cuts up the  
 natures into hypostases, the other mingles the natures into one; and the one  
 makes the hypostasis hypostases, the other mixes up the natures into one  
 nature. The same arguments that one finds used by earlier writers to divide the  
 Trinity are used later, we discover, to confuse the Incarnation; and the arguments  
 by which our contemporaries divide the Incarnation they used to confuse the  
 Trinity. Come, then: let us bring their sophistic propositions before us in  
 argument, and after giving them the chance to present their accusations against  
 us, we shall try—as in a courtroom—to put an end to their silly theories against  
 the truth.

1. For they say: "If you say there are two natures in the one Christ, and if  
 there is no such thing as an anhypostatic nature, then there would be two  
 hypostases also."

As I said, there is one issue at stake with both, even though the focus is  
 different; for they use the same argument to justify themselves, the one group  
 in order to include hypostases with the [separate] natures, the other to abolish  
 also [separate] natures through [identification with] hypostases. But let those  
 who belong to the Eutychian party listen to what we say: for there is one  
 common struggle between us and both parties, but another particular one  
 against *them*. What then do you say? Do you hold there is simply one nature?  
 "No," they reply: "One nature made flesh." Nothing prevents us, then, from  
 agreeing with you happily: we accept from you the one nature of the Logos you  
 speak of; but our struggle is over the other, which *we* say is a second nature  
 alongside that of the Logos, but which tends to be called "flesh" by you. What do  
 you say about this flesh? Does it have a nature or essence, or part of a nature?  
 (You will have to judge how much, whether half or a third or whatever other  
 fraction you want to call it.) Or to use the same form of argument as you do: is  
 there such a thing as flesh without essence, or without a share in nature? How  
 can you escape your difficulty? For if flesh exists without essence or apart from  
 nature, show what it is and what its state is, and we shall be satisfied. But if it is  
 the ultimate folly to suppose flesh that is not what it is said to be,

ἢ οὐ λεγομένην ὅπερ ἐστίν, πῶς ἀποφεύξεσθε ἢν ἡμῖν αὐτοὶ προεβάλεσθε  
 πρότασιν; Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι σὰρξ ἀνούσιος, τουτέστι φύσιν οὐκ ἔχουσα, οὐκ  
 ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἀνυπόστατος, οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι σὰρξ ἀνυπόστατος· ὥρα δὴ οὖν  
 5 ὑμᾶς ἢ τέλειον ἀποσκευάσασθαι τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν φύσιν ἢ δύο ὑποστάσεις  
 διδόναι τῷ Κυρίῳ, κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν νομοθεσίαν, τὴν φάσκουσιν «Οὐκ  
 ἔστι φύσις ἀνυπόστατος». Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι φύσις ἀνυπόστατος, φύσιν δὲ  
 τοῦ Λόγου λέγετε, καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἄρα τῷ Λόγῳ δώσετε, καὶ ἔστι λοιπὸν  
 περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ ζητούμενον· εἰ μὴ καὶ αὕτη τὴν φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν  
 10 ἰδίαν, ἀξιούται καὶ τῆς κλήσεως, [C] καὶ ταύτης γε τυχοῦσα, ἔχοι καὶ τὴν  
 ὑπόστασιν, ἢ μὴ ἔχουσα τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ τὴν φύσιν προσαπολέσει.  
 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀπορίαις ἐνέχεσθε, καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ  
 τοῦτο τὸ πανούργον ὑμᾶς ἔξω τῶν εὐθυνῶν πεποιήκεν, ὧν ἡμᾶς  
 ἐγράψασθε. Ἐν ἔτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐπιλύσαντες, πολλοῦ τινὸς ἄξιοι φανείσθε·  
 15 ἐκ δύο ἄρα ἔστι καὶ ὑποστάσεων; καὶ τίς λοιπὸν τῇ Νεστορίου διαιρέσει  
 ὑπεύθυνος γεγένηται, ὑμῖν παραχωροῦμεν σκοπεῖν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀπεπεμφάμεθα· τοῖς δὲ ἐκ διαμέτρου  
 ὑμῖν ἀποσφαλεῖσι τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω διαλεξόμεθα·

Οὐ ταῦτόν, ὦ οὔτοι, ὑπόστασις καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ὥσπερ ἕτερον [D]  
 20 οὐσία καὶ ἐνούσιον. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις τὸν τινὰ δηλοῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐνυπόστατον  
 τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑπόστασις πρόσωπον ἀφορίζει τοῖς χαρακτηριστικοῖς  
 ἰδιώμασι, τὸ δὲ γε ἐνυπόστατον τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ συμβεβηκὸς δηλοῖ, ὃ ἐν  
 ἑτέρῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεωρεῖται—τοιαῦται δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ  
 ποιότητες, αἵ τε οὐσιώδεις καὶ ἐπουσιώδεις καλούμεναι, ὧν οὐδετέρα  
 25 ἐστὶν οὐσία, τουτέστι πρᾶγμα ὑφεστῶς—ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν  
 θεωρεῖται, ὡς χρῶμα ἐν σώματι καὶ ὡς ἐπιστήμη ἐν ψυχῇ. Ὁ τοίνυν  
 λέγων, «Οὐκ ἔστιν φύσις ἀνυπόστατος», ἀληθῶς μὲν λέγει, οὐ μὴν ὀρθῶς  
 συμπεραίνει, τὸ μὴ ἀνυπόστατον συνάγων

or not said to be what it is, how will you escape the line of argument you  
 proposed against us yourselves? For if there is no flesh without essence—that is,  
 not having a nature—and there is no nature without hypostasis, then there will  
 be no flesh without hypostasis. It is time, then, for you either to remove nature  
 from flesh altogether, or to give two hypostases to the Lord, according to your  
 rule which says: there is no nature without hypostasis. For if there is no nature  
 without hypostasis, and you speak of the “nature of the Logos,” then you will  
 attribute to the Logos also a hypostasis. But the question about the flesh remains:  
 if it, too, granted it *has* a nature of its own, should not also be worth *calling* a  
 nature, and having the name of nature, should not also have its own hypostasis;  
 or if, not having an hypostasis, it will not lose nature as well. So you are stuck  
 fast in your own difficulties, and no further sleight-of-hand has been able to  
 exempt you from the indictment you have instigated against us. And when you  
 have solved one further problem, you will seem very deserving indeed: if there  
 is no nature without hypostasis, but you confess the Lord to be “from two  
 natures,” then will he be from two hypostases? And who then is responsible for  
 Nestorian division, we leave it up to you to investigate!

So we have dismissed you, with the same arguments [you yourselves use];  
 but against those who have departed from the truth in the opposite way from  
 you, we shall argue as follows:

Hypostasis, gentlemen, and the hypostatic are not the same thing, just as  
 essence and the essential are different. For the hypostasis signifies the individual,  
 but the hypostatic the essence; and the hypostasis defines the person by means  
 of peculiar characteristics, while the hypostatic signifies that something is not  
 an accident, which has its being in another and is not perceived by itself. Such  
 are all qualities, those called essential and those called non-essential; neither of  
 them is the essence, which is a subsistent thing—but is perceived always in  
 association with an essence, as with color in a body or knowledge in a soul. He  
 then who says, “There is no such thing as an anhypostatic nature,” speaks truly;  
 but he does not draw a correct conclusion when he argues from its being  
 not-anhypostatic

VOG; ab l. 16, VOGA 1 ἀποφεύξεσθε OG; fort. legendum «ἂν» ἀποφεύξαισθε  
 προὑβάλεσθε O; προὑβάλλεσθε G 4 τῆς om. V 9 ἔχει G<sup>ac</sup> 12 τὸ om. O  
 ὑμᾶς om. O 13 ἀπόρων: ἀπορουμένων G 14 δύο δὲ: δὲ δύο G  
 15 post ἄρα add. λοιπὸν G ante λοιπὸν add. ἄρα G 16 γενήσεται G ἡμῖν  
 Torres 18 σφαλεῖσι G 19 ante οὐ ταῦτόν add. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΡΟΥΝΤΟΝ ΕΙ  
 ΕΣΤΙ ΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΝΥΠΟΣΤΑΤΟΣ O ὦ οὔτοι om. A ante ὥσπερ add. ἀλλ’  
 ἕτερον G 22 γε om. V δ: ὅπερ hewpr; ὅτιπερ m 25 πρᾶγματος A (πρᾶγμα  
 το d) post ἀλλ’ add. δ V 27 ἀληθὲς V

εἰς τὸ ὑπόστασιν εἶναι· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις μὴ εἶναι λέγοι σῶμα ἀσχημάτιστον, [1280 A] ἀληθὲς λέγων, ἔπειτα συνάγοι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς, τὸ σχῆμα σῶμα εἶναι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖσθαι. Ἀνυπόστατος μὲν οὖν φύσις, τουτέστιν οὐσία, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ποτέ· οὐ μὴν ἡ φύσις ὑπόστασις, ὅτι  
 5 μὴδὲ ἀντιστρέφει. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις καὶ φύσις, ἡ δὲ φύσις οὐκέτι καὶ ὑπόστασις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον ἐπιδέχεται· ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις, καὶ τὸν τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰδούς λόγον ἐπέχει, ἡ δὲ τοῦ τινός ἐστι δηλωτική· καὶ ἡ μὲν καθολικοῦ πράγματος χαρακτηρὰ δηλοῖ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἀποδιαστέλλεται. Καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν  
 10 μιᾶς κυρίως λέγεται τὰ ὁμοούσια, καὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος τοῦ εἶναι κοινός· ὑποστάσεως δὲ ὅρος ἢ τὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν μὲν ταῦτά, ἀριθμῶ δὲ διαφέροντα, ἢ τὰ ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων συνεστῶτα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ εἶναι κοινωνίαν ἅμα τε καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις κεκτημένα· [B] οὕτω γέ τοί φημι «κοινωνοῦντα τοῦ εἶναι», οὐχ ὡς συμπληρωτικά τῆς ἀλλήλων οὐσίας,  
 15 ὅπερ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν οὐσιωδῶς κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορουμένων—ποιότητες δὲ αὗται καλοῦνται—ἀλλ' ὡς τῆς θατέρου φύσεως καὶ οὐσίας μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν θεωρουμένης, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς συγκειμένης καὶ συμπεφυκυίας· ὅπερ ἂν τις εὖροι καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων μὲν πραγμάτων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὧν κοινὴ μὲν ἡ  
 20 ὑπόστασις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἡ φύσις, καὶ ὁ λόγος διάφορος.

B' "Ἄλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος," φασίν, "εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἑτεροειδῶν συνέστηκεν, [C] ἀλλ' οὖν οὐδ' ὁπότερον αὐτῶν δίχα θατέρου τὸ εἶναι ἔσχηκεν· ὁ δὲ Λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἀτελῶν συνέστηκε μερῶν, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τέλεια ἔχει τὰ μέρη, καὶ ταύτη οὐδὲ μέρη ἂν εἰκότως καλοῖντο.

Scholion ad 2 ff.: ὅτι οὐ ταῦτ' οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις, καὶ ἀλλὸ ὑπόστασις καὶ ἀλλὸ ἐνυπόστατος, καὶ ἀλλὸ οὐσία καὶ ἀλλὸ ἐνούσιος, καὶ σκοπεῖ ἀκριβῶς ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν διαφορὰν V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 11, ὑποστάσεως δὲ ὅρος ...: τί ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις καὶ ὁσαχῶς αὕτη V (Σ<sup>1</sup>)

VOG A; ab l. 16, VOG 1 μὴ εἶναι post ἀσχημάτιστον transp. G post μὴ εἶναι add. ἀσώματον τὸ σχῆμα G<sup>ac</sup>, quod postea eradicatum est λέγοι om. A 2 ἀληθῶς G post ἀληθῶς add. μὲν G<sup>ac</sup>, quod postea eradicatum est συνάγει OA τῷ σώματι VA 4 τουτέστιν οὐσία om. O ποτέ om. A 5 οὐκέτι: οὐκ ἐστι A 5-6 καὶ ὑπόστασις: καὶ om. G 6 ὑποδέχεται Wp 7 ἑαυτὸ O; αὐτὸ A 8 δηλωτικόν A χαρακτηρὰ δηλοῖ om. O; ἐστὶ δηλωτική G 9 κοινού: καθολικοῦ G<sup>ac</sup> μὲν om. O 10 κυρίως om. A λέγονται A 11 τὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν: τὰ om. OG<sup>ac</sup> μὲν om. OG 13-14 οὕτω γέ τοί φημι κοινωνοῦντα τοῦ εἶναι om. d 14 κοινωνοῦνται epd 16 ποιότητες δὲ αὗται καλοῦνται—ἀλλ' ὡς τῆς θατέρου φύσεως καὶ οὐσίας μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν θεωρουμένης ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς συγκειμένης καὶ συμπεφυκυίας: ὡς ἐν σώματι ποιότης, λευκότης, μελανότης A 18 καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων μὲν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥκιστα: καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, μᾶλλον A 21 φησὶ G 22 οὖν om. G

to its being an hypostasis—just as if one should say, correctly, that there is no such thing as a body without form, but then conclude incorrectly that form is body, not that it is seen *in* the body. There could never, then, be an anhypostatic nature—that is, essence. But the nature is not a hypostasis, because it is not a reversible attribution; for a hypostasis is also a nature, but a nature is not also a hypostasis: for nature admits of the predication of being, but hypostasis also of being-by-oneself, and the former presents the character of genus, the latter expresses individual identity. And the one brings out what is peculiar to something universal, the other distinguishes the particular from the general. To put it concisely, things sharing the same essence are properly said to be of one nature, and things whose structure of being is common; but we can define as “hypostasis” either things which share a nature but differ in number, or things which are put together from different natures, but which share reciprocally in a common being. I say that they share being, not as if they completed one another’s essence, as happens with essences and with things that are essentially predicated of them—which are called qualities—but insofar as the nature and essence of each is not considered by itself but with the other, to which it is joined and assimilated. One finds this in various things, not least in the case of soul and body, whose hypostasis is common but each of whose natures is individual, with a different way of being.

2. “But even if the human person,” they say, “is composed of elements which differ in species, still neither one of them has its being apart from the other. But the Logos also *exists* before his humanity; and the human being is composed of imperfect parts, but Christ has perfect parts—which therefore shouldn’t properly be called ‘parts’ at all.



Πῶς τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κρᾶμα ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκώσεως λαμβάνεις, μὴδὲν ἑοικότα;

Ταῦτά τινες, οἱ τοῦ ἐναντίου λόγου καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως συνήγοροι· τοῖς γὰρ ἑτέροις φίλον τὸ παράδειγμα, οὐκ οἰκείως λαμβανόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ 5 λῖαν ἀμαθῶς, καὶ τῆς πρωτοτύπου συγχύσεως ἐπαξίως καὶ ὡς ἐναργὲς ἐκείνης ἀπεικόνισμα. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡμέτερον τοῦτο εὑρεμα ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν—παῖς, ἢ φασι, παρὰ πατρός—διεδεξάμεθα, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τῶν θεοσόφων συντάγματα, ἐν οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῷ κατὰ τὸν [D] ἀνθρώπον ἐχρήσαντο παράδειγματι. Οὐ μὴν τὸ παράδειγμα καλῶς γε ποιοῦσιν 10 ἐκβιάζοντες οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς τὸ πρωτότυπον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἀνεῖη παράδειγμα, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπεικόνος ἔχοι. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὸν ἀνθρώπον οὔτε διὰ τὸ προϋπάρχειν ἢ συνυπάρχειν, οὔτε διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῶν μερῶν (συγκεχωρήσθω γὰρ τοῖς κακοσχόλοις ἀτελῇ λέγειν, καίπερ οὐκ ὄντα κατὰ τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον, ὡς ὕστερον δείξομεν), ἀλλὰ πρὸς δήλωσιν [1281 15 A] εἰλήφαμεν τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὸν Λόγον ἠνώσθαι τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν σώματι καὶ μὴδ' ἂν ποτε χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τεθεωρηθῇ, εἰ καὶ σῶζοι κὰν τῇ ἐνώσει τὸ διάφορον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπος. Ἐν οὐδοποτέρῳ γὰρ συγχυθέντα φαίνεται τὰ ιδιώματα· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀοράτου ἢ ἀθανάτου ὁρατὴ καὶ θνητὴ γέγονεν ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχῇ, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Λόγος 20 ὁρατὸς ἢ θνητὸς, καίπερ ἐν ὁρατῷ καὶ θνητῷ σώματι τῆς τε ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ Λόγου γεγεννημένων. Σῶζει γὰρ ἀνελλιπῶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἑκάτερον τὴν ἑαυτῶν ιδιότητα, καθ' ὃ πέφυκε θάτερον, ὃ τε κοινὸς ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὃ τε Σωτὴρ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος ὑποστάς. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθ' ὃ ἑοικεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃ ἀπέοικε 25 λαμβάνουσι τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ κακουργοῦσι περὶ τὰς πεύσεις· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τὸ ἡλιακὸν ἀπαύγασμα ἡμῶν παραλαμβάνοντων ἐπὶ τοῦ [B] Λόγου καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, διὰ τὸ συναφές τε καὶ συναῖδιον, ἐπηρεάζουσιν ἡμῖν ὡς τὸ ἀνυπόστατον ταύτη κατασκευάζουσιν.

Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐξ ἀτελῶν ἐστὶ μερῶν, κατὰ γε τὸν τοῦ πῶς 30 εἶναι θατέρου λόγον, εἰ καὶ ὡς πρὸς ὅρον τοῦ ὅλου ἀνθρώπου τὸν τοῦ ὅλου τὰ μέρη λόγον, ὡς ὅλου, οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, ὥδε ἂν μάθοις. Τί

Scholion ad 3, οἱ τοῦ ἐναντίου λόγου καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως συνήγοροι: οἱ Νεστοριανοὶ δηλονότι V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); τοῖς γὰρ ἑτέροις: τοῖς Εὐτυχιανισταῖς V (Σ<sup>1</sup>) ad 25, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τὸ ἡλιακὸν ἀπαύγασμα ἡμῶν παραλαμβάνοντων: ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων V (Σ<sup>1</sup>)

VOG 2 post λαμβάνεις add. εἰς G<sup>ac</sup> εἰκότα G<sup>corr</sup>. 4 οἰκείως: ὀρθῶς G<sup>ac</sup> καὶ om. V 6 εὑρημα O 7 παῖς ἢ φασι om. G 10 ἐκβιάζοντες O ἂν ἔτι O 13 συγκεχωρήσθω VOG<sup>ac</sup> 15 παρὲλῆφαμεν O εἰλήφαμεν τὸ παράδειγμα ante ἀλλὰ πρὸς δήλωσιν transp. V<sup>corr</sup> (Σ<sup>2</sup>) τὸ om V<sup>corr</sup> ἠνώσθαι τὸν Λόγον O 18 οὐδοποτέρῳ V 21 ἀνελλιπῶς G 26 παραλαμβάνουσι G 25 κακοσχολοῦσι V 27 ἐπερεάζον O 29 ὁ om. G 30 ὡς πρὸς ὅρον: ὡς om. O ante ὅρον add. τὸν G

How, then, can you apply the human fusion to the Logos and the Incarnation, when it does not resemble them?"

So say those opposed to our opinion, the advocates of division. For the other side like the model, but they take it not in the proper way, but very foolishly—in harmony with their original tendency to confuse—as an exact copy of that confusion. That this is not our invention, however, but that we have received it from our predecessors—son from father, as they say—is proved by the writings of the theologians, in which they use the analogy of man for the Incarnation. But they do not treat the analogy well, who force it to resemble the original. For it would no longer be an analogy if it did not contain some dissimilarity. For we have taken the human being as a parallel not because of pre-existence or co-existence, nor because of the imperfection of his parts (conceding for the moment to these dunces the right to call them "imperfect," though they are not so in terms of being, as we shall later show), but to explain how the Logos is united to a body like ours in very essence, and is never found apart from it, even if he preserves in that union the difference, as indeed anyone does. For in neither of them do the characteristics appear confused. For our soul does not change from being invisible and immortal to being visible and mortal, nor is the Logos visible and mortal, even though both our soul and the Logos have come to be in a visible and mortal body. For each of these things we mention preserves unceasingly its peculiar qualities, according to which each one has come to be what it is: the ordinary person who subsists from soul and body, and the Savior who subsists from divinity and humanity. But they take the analogy not according to its similarity but according to its dissimilarity, and they are unfair in their questions; as if we were to use the example of the sun's ray for the Logos and the Father, because of the connection and coeternity [of sun and rays], and they were to disparage us for thereby representing the Logos as not a hypostasis.

But that not even the human being is made of imperfect parts, according to the structure of being which is proper to each part—even if in respect to the definition of the human being as a whole the parts do not admit of the structure of the whole as such—can be shown as follows. What

γὰρ λείπει τῇ ψυχῇ, χωριστὴν ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἰδίαν ζωὴν, πρὸς τὸ εἶναι οὐσίαν  
 ἀσώματον, αὐτοκίνητον; Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῆς δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸ  
 ἀνώλεθρον. Τί δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι σῶμα; Οὐδὲ [C] καὶ ἀποδιδόντες  
 τὸν ὅρον φασι σῶμα εἶναι τὸ τριχῇ διαστατὸν ἢ σῶμα φυσικὸν ὁργανικὸν  
 5 δυνάμει ζῶν ἔχον· ἐκάτεροι γὰρ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος  
 οἰκείως ἀρμόσουσιν. Οὐκ ἀτελὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἰ  
 καὶ ἀτελὴ πάλιν λέγονται ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἐν ᾧ τὰ μέρη ὑπόστασιν.  
 τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐρμηνεύσας  
 μυστήριον· ἀτελὲς γὰρ, κἂν ὡς Θεὸς γυμνὸς ἢ ἄνθρωπος φιλὸς λαμβάνηται.  
 10 Ὡς ἐντεῦθεν διττὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς τελειότητος ὅρον, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀπλῶς  
 λέγεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον.  
 Τέλειος μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ πλήρης, καὶ παρεκτικὸς τελειότητος.  
 τελεία δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ, ὡς [D] πρὸς τὸν ὅρον τῆς ὑπάρξεως.  
 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Λόγος τέλειος Χριστὸς, κἂν τέλειος εἴῃ Θεός, μὴ τῆς  
 15 ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτῷ συντεταγμένης· οὔτε ἡ ψυχὴ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, κἂν  
 τελείαν ἔχῃ οὐσίαν, μὴ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῇ συνεπινοούμενου. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ  
 παρασημῆνασθαι χρή, ὅτι τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ὅροις οἱ χρόνοι οὐ  
 συμπαραλαμβάνονται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἱ τόποι· τὸν γὰρ ὦν οὐκ ἄνευ, καὶ  
 μόνον, λόγον ἐπέχουσιν. Ἔτι πᾶς ὅρος τοῦ νῦν [1284 A] πράγματός ἐστιν  
 20 ὅρος, οὐ τοῦ ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀποβησομένου· ἢ οὕτως γ' ἂν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν  
 γενέσει δέξοιτο ἂν ὅρον τοῦ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ

Scholion ad 1, λείπει (V): κατὰ κοινού τὸ «λείπει» V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 10 ff., ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ...: ὅτι  
 διττὸς ὁ τῆς τελειότητος ὅρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς λεγόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐν σχέσει· ἀπλοῦς  
 πρὸ ἐνωσιν (sic), ἐν σχέσει μετα τὴν ἐνωσιν V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 16 ff., καὶ τοῦτο ...: σημειωτέον ὅτι οἱ  
 ὅροι οὐ συνεισάγουσι τοῖς ὀρίζομένοις τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς χρόνους· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων,  
 κἂν ἢ ἐν τούτοις, τὰ ὀρίζόμενα· ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ὀρίζοντες ζῶν λογικὸν θνητὸν λέγομεν, τὸ  
 δὲ πότε ἡργόμενον ἢ ποῦ ὄντα οὐκ ἐπάγομεν· τὴν γὰρ ὑπαρξίν τοῦ ζῶου σημαίνομεν καὶ  
 μόνον, τὰ προεπινοούμενα πάντος γεννητοῦ ἐῶντες, ἅπερ εἰσὶ χρόνος καὶ τόπος· χωρὶς γὰρ  
 χρόνου καὶ τόπου οὐδὲν τῶν κτιστῶν ἢ εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐπινοεῖν δυνατόν. V (Σ<sup>2</sup>)

4-5 σῶμα ... ἔχον: cf. Aristoteles, *De Anima* 2, 1; 412a19-20 10-11 διττον ...  
 θεωρεῖσθαι: cf. fort. Greg. Nyss., *Ctr. Eun.* III/2 (GNOII, 81.14-82.1).

VOG; 10-11 VOGA 1 λείπει G 3 ante τῷ σώματι add. καὶ G  
 ἀποδιδόντες: οἱ ἀποδιδόντες G 4 εἶναι: ἐστὶ G 6 ταῦτα om. G 9 κἂν:  
 ἂν G<sup>corr</sup> ὡς ἄνθρωπος φιλὸς ἢ ὡς Θεὸς γυμνὸς G 10 διττὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς  
 τελειότητος ὅρον: (ὅτι) διττὸς (καὶ: ε) ὁ τῆς τελειότητος ὅρος A καὶ om. A 10-11 τὸν  
 μὲν ἀπλῶς λέγεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖσθαι: ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς λεγόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐν σχέσει  
 θεωρούμενος A 11 τὸ δὲ O 12 μὲν om. G<sup>ac</sup> καὶ παρεκτικὸς: καὶ  
 om. G<sup>ac</sup> 13 τοῦ om. G 16 ἔχει V ἔχει G 18 τὸν: τῶν V 19 ἔτι:  
 ὅτι O 20 γε ἂν O 21 δέξεται V<sup>corr</sup> (Σ<sup>3</sup>)

is lacking to the soul, which has its own separate life, from being a bodiless, self-  
 moving essence? This explains why it is immortal and indestructible. And what  
 is lacking to the body, from being a body? Those who define it say that a body is  
 what has three dimensions, or that a body is a physical, organic thing potentially  
 having life. Each of these definitions will apply accurately to our body. Now  
 these things are not imperfect, taken by themselves, even if they are called  
 imperfect in relation to the hypostasis of the whole in which parts exist. For  
 using this reasoning, one would not be wrong even in interpreting the mystery  
 of Christ this way. For it is imperfect, if it is understood as meaning he is simply  
 God or purely man. Therefore, as the great Gregory says, there are two definitions  
 of perfection: one if it is meant for objects by themselves, the other if understood  
 in a relationship. For the Logos is perfect, complete, and a source of perfection;  
 and the human soul is perfect, too, as far as concerns the definition of its  
 existence. But the Logos is not the complete Christ, even if he is complete God,  
 if humanity is not joined to it; nor is the soul a complete human being, even if  
 it has a complete essence, unless the body is also understood in conjunction  
 with it. And we must also note this in passing: that times, just as places, are not  
 understood along with the definitions of things. For they offer only an account  
 of the essential elements of things. Then, too, every definition is a definition of  
 a present thing, not of what will proceed from it later on. Otherwise nothing  
 which is in a process of growth would receive the definition of being what it is,  
 since

μηδὲ μένει, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει πάντα εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ λογικαὶ πᾶσαι οὐσίαι, τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεχόμεναι καὶ τὸ νῦν μὲν οὕτως, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνως, ἔχειν, ἐν κινήσει θεωροῦνται. τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἵστασθαι, οὐ τῆς κτιστῆς φύσεως ἴδιον, εἴπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μόνον τὸ "Σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ" κυριολεκτεῖται.

[B] Γ' "Ἀλλ' ἡ ψυχὴ," φασὶν οἱ τῆς διαιρέσεως πρόμαχοι, "περιγέγραπται ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ πάθη δέχεται, καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ὑπομένει· καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ὥρα σοι καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἴσοις ὑποβάλλειν, καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν παθητὸν καὶ περιγραφτὸν."

- 10 Τί δέ; Οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς ταῦτα κατασκευάζετε, εἰποὶ μὲν ἂν, ἅπερ ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖτε; Δεδοίκατε γὰρ αὐτὸν σαρκὶ συνάπτειν καὶ ὅλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιγραφησόμενον καὶ πεισόμενον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν φύσει παθητὸς ὁ Λόγος ἢ τὴν ἐν τόπῳ δέχεται περιγραφὴν, ἔσται ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ περιγραφτὸν καὶ παθητὸν σῶμα ἔνωσιν, καὶ ἔσται
- 15 οὕτω παθητὸς καὶ περιγραφτὸς, κἂν μὴ πέπονθε μηδὲ περιγέγραπται· εἰ δὲ φύσει ἀτρεπτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπερίγραφτος καὶ ἀπαθής, κἂν [C] ἐν σώματι γένηται, σώζοι ἂν τὸν ἴδιον τῆς ἀπαθείας καὶ παντελῆ τῆς ἀτρεψίας λόγον. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κόσμον κτίζων καὶ εἰς τόδε τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παντός ἄγων αὐτὸν, οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερκοσμίου καὶ ὑπερουσίου εἰς
- 20 τὸ περικόσμιον τοῦτο ἢ ἐγκόσμιον ἐκπεπτωκὸς φαίνεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπεριγράφου εἰς τὸ περιγεγράφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐληλυθώς· οὐ τοίνυν οὔτε πρότερον ἦν ἡνίκα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα παρήγαγεν, οὔτε ὕστερον ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐν μικρῷ κόσμον, τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἐαυτῷ περιέπηξεν,

5 Ps. 101.28 (LXX)

6-17 (Ἀλλ' ... ἀτρεψίας λόγον) Nicephorus, *Antirrhetica* Flor., Test. 15 (Spic. Sol. I, 348); titulus: τοῦ μακαρίου Λεοντίου, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Νεστορίου καὶ Εὐτυχίου λόγου, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ "τὸν περὶ ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας λόγον." τρίτη τῶν αἵρετικῶν πρότασις. 10-p. 144.8 (τί δέ; ... ἀντιπάλῳ χρησάμεναι): cf. Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis* 3

VOG; ab l. 10 (Εἰ μὲν οὖν) VOGA 2 αἱ om G<sup>sc</sup> 3 ἐκείνης G<sup>sc</sup> ἐν κινήσει ante ἔχειν O 4 τὸ γὰρ: καὶ τὸ OG<sup>sc</sup> 5 ἴδιον om. G τοῦ om. V 8 σοι om. G Niceph 10 τί δ' V σκευάζετε G εἰποὶμι G 12 πησόμενον V<sup>sc</sup>O μὲν οὖν om. A post παθητὸς add. ἦν A 13 τὴν: τῶν wp ἐν τόπῳ: ἐνταῦθα A ἐδέχετο A 13-15 ταῦτα ... περιγέγραπται: τοῖς ἀπὸ Νεστορίου ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ (αὐτῶν: mr). τὸ φοβεῖσθαι σαρκὶ συνάπτειν καὶ ὅλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἵνα μὴ (om. e) περιγραφῇ A 13 ἐαυτὸν G 17 παντελῆ τῆς om. V<sup>corr</sup> 18 post γὰρ add. καὶ = τοῦ πάντος om. V<sup>corr</sup> 20 τοῦτο om. OG καὶ ἐκ. ἢ ἐκ V<sup>corr</sup> 21 ἀπεριγράφτου A περιγράφεσθαι G 21-22 οὐ ... οὔτε: οὔτε ... οὔδε A 22-23 ἡνίκα ... ὕστερον om. d 22 αὐτῶν mr 23 ἐαυτῶν mr περιέπηξε wp

everything in growth and decay never remains what it is, but changes into everything else; and all rational essences, which admit of increase and decrease in virtue, and are now in this state, now in that, are considered in motion. For it is not part of created nature to remain where it is, even if it is properly said of God—and him alone—"You are the same."

3. "But," say the proponents of division, "the soul is circumscribed in the body, and experiences passions and undergoes pain; if the Logos is united in this way, that means you will have to subject him to the same conditions, and make him passible and circumscribed."

What? (I reply). Aren't you, rather, doing the very things you accuse us of? For you are afraid to unite him to flesh and to a complete man, lest he become necessarily circumscribed and capable of suffering. But if the Logos is passible by nature or admits of spatial location, these things will be so in him because of what he is, not because of his union with a circumscribed, passible body, and he will thus be passible and circumscribable, even if he never does suffer and never is circumscribed; if, on the other hand, he is unchangeable and uncircumscribed and impassible by nature, then even if he comes to exist in a body, he would preserve the peculiar character of his impassibility and indeed of his unchangeability. After all, when he was creating the world and bringing it to this general form, though it had not existed before, he does not seem to have fallen from the super-cosmic and supernatural realm into the realm which embraces or is included within this world, or to have gone from his own freedom from circumscription into being circumscribed by the world—not, indeed, in those earlier times when he created it and all within it, nor even later when he formed around himself that little world within the great one, man,

περιεγράφη. Καὶ τί θαῦμα, ὅπου γε καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ οὐχ  
 ἀπλῶς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐν σώματι αὐτὴν εἶναι πάσχει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ  
 πεφυκέναι πάσχειν, καὶ χωρὶς σώματος; Ἡ οὕτω γε καὶ ὁραθήσεται καὶ  
 τεθνήσκει καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πάθοι ἂν, ὅσα τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ [D]  
 5 πέπονθεν ἐπειδὴ οὐσιωδῶς αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἐκ Θεοῦ λαβοῦσα· πάσχει δὲ  
 παθητικὰς δυνάμεις ἔχουσα, αἷς καὶ συναπέρχεται ἐκδημοῦσα τοῦ  
 σώματος. Καὶ δηλοῦσιν αἱ ἐν ᾧ ψυχῇ, καὶ τὰ τούτων δεσμὰ, δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἡ  
 ἐκείσε γέγονε τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία "κηρύξαντος," κατὰ τὸν Πέτρον,  
 "τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν ἄφεσιν"· πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκάθαρτοι δαίμονες  
 10 κολαζόμενοι τε καὶ κολασθησόμενοι, καίπερ σωμάτων ἀνθρωπίνων  
 ἀπηλλαγμένοι. Ἀλλὰ πάσχει μὲν ἀπλῶς ἡ ψυχὴ, παθητικὰς πρὸς τὸ αὐτῇ  
 συμφέρον συναρμοσθείσας δυνάμεις λαβοῦσα· πάσχει δὲ καὶ σωματικὰ  
 πάθη, [1285 A] παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσιν ᾧ συνδέεται, καὶ τῶν  
 τόπων οἷς ἂν ἐνδιαίτῳ τὴν ιδιότητα· πάσχειν γὰρ ἀπλῶς πεφυκυῖα, καὶ  
 15 τοῦ τοιοῦδε πάθους ἐστὶ δεκτικὴ. Καὶ περιγράφεται μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς  
 ὑπάρξεως· περιγράφεται δὲ λέγεται δευτέρως, τὴν ἐν περιγραφτῷ  
 σώματι ἔχουσα διαγωγὴν. Πάσχοι δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεῖα, ἡκιστα  
 μὲν διὰ τὸ σῶμα (πῶς γάρ; ὅ γε καὶ ἀντιτείνει πολλάκις), ἀλλὰ δι' ἐαυτὴν  
 καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῆς φύσιν, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιθυμητικοῦ ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν  
 20 ἀνατεταμένου, τοῦ δὲ θυμοειδοῦς ἀρρενωπῶς τετονωμένου καὶ ἀκλινῶς  
 τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ συντεταμένου, τοῦ δὲ λογιστικοῦ τὰς αὔλους ἐμφάσεις  
 ἀσκήτως δεχομένου καὶ ἐνοειδῶς ἐλλαμπομένου. Καὶ καλῶς εἴρηται τινι  
 τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν [B] θεοσόφῳ, "Εἷς πόθος ἀγαθὸς καὶ αἰώνιος ὁ τῆς  
 ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ἐφιέμενος." Ταύτας γὰρ καὶ ῥυποῦσα τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐν  
 25 κακίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ γίνεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὰς κακίας ἔχει,  
 κἂν τινες

Scholion ad 17, πάσχοι δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεῖα: γρ(άφεται) "πάσχει δὲ καὶ τὰ θεῖα." τὸ  
 δὲ "κατὰ Θεὸν" ἐρμηνεία τοῦ "τὰ θεῖα" G; ad 22-23, τινι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν: περὶ Εὐαγρίου  
 V (Σ'); ὁ ἅγιος Εὐάγριος G (Torres?)

17 1 Pet. 3.19 8-9 cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De Div. Nom.* 2.9; Ep. 8.6 23-4 Evagrius  
 Ponticus, *Keph. Gn.* 4.50

Usque ad 1.3 (σώματος), VOGA; deinde VOG 1 τοῦ om. Gd 2 καὶ διὰ: καὶ om. V<sup>corr</sup>  
 αὐτὴν om. e πάσχειν 1 πάσχειν: πάσχει ταῦτα O 5 post ἐπειδὴ add. οὐκ O  
 5-6 πάσχει δὲ παθητικὰς δυνάμεις ἔχουσα om. G 6 οἷς G 9 τοῖς om. V  
 ἄφεσιν om. OG 10 ἀνθρωπείων O 12 ἀρμοσθείσας G 15 τοιοῦδε:  
 τοιοῦτου δὲ O 17 διαγωγὴν ἔχουσα O πάσχοι δ' ἂν: πάσχει δ' ἂν V; πάσχει δὲ O;  
 πάσχει δὲ ἂν G κατὰ Θεὸν om. O 18 ὅ γε: ὅτε O 18-19 ἐαυτὴν ... ἐαυτῆς:  
 αὐτὴν ... αὐτῆς VO 19 τὸν om. O 21 συντεταγμένου G<sup>corr</sup> 22 εἴρηται  
 post θεοσόφῳ transp. G 22-23 τινι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν om. OG 24 ταύτως  
 G<sup>corr</sup> ῥυπώσα V ante ῥυποῦσα add. καταρυπώσασα καὶ G 25 ἔχει τὰς κακίας G

was he circumscribed. And what is wonderful about that? Since even the human  
 soul does not suffer these things simply because it is in the body, but because it  
 is made to be able to suffer, even without a body; otherwise it would also become  
 visible and die and suffer all the other things that the body suffers. But it does  
 not suffer these things because it has received these possibilities for suffering in  
 its essence from God; but it suffers through having the potentiality to suffer,  
 which it continues to have even when it leaves the body. The souls in Hades  
 show this, as do their bonds, which explain Christ's presence there, "proclaiming,"  
 according to Peter, forgiveness "to the spirits in prison" (1 Pet. 3.19); and  
 furthermore, the unclean spirits [make this clear], who are and who will be  
 punished, even though they are free of human bodies.

But the soul suffers by itself, because it has received the capacity to suffer for  
 its own benefit; and it suffers bodily passions, strictly according to its union  
 with the body to which it is attached, and according to the peculiar character of  
 the places in which it is situated; for being suited by nature to suffer by itself, it  
 can also admit of this kind of suffering. And it is circumscribed by the very  
 structure of its existence, but it is also said to be additionally circumscribed  
 because it exists in a circumscribed body. And if it experiences passively also, in  
 God's own way, divine things, then this is not at all because of the body (for how  
 could that be? It often struggles against the soul, after all), but by itself, through  
 its own nature, with the desiderative part straining towards God in desire, and  
 the spirited part bracing up in a manly way and straining along with the  
 desiderative part unflinchingly, and with the reason receiving immaterial  
 impressions without shadow, illuminated by the form of simplicity. It was well  
 said by a divinely wise man [i.e. Evagrius] before our time: "There is a single  
 good and eternal longing, which stretches out after true knowledge." For when  
 it defiles these powers, it ends in wickedness and ignorance, and does not derive  
 this wickedness from the body, even if some



αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐκτελοῦνται· ὦν οὐδὲν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος δέξαιτ' ἄν ποτε, ἄτρεπτος ὦν τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος. Οὐ μὴν διὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς φύσεως ἀνθρώπου φύσει συνάπτεσθαι οὐσιωδῶς παραιτήσεται, ἵνα μὴ μέλλοι πάθος ἀληθὲς εἶναι ἢ παραίτησις καὶ τὸ δεδοικέναι ἐν ἐκείνοις  
5 γενέσθαι, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχαὶ, αὐτὸν ἔχουσαι βοηθὸν καὶ συλλήπτορα, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος εἰλήφασιν βλάβος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον Θεὸν πεπλουτήκασι, τῷ σώματι συνεργῶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, οὐκ ἀντιπάλῳ, χρησάμεναι.

[C] Δ "Εἰ τελεία," φασίν, "ἡ τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασις, τελεία δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὃν ἀνέλαβεν, ἄτρεπτος δὲ καὶ ὁ Λόγος μεμένηκεν, ἀναλλοίωτος δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ διασέσωσται, πῶς οὐ δύο λέγειν ὑποστάσεις εὐσεβές, μὴ δ' ὀποτέρας συγκεχυμένης;"

Ἐοίκασι δέ μοι κακουργότατα ἢ ἀμαθέστατα προφέρειν τὰς πεύσεις. Καὶ γὰρ ὥσανεἰ μὴ προδιαστυλαμένων ἡμῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ τελείου, πῶς ἂν  
15 λέγοιτο καὶ ὅτι διττῶς, προσέτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίως σημαινόμενου τῆς ὑποστάσεως, μεταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου φύσεως (τῆς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν σημαινούσης τῆς φύσεως μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου τῆς ὑποστάσεως· Λόγου γὰρ ἔφαμεν φύσιν οὐχ ἀπλῶς φύσιν) ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σημαινόμενον [D] τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ φασὶν τελείαν εἶναι τοῦ Λόγου τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὕτω  
20 καλοῦντες τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ "αὐτοτελῆ" φύσιν—τὴν οὐκ ἄλλην οὐσαν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, τῷ χαρακτηριστικῷ δὲ τῆς ιδιότητος τῆς κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν μόνον διαφέρουσας—τὸ ἰδίωμα κατηγοροῦντες ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἰδίωμα, καὶ τὴν σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν οἷς αὐτὴ κατηγορεῖται. Τῶν γὰρ ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐστὶ δηλωτικά,  
25 τὰ δὲ τῆς σχέσεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστὶ γνωριστικά. Τῶν δὲ ἑτεροειδῶν πρὸς τὰ ὁμοιοειδῆ ἐπαλλάττουσαν ἔστιν [1288 A] εὐρεῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν σχέσεων· οἷς γὰρ κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς ἑτεροειδέσι

aspects of it are brought to completion through the body. But the Word of God would never experience any of these, being unchangeable by nature and unalterable. He does not, then, decline to be joined in essence to a human nature because his nature is impassible; in that case, his refusal would be a true passion, a fear to be in that situation in which the souls of the good, who have him as their helper and advocate, suffer no harm from the body but rather are rich in God and use their body as an aid to virtue, not a hindrance.

4. "If the hypostasis of the Logos is perfect," they say, "and that of the human being whom he assumed perfect, and if the Logos remains unchangeable and the flesh is preserved unalterable, why is it irreverent to speak of two hypostases, neither of which is confused with the other?"

They seem to me to be proposing the question either most maliciously or most stupidly. For just as if we had not already explained about perfection, how it is understood and its double sense, and further about the proper meaning of hypostasis, they pass from the nature of the Logos—a phrase which signifies both the common property of a nature and the individual property of the hypostasis; for we said, "the nature of the Logos," not simply "the nature"—to that which signifies its individuality, the hypostasis. And they say that the hypostasis of the Logos is perfect, thus calling the nature of the Son "complete in itself"—the nature which is not something else alongside that of the Father, but which only differs in the characteristic of individuality through being begotten—and they bring forward the individual characteristic instead of the individual in which it is a characteristic, and the relationship to each other instead of the individuals of whom the relationship is predicated. For some names explain the nature of their subjects, others express the relationship of things. And one can discover that things of different species join in relationships with things of the same species in varying ways: for in the respects in which things of like species are joined with things of different species,

Scholion ad 24, τὰ μὲν: ὡς τὸ «θεός» G; 25 τὰ δὲ: ὡς «υἱός» καὶ «πατήρ» G; ad 25, τῶν δὲ ἑτεροειδῶν: θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου V (Σ'); ad 27, οἷς γὰρ κοινωνοῦσι: τυχὸν τῷ ἀριθμῷ V (Σ'); ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς μία ὑπόστασις, δύο δὲ φύσεις G

24-5 cf. Proclus, *Elem. Theol.* 122 (ed. Dodds 108, 13-17)

VOG 1 δέξαιτο O; δέξαιτ' V<sup>ac</sup>G<sup>ac</sup> 2 ὦν post φύσει transp. O 4 τὸ: τῷ V  
7 Θεῷ VG<sup>ac</sup> συνεργῶ post ἀρετὴν transp. G 9 φησὶν OG ante Λόγου add.  
Θεοῦ G ὃν: ἣν G 11 μὴδ' ὀποτέρας: μὴδετέρας G 13 προσφέρειν  
V<sup>ac</sup>G 14 ὥσανεἰ: ὡς ἂν O προσδιαστυλαμένων G 19 εἶναι post ὑπόστασιν  
transp. G 20 Υἱοῦ: Κυρίου Mai τὴν om. G 23 τῶν πραγμάτων om. G  
25 δὲ: δ' O 26 ὁμοιοειδῆ O 27 ante κοινωνοῦσι add. ἂν V

τὰ ὁμοειδῆ, τούτοις διαιροῦνται πρὸς ἑαυτά· καὶ οἷς διαιροῦνται πρὸς τὰ ἑτεροειδῆ, τούτοις συνάπτονται πρὸς ἑαυτά· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ διακρινόμενα τοῖς ἑτεροειδέσι συνάπτεται· τῷ δὲ ὄρω πρὸς ἑαυτὰ συναπτόμενα τῶν ἑτεροειδῶν διακέκριται.

- 5 Δύο οὖν σχέσεων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Λόγον θεωρουμένων, μιᾶς μὲν καθ' ἣν τὴν ταυτότητα ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἑτέρας δὲ καθ' ἣν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διακέκριται, καὶ τῆς μὲν τῇ τῆς φύσεως προσηγορία δηλουμένης, [B]τῆς δὲ τῇ τῆς ὑποστάσεως κλήσει γνωριζομένης, τὰς σχέσεις ἐναλλάξ ποιήσαντες, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς διακρίνουσαν σχέσιν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα
- 10 διδόντες, τὴν ὡς ὑπόστασιν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι φύσις μὲν ὅλη Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Λόγου, τελείου τελεία, τὸ δὲ ἰδίωμα τῆς γεννήσεως ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ Υἱὸν κεκληθῆναι πεποίηκεν, ὥσπερ αὖ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ Πατέρα ἀπέφηνε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐννοεῖν χρή. Οὐ γὰρ συμπληρωτικὴ ἡ τοῦ
- 15 Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος φύσις, ὡς οὖν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ φύσει ἡ Τριάς, ὅπερ ἂν ἐν τι τῶν ἐν Τριάδι θεωρουμένων τυγχάνοι· ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἀτελῶν τριῶν ἐν τέλειον, [C]ἀλλ' ἐκ τριῶν τελείων ἐν ὑπερτελὲς καὶ προτέλειον, ὡς πού ὁ μέγας ἔφη Διονύσιος. Ἐξ τοίνυν σχέσεων ἡμῖν θεωρουμένων, δυεῖν μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς
- 20 πρὸς τὸν Λόγον καὶ τοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, δυεῖν δὲ τοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὴν σάρκα καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρὸς τὸν Λόγον, δυεῖν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν, τρεῖς γίνονται καθολικαὶ συζυγίαι.

Scholion ad 1, καὶ οἷς διαιροῦνται: ταῖς φύσεσιν V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); διαιροῦνται γὰρ τῇ ὑποστάσει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, τῇ φύσει δὲ συνήπται G; ad 2, συνάπτονται: δύο γὰρ φύσεις, μία ὑπόστασις G; ad 14–16, οὐ γὰρ συμπληρωτικὴ—τοῖς τρισὶ: ἀντὶ τοῦ “μᾶλλον γὰρ συμπληρωτικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις, καὶ τέλειος ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν”. αἱ γὰρ δύο ἀποφάσεις μίαν κατάθεσιν ποιοῦνται. φησὶν οὖν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς φύσις συμπληρωμένη ἐστὶ, καθ' ἑαυτὸν νοούμενος, καὶ ἡ Τριάς μία καὶ αὐτὴ φύσις ὁμοίως λέγεται· τέλεια γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἡ αὐτὴ, ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι δὲ ἡ διαίρεσις μόνον. G

17–18 cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De Div. Nom.* 7.2 (ed. B. R. Suchla, PTS 33, 196. 10–11; PG 3, 869 A4f.); cp. *De Div. Nom.* 2.10 (ed. Suchla, 134.11; PG 3, 648 C7). 19–148. 5 cf. Ammonius, *In Porph. Isag.* 5.7 (CAG IV/3, 79.21–80.7); David, *In Porph. Isag.* 4.32 (CAG XVIII/2, 153.14–154.1)

VOG 1 ὁμοιοειδῆ O 2 συνάπτεται V πρὸς ἑαυτὰ συνάπτονται G 3 ante τοῖς ἑτεροειδέσι add. τούτῳ G συνάπτεται· συνάπτονται G 4 ante τῶν ἑτεροειδῶν add. τούτῳ G 5 κατὰ: ἀνὰ OG καθ' ἣν ὁ 6 Υἱὸς: ὁ Υἱὸς om. V 10 ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ὡς ὑπόστασιν V 12 ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς om. G 14 Ἁγίου om. G 15 καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος V οὖν: οὐ G μᾶλλον: ἦττον prop. Torres ἐν τρισὶν G τῇ Τριάδι G 17 τυγχάνει O 18 ὡς πού ὁ μέγας ἔφη Διονύσιος om. O 20 δυοῖν G 22 ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτόν: πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα prop. Evans (p. 73, n. 14) ante καθολικαὶ add. καὶ G

they differ towards each other; and in the respects in which they differ from things of different species, they are joined to each other. For they are distinguished from each other but joined to things of other species by number, and they are joined to each other but distinguished from things of other species by definition.

While, then, we can perceive two relationships in the one Logos, one by which the Son is the same as the Father, the other by which the Son is distinguished from him, the one being called by the title, “nature,” the second known by the name “hypostasis,” they reverse the relationships and attribute the one which separates him from the Father—that of “hypostasis”—to the flesh, not realizing that the essence of the Logos is the whole nature of God, completely possessed by a complete individual, but that it is the note of generation which makes him be called “hypostasis” and Son, just as in the Father’s case the note of being unbegotten and cause reveals him as “hypostasis” and Father. And one must note the same concerning the Holy Spirit. For the nature of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is not mutually completing, as if it were more fully in the One than in the Three. And the Trinity is by nature whatever any one member of the Trinity happens to be; because it is not one perfect being made of three imperfect ones, but from three perfect beings there is one super-perfect and ultra-perfect being, as the great Dionysius says somewhere. If, then, we perceive six relationships, the two of the Father to the Logos and the Logos to the Father, the two of the Logos to the flesh and the flesh to the Logos, and the two of Christ to us and us to him, there are three universal pairs.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν συζυγιῶν σχέσις οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ἡ τρίτη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, δευτέρα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης· οἷς γὰρ ὠκείωνται αἱ ἀκρότητες πρὸς ἑαυτὰς, ἐναντίως ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν μέσην. Ὡς ἔμπαλιν ἡ μέση· οἷς γὰρ ἐναντίως ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτήν, οἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἀκρότητας, καὶ οἷς πάλιν οἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ἐναντίως ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἀκρότητας.

[D] Τούτων συντόμως εἰρημένων, σαφηνίσαι αὐτὰ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος πειράσομαι. Κείσθω δὲ τρία πράγματα· ψυχὴ ἀπλῶς, σῶμα ἀπλῶς, ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστῶς· καὶ τούτων αἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλα σχέσεις, οἷον ψυχῆς πρὸς ψυχὴν, ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλῶς ψυχὴν. Ψυχὴ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ψυχὴν τῷ ταύτῳ τῆς οὐσίας ἡνωμένη, τῷ διαφόρῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως διακέκριται. Τοῦτο ἡ πρώτη τε καὶ ἡ τελευταία σχέσις τῶν συζυγιῶν. Ψυχὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς σῶμα τῷ μὲν ἑτεροίῳ τῆς φύσεως διακέκριται, ἡνωται δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ἣν ἡ ἀλληλουχία ζωῆ ἀπετέλεσε· τοῦτο ἡ δευτέρα καὶ μέση διασώζει σχέσις. Ἄνθρωπος δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀπλῶς σῶμα [1289A] καὶ τὴν ἀπλῶς ψυχὴν, ὡς ὅλος πάντη τούτων διακεκριμένος, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέρη πρώτην σχέσιν δευτέραν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινωνίαν. Ὡστε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς ὅλος ὢν ἐκ μερῶν, διὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέρη μεσιτεύει τοῖς ἄκροις, ὅπως μὲν ὑπόστασις ὢν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα διὰ τὴν θεότητα, μετὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος·

And the first relationship of pairs is the same as that which is third from the first, next after the middle pair; for as the end pairs are linked within themselves, so they are opposed to the middle pair. And the opposite is true of the middle one: for as it differs within itself, so it is linked with the end pairs, and as it is linked within itself, so it differs from the end pairs.

Having said this concisely, I shall try to clarify it by an example. Let us suppose three things: the soul by itself, the body by itself, and a man consisting of soul and body; and let us consider the relationships of these things to each other—namely soul to soul, soul to its own body, and man to his body by itself and to his soul by itself. Soul is united to soul by having the same essence, and is distinguished by the difference in hypostasis. This is the first and the final relationship of the pairs. Soul is distinguished from its body by the difference in nature, and is united [to it] by the category of hypostasis, which their mutually coherent life brings into full being. The second or middle relationship preserves this. But man is completely distinguished from his body by itself and his soul by itself as being their totality; because he has the first sort of relationship to his parts, he brings about the second sort of sharing between them. So Christ, too, acts as a connecting link between two extremes with regard to us and the Father, by means of his parts—if we may consider him a whole made up of parts: he is wholly a hypostasis over against the Father, because of his divinity and along with his humanity,

Scholion ad 1, ἡ μὲν πρώτη: Θεὸς Θεῶν V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ἡ τρίτη: ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπων V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 7–8, κείσθω ... συνεστῶς: ὁμοούσιοι, ἑτεροῦπόστατοι δὲ ἑτεροούσιοι, μονοῦπόστατοι δὲ G; ad 17, πρώτην σχέσιν: «πρώτην σχέσιν» τὴν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν φησὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν κατ' ἐναργῆ ἀλήθειαν. G; ad 20–p. 402, ὑπόστασις ... σχέσεων: ὅτι ὑπόστασιν εἰπὼν, καὶ «ὑπόστασιν διὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα» ἔφη, «ἐπαλλαττομένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν διάκρισιν σχέσεων», ἔνωσιν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἐπίνοιά ὑποστάσεων· ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπότης αὐτὴ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ μόνην ὑπόστασις λαμβάνεται. «ἐπαλλαττομένων» δὲ εἶπε «τῶν σχέσεων», ἐπειδὴ διακρίνεται τῇ ὑποστάσει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐνοῦται δὲ ταῖς φύσεσιν, ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία τῇ ὑποστάσει ἐνοῦται, διακρίνεται δὲ ταῖς φύσεσιν. G

VOG 2 οἰκείωνται OG 3 ἔχουσαι V 5 καὶ οἷς πάλιν οἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ἐναντίως ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἀκρότητας om. O ἔχει οἰκείως G 8 ὁ om. V ἀλλήλαις V 9 πρὸς<sup>2</sup> om. G 11 ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ O 12 τε om. V 13 ἡ τελευταία: ἡ om. O αὐτῆς V 15 ante μέση add. ἡ V 16 ὅπως OG<sup>ac</sup> 17 fort. legendum δευτέραν ποιεῖ, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, κοινωνίαν 18 post ἡμᾶς add. τε O πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα: om. πρὸς O 19 ὅπως G<sup>ac</sup> ὅπως: ὅλος OG<sup>ac</sup>; ὡς ὅλος conj. Evans (p. 76, n. 22) 20 ὑποστάσει O

καὶ ὑπόστασις ὧν ὅλως πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἐπαλλαττομένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν διάκρισιν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν σχέσεων, ὧν τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, διὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέρη, ἔχων γνωρίζεται, καὶ ὧν πρὸς τε τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὴν τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα οἰκειότητα, κέκτῃται.

5 Εὐγνωμόνως δὲ τῶν μερῶν ἀκουστέον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς τῇ φύσει ἀτελῇ ὄντα, μέρη ταῦτά φημι, ἀλλ' ὡς συμπληρωτικά τοῦ προσώπου τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ὑποστάσεως. Οὕτω γὰρ Γρηγορίῳ τε καὶ Κυρίλλῳ [B] καὶ τὸ ὅλον οὐ μία φύσις, καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ πρὸς τι, τό τε "ἀτελές" καὶ τὸ "τέλειον" εἴρηται.

Ε' "Τί οὖν;" φασίν. "Οὐ λέγομεν μίαν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου, καί περ διάφορα  
10 τὰ συνελθόντα γινώσκοντες; Τί δὴ οὖν λυπεῖ, ὥσπερ ὧδε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς ιδιότητος τῶν μερῶν φύσιν καλοῦμεν τὰς φύσεις, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὅμοιον ποιοῦντες φαινόμεθα; Ἀλλὰ λοιδορεῖσθε ἡμῖν καὶ διασύρετε, ὡς σύγχυσιν ἐπινοοῦσιν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέρη τῇ τοῦ ὅλου σημαίνομεν ὀνομασίᾳ."

15 Εἰ μὲν τὰ μέρη τῇ τοῦ ὅλου καλεῖν ἐβούλεσθε προσηγορίᾳ, ἔδει πάντως ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ ὅλον τῇ τῶν μερῶν γνωρίζειν ὀνομασίᾳ, καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦν φθόνος ὑμῖν· σάρκα δὲ ἢ ἀνθρωπον καλοῦντες μᾶλλον τὸν Κύριον, τὸ ὅλον ἐκ μέρους ἐσημαίνετε ἂν, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσιν μίαν τὰς δύο προσαγορεύοντες. [C] (Πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ μὴ κυριολεκτεῖν καὶ δόγματος ἐργάζεται  
20 διαφωνίαν.) "Ὅθεν ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ τὰς πατροπαραδότους θεωρίας πολλάκις τὸ ὅλον ἐκ μέρους καὶ τὰ μέρη τῇ τοῦ ὅλου κλήσει προσαγορεύομεν,

Scholion ad 5-7, οὐ γὰρ ... ὑποστάσεως: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ὅλον, ἀτελές ἐκάτερον μέρος· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκατέρου φύσιν, τέλειόν τι. G; ad 9, οὐ λέγομεν μίαν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου: τοῦτο ἀκολουθῶς ἐπήγαγεν, εἰπὼν ἄνω· «καὶ τὸ ὅλον οὐ μία φύσις». G

7-8 οὐ μία φύσις: cf. Greg. Naz., Flor. Test. 25, 26; Cyrillus Alex., Flor. Test. 68, 71, 81, 82, 83, 88; Ep. 2 ad Nest., 3 (ACO I, 1, 1, p. 27, 11. 1-5; PG 77, 45 C2-9); Ep. 2 ad Succensum, 2 (ACO I, 1, 6, p. 158, 11. 18-21; PG 77, 240 B8-14); ibid. 3 (ACO, p. 159, 1. 18-p. 160, 1.2; PG 241, B3-11). 8 ἀτελές καὶ τέλειον: cf. Athanasius (?), Flor. Test. 19, 20; Contra Arianos Oratio 2, 66 (PG 26, 288 B10-14); Ep. ad Epictetum, 2 (ibid. 1053 A6); Ps.-Athanasius, De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos, 8 (ibid. 996 C6f.).

VOG 1 ὅλος O; ὡς ὅλος conj. Evans (ibid.) μετὰ τῆς θεότητος om. O 3 post  
ἑαυτὸν iter. ὧν τε O 9 post φασιν fort. addendum οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώπου μίαν φύσιν G  
10 δὴ: δεῖ O; om. G ante ὥσπερ add. εἰ G 12 φανησόμεθα O; φαινοίμεθα G  
ἡμᾶς G 13 ὡς ἐπινοοῦντας σύγχυσιν G 15 καλεῖν ante τὰ μέρη transp. G  
ἐβούλεσθε καλεῖν O ἢ βούλεσθε G 16 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς O ἂν οὐδεὶς G 17 ὑμῖν:  
ἡμῖν V 18 ἐσημάνατε O; σημαίνετε G 19 post πολλάκις add. καὶ G

and he is wholly a hypostasis over against us, along with his divinity, because of his humanity. The relationships with respect to distinction and unity—those which we know him to have within himself, because of his parts, and those which he has towards the Father and us, because of the connection of the parts to the extremes—vary accordingly. One has to take this reference to "parts" prudently; for I do not say they are parts because they are naturally incomplete, but because they comprise together the *persona* of the hypostasis in Christ. So Gregory and Cyril said, "the whole is not one nature," simply and in relation, and spoke of "imperfect" and "perfect" [in Christ].

5. "What?" they say. "Do we not say that man has one nature, even though we know that the elements which are joined together are different? What harm does it do, then, since in this case we call the nature one nature without destroying the particularity of the parts, if we also seem to do the same thing in Christ's case? But you reproach us and ridicule us for introducing confusion in Christ, because we speak of the parts by referring to the whole."

If you want to call the parts by the name of the whole, you ought surely to signify the whole by the term for the parts, too, and then no one would have any quarrel with you. If you called the Lord "flesh" or even "man," you would be naming the whole by a part, but not calling the two one nature. (For often the failure to speak precisely brings about a discrepancy in doctrine as well.) Therefore we often call the whole by the name of a part and the part by that of the whole, in accordance with the holy Scriptures and with the interpretations handed down from the Fathers,

- Υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου τὸν Λόγον ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρῶσθαι ὁμολογούντες· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τῇ ἀντιδόσει τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἀναιρούμεν τὸν ἴδιον λόγον τῆς θατέρου ἐν ταύτῳ ιδιότητος. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ διὰ κυρίων ἡμῖν ταῦτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γνωρίζεται, τὴν μὲν ἀντίδοσιν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἐν τῇ μιᾷ ὑποστάσει θεωροῦσι, τὴν δὲ ιδιότητα τὴν ἐν τῇ κοινότητι ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν φύσεων ἐπιγινώσκουσιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ παραδείγματι κεχρημένοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ συνδιαφθείρετε τὸ παράδειγμα. Μίαν [D] μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν λέγομεν, οὐχ ὡς ἂν ὑμεῖς φαίητε, εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄγοντες τὴν φύσιν τῆς σαρκὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν· οὔτε μὴν ἐξ ἐκατέρων οὐδ' ὁποτέραν ἀποτετελέσθαι φαμέν· φύσιν δὲ ταύτην καλοῦμεν, οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μερῶν σχέσιν ἀποβλέποντες (οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστι λόγος ὁ τὸ ἑτεροφυνὲς αὐτῶν κἂν τῇ ἐνώσει λυμαινόμενος), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ καθόλου καὶ εἰδους σημασίαν κατὰ τοῦ μερικοῦ καὶ ἰδίου κατηγοροῦμεν.
- Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καθὼς οἱ τὰ λογικὰ σκέμματα διακριβούντες παραδιδόασιν, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μέρους κοινωνεῖ τοῖς καθόλου, τὰ δὲ καθόλου κατηγορεῖται κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀτόμων κοινωνία ἐστὶ πρὸς [1292 A] τὸ εἶδος κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, τῶν δὲ καθόλου κοινωνία πρὸς τὰ μέρη κατὰ τὴν κλήσιν, τῇ τοῦ ὅλου προσηγορίᾳ τὸ μέρος καλεῖν, ὡς ἔφην, οὐ παρητησάμεθα· τῆς γὰρ φύσεως τῆς μιᾶς τὸ ὅλον τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου εἰδους παριστώσης, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἀριθμουμένων οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἑτεροοῦσιον, εἰκότως τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσηγορίᾳ τὸ μερικὸν ἐπονομάζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν τὸν τινα ἀνθρωπον ἑτεροειδῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸν καθόλου ἀνθρωπον. Ἐπὶ δὲ Χριστοῦ τοιαύτη τις τάξις σχέσεων οὐχ εὑρίσκεται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, εἰδους ὄντος Χριστῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τούτων ὁ εἷς, ὡς ἰδίως ποιὸς παρὰ τὸν καθόλου καὶ κοινὸν Χριστὸν Χριστὸς αὐτὸς χρηματίζων, μία φύσις λέγεται πρὸς ἐκείνους τε καὶ ἀπ' [B] ἐκείνων, ἵνα καὶ μίαν αὐτὸν καὶ δύο φύσεις καλῶμεν, τὸ μὲν ἔχοντα διὰ τὸ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέρη—ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν θεωρεῖται. Τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας μὴ εὑρισκομένης καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν,

1-2 1 Cor. 2.8

VOG 1 ὀνομάζοντες: προσαγορεύοντες O 3 ἐν ταύτῳ ιδιότητος: ιδιότητος τῆς ἐν ταύτῳ G 9 ταὐτὸν O 12 ἔσται O 15 διακρίνοντες V 16 κοινωνεῖται G 20 ἀνθρώπου G εἶδος G 23 εὑρεῖν post ἑτεροειδῶς ἔχοντα transp. G 24 σχέσεως codd. 25 χρηστῶν O καὶ om. OG 25-6 ante ἐκ τούτων add. ἵνα V 26 ὡς om. G ἰδίως πως V; ποιὸς ἰδίως O 27 αὐτὸ O 28 αὐτῶν O καὶ δύο φύσεις post καλῶμεν transp. G 29 τὸ²: τὰ O 30 ἐπ': ἀπ' V

calling the Logos "Son of Man" and confessing that "the Lord of glory" has been crucified. But we do not go on from there and do away with the peculiar aspect of each quality in the same individual by the exchange of characteristics. And further, we also know these things by their proper terms, since we perceive the exchange of characteristics in one hypostasis, and recognize the shared peculiar quality by making a distinction in natures. But when you use the analogy of man, you destroy the image along with the original. For we speak of a single nature of man not as you do, by reducing the nature of flesh to being one with the essence of the soul, or vice versa, nor indeed do we say that something which is neither results from the combination of both; but we call it a nature, not in consideration of the relationship of its parts (for there is nothing to damage the natural difference between them, even in unity), but we predicate the general and specific term of the individual and particular.

For since, according to what those who have worked out the systems of logic have taught us, the partial share in the general and the general is predicated of the partial, and the participation of individuals in the species is according to nature, while that of the general in the parts is according to predication, we do not, as I said, refuse to call the part by the name of the whole. For if the one nature represents the whole species man, since there is nothing with another essence included under the same species, then the partial is aptly named by the title of its universal. For it is impossible to find an individual man who has a different essence from man in general. But in the case of Christ, we cannot find this same set of relationships; for there is no species of "Christs," as there is of man, so that one of these, himself called "Christ" because he is in some way related as an individual to the general common "Christ," is said to be one nature in reference to the rest and among the rest, so that we can call him both one and two natures, having the one appellation because of what is common and the other because of his parts—as we have seen in the case of ourselves. For since the reason which holds in our case is not found in his,



τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν μόνον οἰκείως λεγόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφέρειν οὐχ οἶόν τε. Δῆλον γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τί μία καὶ δύο φύσεις ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγεται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει διὰ τὴν τοῦ εἶδους κοινωνίαν, τὸ δὲ κέκτηται διὰ τὴν τῶν μερῶν ἀτρεσίαν. Ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὄντος εἶδους, πῶς ἂν μία αἱ δύο λέγοντο; 5 Τρεῖς γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν καὶ μόνους τρόπους, καθ' οὓς μία φύσις λέγεται τὸ λεγόμενον· ἢ γὰρ τὸ εἶδος εἶναι, ἢ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶδους μετέχειν, ἢ τὸ κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἐξ ἑτεροειδῶν ἑτεροειδῆς ἀποτετελέσθαι, ὃ ἑκατέρου μετέχον, οὐδ' ὁποτέρου καθαρῶς ἔστιν· ἢν καὶ νόθον καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα.

Καὶ ἄλλως ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ δύο λέγειν τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπαπορήσεις 10 προῖσχεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα καὶ δύο καὶ μίαν, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, εἴπητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα μίαν μόνην—ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ μὴ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν τὸ τῆς συγχύσεως ἐπιπλεῖ πάθος, καὶ οὐτε τὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως ὑποχωρεῖ. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν μίαν φύσιν ἐν εἶναι τῷ ἀριθμῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μάλιστα πολλὰ καὶ τοσαῦτα τῷ ἀριθμῷ εἶη, ὅσα καὶ αἱ συμπληροῦσαι αὐτὴν εἰσιν ὑποστάσεις. Σκοπῶμεν 15 δὲ καὶ οὕτως. Τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα, καὶ ἀλλήλοις, φασίν, ἔστιν ἴσα. Κεῖσθω δὴ ἐν διαγράμματι ἰσοπλευρον ὀξυγώνιον τρίγωνον· ὡς γὰρ ἔχει ἡ πρώτη πλευρὰ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πρὸς τὴν [D]τρίτην, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἡ πρώτη πρὸς τὴν τελευταίαν. Γράψον οὖν τὰς τρεῖς πλευρὰς, καὶ δὸς τρία πρόσωπα, ἐν ἐφ' ἑκάστη πλευρᾷ, καὶ εὐρήσεις ὅτι ὡς ἔχει τὸ πρῶτον 20 πρὸς τὸ μέσον καὶ τὸ μέσον πρὸς τὸ τελευταῖον, [1293 A]οὕτως ἔξει καὶ τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τὸ τελευταῖον. Διὰ τί δὴ ταῦτά φημι; Ὅτι εἰ δώσεις μίαν λέγεσθαι τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς φύσιν, ὡμολόγηται δὲ μίαν φύσιν εἶναι τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, δώσεις ἄρα μίαν φύσιν εἶναι τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

it is impossible to transfer to him what is only a proper way of speaking for us. It is clear here in what respect man is called one and two natures: he has the one title because of his sharing in a species, and has the other because his parts remain unchanged. But in Christ's case, because he does not belong to a species, how can the two be called one? For we have found three ways, and only three, in which a thing can be spoken of as one nature: either it is a species, or it participates in the same species, or it is formed into a new species through the mixture of different species, now sharing in both but not purely belonging to either—which those who know about such things call a "bastard."

In other ways, too, you propose difficulties like these, to persuade us against saying "two [natures]": not that you say, "two and one," as in the case of man, but that you say "only one"—for that reason, even against your will, the passion for confusing things breaks over you, while that for dividing things does not subside. For it is not necessary that a single nature should be numerically one—unless, of course, it must be very many in number, as many as are the hypostases which comprise it. Let us consider it this way: things which are equal to the same thing, they say, are equal to each other. Let us suppose, then, a diagram of an equilateral, acute-angled triangle. As the first side is related to the second, and the second to the third, so the first is related to the third. Draw the three sides, then, and put down three persons, one on each side, and you will find that as the first is related to the second, and the second to the last, so the first will be related to the last. Why do I say this? Because if you concede the right to speak of one nature of the Logos and the flesh, and it is acknowledged that the nature of the Logos and the Father is one, then you are granting that the nature of the flesh and the Father is one.

Scholion ad 4–8, τρεῖς γὰρ ... ταῦτα: ποσαχῶς λέγεται τὸ ὑποκείμενον V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 15, τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ... ἴσα: Ἀριστοτέλους ὡς ἀπὸ Εὐκλείδου V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 15–17, κεῖσθω ... πλευρᾷ, construuntur triangula in calce VOG: cf. appendicem I huius libri

13–14 cf. Euclides, *Elementa* I, Communes animi conceptiones 1 (ed. I. L. Heiberg (Leipzig, 1883), 10, 1.2)

VOG 2 γὰρ: δὲ V ante κατὰ τί add. ὡς G ante μία add. καὶ OG 4 ἐκεῖ: ἐκεῖθεν G; ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ V 6 τὸ<sup>2</sup> ... τὸ<sup>3</sup>: τῷ ... τῷ G τοῦ αὐτοῦ: αὐτὸ O 7 ἀποτελεῖσθαι G; ἀποτετελέσθαι V 9 τοῦ: τῶν O 10 προῖσχεσθαι O 12 τὴν φύσιν τὴν μίαν G 13 ἐν: ἕνα O 14 εἴη om. OG ὅσαι codd. καὶ οὕτως: οὕτω G 15 δὴ: δὲ G 16 ὀξυγώνιον: ὀρθογώνιον V\*OG τρίγωνον: ὀξυγώνιον G 19 ante τρία add. τὰ G ἔχει O 21 δὴ: δὲ O δώσετε legit Torres 22 τοῦ Λόγου φύσιν καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς OG ὁμολογεῖτε V 23 μίαν εἶναι φύσιν G δώσετε codd.

"Ἀλλ' οὐ λέγομεν," φασί, "τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ μίαν ἐκατέρων εἶναι φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τῷ ταύτῳ τῆς φύσεως, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνώσεως."

Οὐκοῦν οὐ ταῦτόν τὸ τῇ ἐνώσει ἐν λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸ τῇ φύσει ἔν· εἰ δὲ  
 5 οὐ ταῦτόν, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐκείνο, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τοῦτο· ἔσται τοίνυν τὸ  
 αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν καὶ δύο, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐνώσει, δύο δὲ ταῖς φύσεσιν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο,  
 ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἑτεροούσιον, καὶ μία φύσις  
 καὶ οὐ μία φύσις· οὐ τί ἂν γένοιτο [B] ἀτοπώτερον; Οὕτως ὑμῖν ἡ μία φύσις  
 λεγομένη καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν οὐκ ἐξέφυγεν, ἣν ἔχει ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ πλήθει  
 10 τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῇ προσώπων, καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν παρεισήγαγεν ἐν  
 τῷ ταύτῳ τῆς συνθέτου φύσεως, τὸ οὐδ' ὁπότερον τῶν ἡνωμένων μετὰ  
 τὴν ἔνωσιν παραστήσασα· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκάτερα, σὺν Θεῷ φᾶναι, καλῶς  
 πεφύλακται, καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἡνωμένων, κὰν τῇ ἐνώσει, τῷ διττῷ τῆς  
 φύσεως καταγγελλόμενον, καὶ τὸ ταῦτόν τοῦ προσώπου, διὰ τῆς τῶν  
 15 ἡνωμένων φύσεων εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν συνδρομῆς ἀνακεφαλαιούμενον.

Σ' "Καθὼς σοι ἔδοξε, προδιεστείλω ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνθρώπου δύο  
 λέγεσθαι φύσεις καὶ μίαν. Ἐξ οὗ τί ἀκολουθεῖ; Τὸ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ μὴ δύο  
 μόνον φύσεις ὁμολογεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς. Πῶς τοίνυν τὸ [C] ἕτερον  
 ὁμολογοῦντες, θάτερον ἀπαναίνεσθε; Καίπερ ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ λόγου τοῦτό  
 20 σε λέγειν, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐξεβιάσατο."

Τί οὖν ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα; Τί γε ἕτερον, ἢ ὅπερ καὶ ἀρμόζον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς  
 ὅτι "σοφία μωροῦ" ἐστίν, κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν, "ἀδιεξέταστοι λόγοι"; Τοὺς  
 γὰρ ἰδίους ὥσπερ οὐ διαμασώμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πέπτοντες, λόγους,  
 ἐκ κακῶν τῆς ἀμαθίας σιτίων ἐρρυγὰς ἡμῖν καὶ ἀτμούς—πῶς ἂν ἀλύπως  
 25 εἵπομι;—οὐκ εὐώδεις ἀναπεμπάζουσιν. Πάσης

Scholion ad 10, προσώπων: τουτέστιν τῶν ὅλων ἀνθρώπων V (Σ')

22 Ecclus. 21.18 (LXX)

VOG 1 ἐκατέρων εἶναι φύσιν: εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων φύσιν G 2 ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ O  
 4 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. V 6 τῇ ἐνώσει: διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν G ταῖς φύσεσιν: διὰ τὸ ἑτεροφυεῖς τῶν  
 ἐνωθέντων G 7 καὶ ὁμοούσιον: καὶ om. G 9 ante φύσις add. μία G  
 11 ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ G 14 φύσεως O 15 ἀνακεφαλαιούμενα G 17 φύσις  
 V<sup>ac</sup> 21 γε: γὰρ O ante αὐτοῖς add. ἐν O 22 ante γραφὴν add. θεῖαν O  
 23 διαμασώμενοι V; διαμασώμενοι G πέπτοντες OG 24 σιτίων V  
 25 ante οὐκ εὐώδεις add. καὶ V ante πάσης add. οὐ Torres

"But," they say, "we do not hold that the natures are one in the same way, but in the case of Father and Son they are one in identity of nature, whereas here they are one by reason of union." Well, then, that which is called one by union is not the same as that which is one by nature. If they are not the same, the one is unified in one respect, the other in another. In that case, the same thing will be one and two, one by union and two in its natures; or if not this, then the same thing will be in the same respect of one substance and of more than one, one nature and not one nature. What could be more absurd than this? So your "one nature" does not escape the division which a nature has in the number of persons who share in it, and it has introduced confusion by the identity of the composite nature, which no longer presents either of the unified natures after union. But we are well protected against both dangers, thank God: the difference in what is united is proclaimed, even in their union, by the double predication of nature; and the identity of person is summed up by the concurrence of the united natures in one hypostasis.

6. "According to your views, you have explained how we can speak of two natures and one on the analogy of the ordinary human being. What follows from that? That we must not only confess two natures in Christ, but three! How can you maintain the one and deny the other? For the necessity of logic forces you, even against your will, to say this."

What do we say to this? What else but that the verse of Scripture fits them: "The wisdom of the fool is unconsidered speech" (Ecclus. 21.18 LXX). For since they have not chewed on their own words, and therefore have not digested them, they belch forth on us—how can I put it inoffensively?—the evil-smelling breath of the bad food of ignorance. For although every

- γὰρ ζητήσεως τὸ ἀπορούμενον διασκοπούσης καὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων  
αὐτὸ συμπερινοούσης, οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσι σοφοί, μὴ ὅτι τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν)  
ὥς ἀμφίβολον τὸ ὁμολογούμενον εἰς διάσκεψιν προτιθέασιν, καὶ τὸ  
φανερὸν ὥς ἀφανὲς συλλογίζονται. Τῆς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, κατὰ τὰς  
5 [D] κοινὰς πάντων ἐννοίας, τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα δηλούσης καὶ  
συσσημαινούσης, ὥς πολλάκις ἔφην, τῷ ὅλῳ τὰ μέρη, οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶσι  
παρακεχωρηκὸς τῆς ἐννοίας ὥς ἄπορον λαμβάνουσιν· ὥς ἂν εἴ τινας ἡμῶν  
ἀποφαινομένου ὅτι «οὐ» δὴ ἀπλοῦν τι χρῆμα ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ σῶμα  
μόνον ἢ ψυχὴ μόνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιούσι καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τρεῖς λέγειν  
10 φύσεις, ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς ἀνθρώπου φύσεως συνεπάγεσθαι ἑαυτῇ  
τὰ μέρη. Δύο [1296 A] γὰρ φύσεις λέγομεν οὐ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς, οὔτε μὴν  
Θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶ κυρίως ἀνθρώπου  
φύσις ἢ τοῦ μέρους φύσις. Ὡστε ὁ εἰπὼν ἄνθρωπον ἢ φύσιν ἀνθρώπου τὰς  
φύσεις ἐδήλωσεν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸν ὀνομάσας οὐχ ὁμολογουμένην καὶ ταῖς  
15 ἐννοίαις ἡμῶν ὑποπίπτουσαν οὔτε κλήσιν ὀνόμασεν, οὔτε πρᾶγμα  
δεδήλωκεν. Καὶ δηλοῦσιν αἱ διάφοροι περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς δόξαι,  
πολλαὶ τε καὶ ποικίλαι τυγχάνουσιν, καὶ ἀλλήλαις διαμαχόμεναι—οὐκ  
ἂν γενόμεναι, εἰ εὐθέως ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορία τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου  
πράγματος ἀλήθειαν ἐσήμαινεν. Ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἀνθρώπου προσηγορία κοινή  
20 τίς ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσι δεδημοσιευμένη, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ Χριστιανοῖς. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ τεχνικῶ [B] καὶ ἐπιστημονικῶ προσέοικεν ὀνόματι. Ὡς γὰρ  
ἐκεῖνα μόνον ἴσασι οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς μετεληχότες παιδείας, οὕτω μόνους  
τοῖς τὰ θεῖα σοφοῖς τετράνεται ἢ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κεκρυμμένη ἀλήθεια.  
Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ λόγου, ἐκ δύο μὲν φύσεων ἀεὶ  
25 διαβεβαιούμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν, οὐδέποτε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τριῶν φύσεων  
καλέσαντες, καί περ καὶ ψυχὴν λογικὴν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρέχουσιν·  
ἐπεὶ καταρξάσθωσαν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, καὶ ἐκ τριῶν αὐτὸν  
ὁμολογήσωσι φύσεων, καὶ ἡμεῖς γε στέρεζομεν τὰ ἐξ ὧν γέγονεν  
ὁμολογοῦντες φυλάττεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα γνωρίζεται—ὅποτε οὐκ ἐκ  
30 τριῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πλείονων αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκβιασθήσονται, ὥς  
αὐθις δείξομεν.

Scholion ad 13, τὰς φύσεις: τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς G

VOG; 11. 11-13 (Δύο ... φύσεις) VOGS 1 ἀναζητήσεως G 2 αὐτῷ codd.  
4 λογίζονται OG 8 ἀποφαινομένου G «οὐ» addidi δὴ ἀπλοῦν: διπλοῦν V  
11 ante λέγομεν add. ἡμεῖς S 14 ταῖς om. G 15 ὀνόμακεν G 16 ἐδήλωσεν O  
19 ἐσήμανεν V 20 τίς: τί G 22 μετεληχότες O 23 κεκρυμένη G  
27 ἐπεὶ καταρξάσθωσαν: fort. ἐπικαταρξάσθωσαν 28 ὁμολογήσουσι VO  
γε om. O

discussion investigates one line of questions and draws conclusions on it from agreed premises, they—who are not wise, except in the field of ignorance—are proposing as a question for investigation what has been agreed on, and draw conclusions about the obvious as if it were something obscure. For although “human nature,” according to common understanding, refers to soul and body and signifies, as I have often said, both parts and the whole, they take what everyone mentally concedes as a problem. So that when one of us points out that man is not a simple thing, either body alone or soul alone, therefore they think that one must speak of three natures in Christ, as if “human nature” were not enough to convey, by itself, its parts. We speak of two natures, not of God and flesh, nor indeed of God and soul, but of God and man. Nor is the nature of a part human nature, properly speaking. So that if one says “man” or “human nature” he has referred to these natures. But if one mentions the name of Christ, one is not naming or referring to a thing which is agreed upon, or subject to our understanding. The different opinions among Christians about him make this clear: they are many and varied, and they conflict with each other, but they would not exist, if the title “Christ” simply signified the true nature of its subject. But the title “man” is something common and evident to all—not least to Christians. But the name “Christ” resembles a technical, scientific word; for just as only they understand such words who have received the same training, so the truth hidden in the name [“Christ”] is clear only to those learned in the things of God.

They also witness to the truth of our argument, who keep urging that Christ is “from two natures,” but never say he is “from three natures,” even though they grant to the flesh of Christ a rational soul. Let *them* begin a new brand of nonsense and confess him to be “from three natures”: *we* will be content to confess that the elements from which he comes are preserved in him, in whom they are recognized, since they will be forced to say that he is not simply “from three” but from more, as we shall show in our turn.

Ἐτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ ἀπλή καὶ καθόλου ἐπιβολὴ ἔννοιαν ἡμῖν δλοσχερῇ [C] καὶ ἀτράνωτον ἐμποιεῖ· ἡ δὲ τούτων κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διαίρεσις εἰς ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν ἡμᾶς ἄγει τῶν ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκασιν. Καὶ ταύτης ἔνεκεν τὴν τοῦ ὅλου εἰς τὰ μέρη διάκρισιν ποιούμεθα· τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη τῶν μερῶν μετὰ τὴν πρώτην διαίρεσιν πειρᾶσθαι τέμνειν, καταγέλαστον· οὐ γὰρ μέχρι τούτου ἴστησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἐκτείνει τὴν θεωρίαν.

Ὁ δὲ λέγω τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· μέρη ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ καὶ σῶμα· μέρη δὲ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μὲν ψυχῆς, οὐσία λογικὴ καὶ ποιότης ἀσώματος, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν ἐννοηματικόν καὶ διανοητικόν, μνημονευτικόν τε καὶ βουλευτικόν καὶ δοξαστικόν, τὸ δὲ ὀρεκτικόν τε καὶ ἐκκλητικόν, τὸ δὲ [D] ἀμυντικόν τε καὶ δραστικόν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα τούτοις ὑποδιαίρουσιν. (Ἀφείσθω δὲ τὰ νῦν ζητεῖν πότερον ὡς μέρη ταῦτα εἰσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ὡς δυνάμεις, καὶ τίνα μὲν οὕτως, τίνα δὲ ἑτέρως· οὐ γὰρ τῆς παρουσίας ἐστὶ σκέψεως.) Πάλιν ἡ τοῦ σώματος διαίρεσις γίνεται εἰς ὁμοιομερῆ τε καὶ ἀνομοιομερῆ, καὶ τούτων ἔτι εἷς τε κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ὅσῃ καὶ σάρκας καὶ νεῦρα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ὕλην καὶ εἶδος. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἱατρῶν παῖδες περὶ δυνάμεων φυσικῶν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἐλκτικὴν, τὴν δὲ καθεκτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιωτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀποκριτικὴν ὀνομάζουσι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ φαντασίας καὶ τοῦ συνέχοντος [1297 A] τὸ ζῶον ζωτικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ πνεύματος, ἑτέρου, ὥς φασι, παρὰ τὸ λογικὸν ὑπάρχοντος.

Scholion ad 12-14, ἀφείσθω... ἑτέρως: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ πάντως μέρος, ὡς τὸ λογιστικόν· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ποιότητι, δυνάμεις. Ὅταν γὰρ ἐφίκηται τοῦ ἐσχάτου ὀρεκτοῦ, ἴσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, μὴ ἔχουσα ποῦ προβῆναι, καὶ μένει ἡ οὐσία. G

VOG; ab l. 7 (μέρη) VOGS 1 ἔτι: ὅτι ἔτι V 4 δὲ: δ" O 7 post μέρη add. μὲν γὰρ S τῶν om. O 8 post μερῶν add. αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν διαιρέσεις (sic) καὶ ὑποδιαίρεσις· καὶ μέρη μὲν Χριστοῦ ἀσύγχυτα, θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης. Ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ σῶμα οὐ μέρη Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ μέρη τοῦ μέρου. Μέρη γὰρ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου S post ἀσώματος add. ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῇ νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ λόγον S 10 διανοηματικόν V 10-11 καὶ δοξαστικόν om. S 11 ἐκκλητικόν: ἐλκτικόν S τὸ δὲ ἀμυντικόν: τὸ δὲ om. O 11-12 τε καὶ δραστικόν om. S 13 τῇ om. S 13-14 καὶ τίνα... σκέψεως om. S 14-15 πάλιν ἡ τοῦ σώματος: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος πάλιν S 15 τε καὶ ἀνομοιομερῆ om. S 16 τε om. S εἰς<sup>2</sup> om. S ὅσῃ GS 17 σάρκα GS τὰ om. OS 18 καὶ ante πολλὰ transp. S 19 καθεκτικὴν S τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιωτικὴν, τὴν δὲ καθεκτικὴν O 20 ὀνομάζουσι: καλοῦσιν OG καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. S 22 ὡς φασι post λογικόν transp. S παρὰ: περὶ S

A yet simple and general perception of things creates in us general, unexplained understanding; but the distinction of them by means of concepts brings us to an accurate knowledge of the elements from which it is composed. For this reason we undertake the distinction of a whole into its parts; but to try and divide the parts into parts, after this first division, is ridiculous; for it does not put a stop to the investigation there, but goes on to infinity.

What I mean is something like this. The parts of man are soul and body. The parts of his parts are, in the case of the soul, rational essence and incorporeal quality, under which we subdivide the authoritative part, the spirited part, and the desiring part, then the cognitive and the discursive faculties, memory and will and opinion, the appetitive and the stimulative, the defensive and the active, and many others besides these. (Let us lay aside for now the question of whether these are in the soul as parts or as powers, and which are present one way, which the other; for that is not part of our present investigation.) Then the division of the body begins: into parts which are like others and parts which are not; and these again into head, hands, and feet; and these into bones and flesh and nerves; and these into the four elements; and these into form and matter. And the medical writers theorize about many other things, too: about physical powers of which they call one the attractive, one the retentive, another the transformative, another the eliminative; and they say a great deal about perception and imagination, and about the vital and organic spirit which holds the living being together and which, they tell us, is a different thing from the rational soul.

Ὡς περ τοίνυν ἀπόχρη πρὸς τὸ παραστήσαι ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τοῦ σάρκα  
εἰπεῖν ἢ σῶμα ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἀπόχρη πάλιν διὰ τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὰ εἰς  
ἀ διήρηται μέρη δηλῶσαι (οὐ γὰρ τεχνολογεῖν φίλον, οὐδὲ σύνηθές τοῖς  
πιστοῖς), οὕτως ἀπόχρη ἄνθρωπον ἢ φύσιν ἀνθρώπου εἰρηκότα πάντα  
5 παραστήσαι τε καὶ δηλῶσαι τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ γνωρίζεται.  
Οἱ δὲ οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἀποφῇνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸν Κύριον  
συκοφαντήσωσι, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριώσωσι φύσεως, [B] ἢ μὴ  
προσειληφότα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἢ μὴ σῶον φυλάξαντα ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν  
ἔσχευεν, τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πάσης φύσεως ἀδιάπτωτον ἐνέχυρον, τὰ τοιαῦτα  
10 σοφίζονται. Ἀλλὰ μανθανέτωσαν ὅτι ἡ μὲν τῶν μερῶν ὁμολογία, ὡς ἔφη, γινώρισμα  
τυγχάνει τῆς τοῦ ὅλου σωτηρίας· ἡ δὲ τῶν μερῶν εἰς τὰ μέρη  
ὑποδιαίρεσις οὐ δογματικῆς ἐστὶ συντομίας, οὐδὲ τοῦ συντεταγμένου  
κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγου, ἀλλὰ σκεπτικῆς θεωρίας καὶ περιττῆς τοῖς  
πολλοῖς καὶ δυσλήπτου τεχνολογίας. Μέρη μὲν γὰρ Χριστοῦ ἀσύγχυτα,  
15 θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης· ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ σῶμα, οὐ μέρη Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ μέρη  
τοῦ μέρους, ὧν δηλωθέντων διὰ τῆς τελείας σημασίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν  
τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, περιττὴ ἢ εἰς φύσεις τῶν μερῶν ὑποδιαίρεσις, εἰ μὴ  
μέλλοιεν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἐπάγειν διαίρεσιν ταῖς ὑποδιαίρεσεσιν, [C] αἷς  
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησάμεθα πρότερον, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μὴ τρεῖς  
20 κατ' αὐτοὺς μόνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείους καταγγέλλειν τὰς Χριστοῦ φύσεις·  
ὧν τί ἂν γένοιτο γελοιότερον;

Z' "Ἐπειδὴ ὁ πᾶς κεκίνηται πόλεμος, τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐνώσεως παρὰ  
τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀγνοουμένου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀμφιβαλλομένου,  
περὶ ταύτης σε φιλοσοφῆσαι χρή, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν πότερον καὶ κατ'  
25 αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον διαφωνοῦμεν ἢ, τοῦτου γε συμφώνου ἡμῖν ὄντος, περὶ  
τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἢ ζήτησις, καὶ πότερον  
περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἢ περὶ τῶν σημαινουσῶν ταῦτα φωνῶν.  
Οὕτω γὰρ εὐκρινούς τῆς ζητήσεως γεγεννημένης καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων  
ἀληθείας [D] ἀναφανείσης, ὁ ἀμαθῶς ἢ ἀσεβῶς ἀντιλέγων δειχθήσεται, ἢ  
30 διορθωθῆσόμενος ἢ ἐν δίκῃ μεμψήσόμενος."

Usque ad 1. 10, VOGS; deinde VOG 1 τοῦ: τὸ O 2 ἢ: εἰς O πάλιν ἀπόχρη G  
2-4 ἀπόχρη ... οὕτως om. S 5 δηλῶσαι τε (om. G) καὶ παραστήσαι GS καὶ ἐν οἷς G  
6 αὐτὸν: τὸν VOG 7 ἀλλοτριώσουσι S φύσεως: φύσεις S; σωτηρίας conj. Torres  
ante ἢ μὴ add. καὶ codd. 8 προσειληφότα Vac ὁ: ὁπερ G 9 ἔσχευεν ante παρ' ἡμῶν  
transp. S τὰ om. O 11 ὅλου: Λόγου O 12 συντομίας ἐστὶν G  
συντεταγμένου G 14 ἀσύγχυτου O 18 μέλλοι G 24 φιλοσοφῆσαι σε G  
ἴν' O 25 γε om. G ἡμῖν συμφώνου G 26 ἡμῖν ἐστὶν O 29 ἢ? om. G

As it is enough, then, if one wishes to call all these things to mind, to say  
"human flesh" or "human body," or again it is enough to say "rational soul" to  
mean the parts into which it is divided (for no one likes technical language, nor  
are the faithful accustomed to it), so it is enough for one to say "man" or "nature,"  
to represent and mean by them everything they consist of and are known by.  
But these people make subtle distinctions about such things, not to show him  
to be a perfect man, but to slander the Lord and to make him alien to our  
nature, either because he did not assume what is ours at the start, or because he  
did not preserve intact what he took from us, the infallible pledge of the  
salvation of all [human] nature. But let them learn that while the acknowledgment  
of the parts is, as I said, the sign of the intactness of the whole, the subdivision  
of parts into other parts does not belong to dogmatic brevity or the concise  
language of the gospel, but to skeptical speculation and to a kind of technical  
language which to most people is excessive and hard to grasp. For the parts of  
Christ are unmingled: godhead and manhood. Soul and body are not parts of  
Christ but parts of a part; once we have signified them by the full meaning  
implied in the nature of man, the subdivision of the parts into natures is  
unnecessary, unless one intends to introduce the rest of the chain of distinctions  
to these subdivisions, which we made earlier in the case of the ordinary man, so  
that then one must proclaim not three natures in Christ—as they will have  
it—but even more. And what could be more ridiculous than that?

7. "Since the whole quarrel was set in motion because the manner of union is  
not understood by most people and therefore is disputed by everyone, you  
ought to philosophize about that, so that we may be able to know whether we  
disagree about that too, or whether, despite our agreeing about that, our dispute  
is rather about the product of the union, and whether it is about things  
themselves or simply about the words referring to them. In this way the question  
will become clear, and the truth of the issues will be evident; then he who  
disagrees out of ignorance or impiety will be exposed, whether for correction  
or for judicial reprimand."



Τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς θεότητος πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα οἱ μὲν κατ' οὐσίαν, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γνώμην γεγενῆσθαι ἀπεφάναντο. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ εὐλάβειαν περιττὴν ἢ ἔχοντες ἢ ὑποκρινόμενοι, μηδετέρῳ τῶν εἰρημένων προσέθεντο, ἄρρητὸν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκατονόμαστον γεγενῆσθαι  
 5 ἀπεφάναντο—εἴτε οὕτως ἔχοντες εἴτε οὐ, τοὺς ἐλέγχους ὑφορώμενοι τῆς ἀσεβείας. Ἐωράκαμεν γὰρ καὶ νῦν τινὰς, οἱ πάντες ῥητὴν τε καὶ πεπατημένην τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἔννοιαν ἔχοντες, ἄρρητον αὐτὴν ἔλεγον, ἵνα μὴ μόνον τῷ ἐναντίῳ τὸ ἐναντίον κατασκευάσωσιν, τοῦτέστιν τῷ ἄρρητῳ τὸ ῥητὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐκκλίνωσιν. [1300 A] Ὡς περ ἀμέλει καὶ  
 10 ἕτεροι, ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν φαντασίαν κρατύνειν ἢ τὴν σύγχυσιν σπουδάζοντες, “ἐσαρκώθη,” φασὶν, “ὡς ἡθέλησεν, καὶ ὡς μόνος οἶδεν αὐτός.” Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ταῦτα παραστήσωσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὄντως ἀνευλαβῆ χωροῦσιν εὐλάβειαν (ἢ γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἡγεφῶς τούτους ἢ ἀλήθεια), ἀλλ' ἵνα κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀποκέχρηται τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ, ἐπὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν  
 15 ὀνομάτων, ὡς εἷς τι κρατερόν τε καὶ ἀνάλωτον φρούριον, καταφεύγουσιν. Ἄρρητος γὰρ ὄντως ἐστὶν καὶ ἀνεκνόητος μόνῃ ἢ κατ' οὐσίαν τε καὶ οὐσιώδῃ καὶ ἐνυπόστατος ἔνωσις. Πῶς γὰρ τὰ τοσοῦτον κατὰ τὴν φύσιν παρηλλαγμένα καὶ μακρῷ διωκισμένα ἀλλήλοις τε συνέβη καὶ κραθέντα οὐ συγκέχυνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔστιν ἓν, καὶ γνωρίζεται δύο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ  
 20 μοναδικῷ τοῦ προσώπου συμπέφυρται οὔτε διὰ τὰς [B] ιδιότητας τῶν φύσεων εἰς ὑποστάσεις μερίζεται; Ταῦτα πίστις χωρεῖ μόνῃ, καὶ λόγος θεῖος, ὁ μὴ ἐν προφορᾷ λέξεως, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κατ' ἔννοιαν ἐλλάμψει τρανῶν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀφθέγκτοις διδασκαλίαις μυσταγωγῶν τοὺς ἀξίους.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν περιττὴν εὐλάβειαν νοσοῦντας, ἕως ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπὸς  
 25 ἄδηλος, οὐδὲ λόγου ἀξιώτεον· οἱ γὰρ μήτε τὸ φῶς παρρησιαζόμενοι, ἂν τούτου τύχοιεν ἔχοντες, μήτε σκότῳ συγκεκαλύφθαι αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς δυσχεραίνοντες, ὡς ἀνιάτως ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν διαπτύεσθωσαν. Περὶ δὲ

Some have argued that the union of godhead with manhood has taken place in essence, others in operation, others in will. And there are some who had, or pretended to have, an excessive reverence, and have not associated themselves with any of these formulas, but have proclaimed that it is ineffable and unnameable, sensing the danger of accusations of impiety, whether they really felt this way or not. Even now we see some who have a perfectly expressible and trite notion of the union, but call it ineffable, so as not only to use an opposite to produce its opposite—namely, to explain something by saying it is inexpressible—but also to avoid contradiction. So indeed others, eager to establish for the flesh of the Lord an imaginary or a confused reality, say: “He was made flesh as he willed to be, and as only he understands.” They do not move to this position of reverence, which is in fact irreverence, in order to prove this statement (or else the truth would have brought them to its own light), but they take refuge in pious-sounding phrases, as if in some strong, impregnable fortress, in order to make the fullest possible use of impiety. For only the substantial, concrete union of essences is truly ineffable and beyond understanding. For how have things which differ so much from each other in nature, and deviate so greatly, come to join one another, and have not become confused in their mixture? How are they one, yet understood as two, and are neither confounded by being one single person nor divided into hypostases by the individual characteristics of the natures? Only faith can grasp this, and the divine word, which makes this clear, not in the pronunciation of speech but in the illumination of the understanding, and which leads along those who are worthy by soundless teaching.

It is not, then, worth talking about those who suffer from exaggerated reverence as long as the point remains unclear; for since they neither speak freely about the light, if they should chance to lay hold on it, nor take it hard if their souls are shrouded in darkness, we, too, regard them with contempt as incurables. But as for

VOG; 11. 16–19 (ἄρρητος ... δύο), VOG A 3 ἢ om. OG περιττὴν post ὑποκρινόμενοι transp. G ante μηδετέρῳ add. οἱ G; μη θετέρῳ O 4 γεγενῆσθαι om. O 5 οὐ om. OG 6 καὶ νῦν post τινὰς transp. G καταπεπατημένην G 9 ῥητὸν: ἄρρητον O 11 φησὶν G 12 post αὐτός add. καὶ οἱς ἂν βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι (Matt. 11.27) G ὄντως om. G εὐλαβῆ G 13 τούτους: τοῦτο O; post ἀλήθεια transp. G 14 κέχρηται O 15 κρατερόν O 16 γὰρ om. A ἐστὶν ὄντως G μόνῃ om. e 17 τὴν om. A (txt. d) 18 μακρῶς διωκισμένα d 19 συγκέχυνται A (txt. e) 22 θεῖος λόγος G 24 περιττὴν: περὶ τὴν VG<sup>c</sup> post ἕως add. ὅτε G 25 μηδὲ G παρρησιαζόμενον O 26 τοῦτο G συγκαλυφθῆναι V αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς: τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς O 27 ante ἀνιάτως add. ἂν G καὶ om. G

τῶν ἄλλων, οὕτω διαλεξόμεθα. Οἱ τὴν ἔνωσην μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἢ εὐδοκίαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ τοιαύτην σχέσιν δογματίσαντες, κατ' [C]οὐδὲν μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐγγίζουσι, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, πολυσχιδὲς ὄν, ἐμερίσαντο, ἄλλοις ἄλλην τινὰ μοῖραν αὐτοῦ παρασπασάμενοι, καὶ εἰς ἐν  
 5 ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες τῇ ἀποτεύξει τῆς ἀληθείας. Ποία γὰρ ἂν εἴη αὕτη, καὶ πῶς τοῦ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀξία ὀνόματος, τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς καὶ μόνης μετὰ τὴν μόνην καὶ πρώτην, ἢ μὴ τὰ πράγματα συνδέουσα καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄγουσα; Ὅθεν καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισέ μοι ὅταν, αὐτῶν τὴν τοιαύτην ἔνωσην πρεσβευόντων, τὸ "ἀσύγχυτον" προσρίπτεται καὶ τὸ "ἄτρεπτον". ποίαν  
 10 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑφορᾶσθαι τροπὴν αὐτοὺς δίκαιον ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς μὲν ἀξίας εἰς μίαν ἀξίαν συγχέοντες (οὐ γὰρ αἱ ἀξίαι ἀξία ποτ' ἂν γένοιτο ἀσυγχύτως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ αἱ φύσεις μία φύσις ἀτρέπτως), τὰς [D]δὲ οὐσίας χωρίζοντας; Οὐ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἔνωσις ἢ τῆς ἀξίας ἔνωσις· ἢ οὕτω γ' ἂν καὶ πάντας τοὺς τῆς θείας λελογχότας  
 15 ἀξίας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄξομεν τῇ θείᾳ οὐσίᾳ, καὶ δύο φύσεις ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἁγίων δογματίσωμεν. (Τὸ γὰρ ποσὸν τῆς ἀξίας οὐ πάντῃ χωρίζει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διάφορα, ἀλλ' ὅποσῃ ἂν εἴη, κατὰ τοσοῦτον συνάψει καὶ τὰς φύσεις· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντῃ αὐτὰς χωρίζει, τοῦ συνάπτοντος μὴ πάντῃ κεχωρισμένου.) Ὅποσον γὰρ [1301 A]μετέχουσι τῆς ἀξίας, μετέχειν  
 20 ὀφείλουσι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου φύσεως. Εἰ δέ τι ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριάδι συνάψαι βούλονται τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Χριστὸν λοιποὺς ἁγίους, τῆς ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ αὐτῶν ἔστω ἐξουσίας· κεχηματίκασιν γὰρ θεοὶ τε καὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ - καὶ πνεύματα ἅγια, κατὰ τὸ "ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύμᾳ ἐστι." Πῶς τοίνυν, πάσης τῆς λογικῆς καὶ μακαρίας κτίσεως, ὅση τε ἐν ἀγγέλοις καὶ  
 25 ὅση ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τῆς θεοποιου καὶ υἱοποιου τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος πληρωθείσης, μόνος ὁ ἐκ Παρθένου πεφηνῶς "Θεός" τε ἐκλήθη καὶ "Θεοῦ Υἱός" ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον,

the rest, this is the way we shall argue. Those who allege that the union is not one of essences, but of operation or good-will, or some other relationship of that kind, come nowhere near the truth, but have divided up the manifold lie, each wresting some part of it for himself and only agreeing with one another in their failure to find the truth. After all, what kind of union would it be, and how would it deserve the name of a union which is supernatural and unique, second only to the first, unique union, if it did not bind real things together and make them one and the same? So that it makes me wonder when they profess a union of *this* sort, and then add the words "unconfused" and "unchanged"; for what kind of change could they justly suspect in the division of things, when they confuse dignities into one dignity (for dignities could never become one dignity in an unconfused way, any more than natures could become one nature without being changed!), but separate the essences? Union of dignity, after all, is not a union of things. Otherwise we shall have to assimilate everyone who has obtained the divine dignity to the divine essence, and suppose two natures in every one of the saints. (For the amount of dignity would not entirely divide things which differ in dignity, but as much of it as there is would also, by so much, join the natures together; it would surely not separate them completely, if the element which joins them is not entirely divided.) For insofar as they share in his dignity, they ought then to share in the Logos's nature. Or if they wish to join the other saints, besides Christ, to some other member of the Trinity, let them take responsibility for that in their impiety; for they are called gods and sons of God and holy spirits, according to the phrase, "He who adheres to the Lord is one spirit [with him]" (1 Cor. 6.17).

How, then, if all of rational and blessed creation, both angelic and human, is filled with the deifying and son-making grace of the Spirit, is only he who has come forth from the Virgin called in and following Scripture God and Son of God,

22 (κεχηματίκασιν ... Θεοῦ) cf. Ps. 81.6 (LXX); Joan. 10.34

23 1 Cor. 6.17

VOG; 11. 1-23 (οἱ τὴν ἔνωσην ... ἐστι) VOGA 1 διαλεξόμεθα V ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνέργειαν om. O 2 τοιαύτην om. A 4-5 ἄλλοις ... ἀληθείας om. A 5 αὕτη: ταύτη A 6 πῶς: ποῦ A ὀνόματος ἀξία G post μετὰ conj. τὴν ἔνωσην Evans (p. 25, n. 7) 7 πρώτην καὶ μόνην O ἢ: εἰ O ταὐτὸν: ἐν O 9 προσρίπτεται VO προσρίπτεται post ἄτρεπτον transp. G 10 δὴ om. V αὐτοὺς τροπὴν G 12 γένοιτο O 13 δὲ οὐσίας: δ' ἐξουσίας A (txt. d) οὐ: ὁ wp ἢ om. G 14 γε G λελογχότας: λελογχότας VG\* A; λελαχότας O 15 ἄξομεν V 16 δογματίσωμεν VOGhwp; δογματίσωμας rm post πάντῃ add. αὐτῆς G 17 εἴη: fort. legendum ἢ καὶ om. wp 18-20 οὐ γὰρ ... φύσεως om. A 20 post ἐτέρῳ add. τροπῇ d τῶν ἐν om. d 21 βούλονται d παρὰ: περὶ hemrd 22 τε om. O 22-23 ante θεοί et υἱοὶ add. οἱ ... οἱ wp 26-27 Υἱὸς Θεοῦ V

προσκυνεῖται τε παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς φύσεως; Ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς ἀθέους εἰδέναι ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῆς ποικίλης διανομῆς πρόσεστι τοῖς ὑπερτέροις παρὰ τοὺς ὑφειμένους, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τὸ ἐφ' ἅπασιν τῆς ἐνεργείας [B] χάρισμα καὶ τῆς ἀξίας δώρημα· καὶ ἡ κακείνας μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἡ οὐ γὰρ βούλονται ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Τριάδι θεωρουμένων, ἡ καὶ ὅλης τῆς σεβασμίου Τριάδος, εἰς δύο συνάπτειν φύσεις, καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ὑποστάσεις διαιρεῖν, ἡ μὴ δὲ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου συνάπτειν καὶ εἰς ἓνα Υἱὸν ἢ συντιθέναι ἢ ὁμονύμως αὐτὸν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν πρωτότυπον Υἱὸν, καὶ μὴ φρονεῖν μὲν ἄλλα, φθέγγεσθαι δὲ ἕτερα. Μιᾶς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς φυσικῆς υἰότητος, ἐξ ἧς κατὰ μετοχὴν πᾶσα υἰότης, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀποσχεδιασθέντα αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον ἢ τῆς φυσικῆς μετέχειν υἰότητος ἢ τῆς ἐκ χάριτος γινομένης, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Μονογενῆ συνάπτειν αὐτὸν, ὡς τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἀντιδιδούσης τὰ τῇ θατέρᾳ φύσει προσόντα [C] τῇ θατέρᾳ, ἡ—εὐσεβεῖν μὴ ἀνεχομένους—προφανῶς αὐτὸν τοῖς λοιποῖς συντεταγμένως ἀφορίζειν. Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀσέβειαν οὐ παρρησιάζονται (φύσει γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπαρρησίαστος τὸ κακὸν), τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν οὐδὲ τῆς δολιολάλου γλώσσης τὰ ἐπίχειρα δεδίασιν. Ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἕξω θείου χοροῦ ἀπεληλάσθωσαν μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας πατέρων, Νεστορίου τε καὶ ὅσοι τούτῳ μυσταγωγοί τε καὶ μύσται γεγόνασιν· τῆς δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσεως μεγαλοφώνως κηρυττέσθω ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ περὶ ταύτης φιλοσοφητέον καθὼς αὐτῇ δοκεῖ.

Κίνδυνος γὰρ οὐ μικρὸς παρατραπέντας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον μὲν, ἴσον δὲ κακὸν, τὴν σύγχυσίν φαμεν, ἐμπεσεῖν. Ἵνα δὲ ἡμῖν γνώριμος [D] ἡ διαφορὰ γένηται τῆς τῶν κατ' οὐσίαν ἠνωμένων καὶ μὴ τρεπομένων πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως τρέπεσθαι πεφυκότα, καὶ τί μὲν τὸ τῆς προτέρας εἶδος, τί δὲ τὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἀποτέλεσμα, ἥδε γινέσθω ἡ διαίρεσις. Πάντα τὰ ὄντα συνῆπται ἀλλήλοις ταῖς καθόλου κοινότησι καὶ πάλιν διήρηται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ταῖς εἰδοποιοῖς διαφοραῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐνώσεσι τὸ διακεκριμένον συγχέουσιν,

17 τῆς δολιολάλου γλώσσης cf. Ps 119.2 (LXX) (ἀπὸ γλώσσης δολίας)

13–14 τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἀντιδιδούσης τὰ τῇ θατέρᾳ citat Pamph. IX (191, ll. 93–4)

VOG; ll. 1–8 (ἔδει ... Υἱὸν), 10–12 (μιᾶς ... γινομένης), 20–21 (τῆς δὲ ... ἀλήθεια)  
 VOG. 1 παρὰ: ὑπὸ G post πάσης add. τῆς G γὰρ om. A post ἀθέους add. Νεστοριανούς A 2 εἰδέναι τοὺς ἀθέους G 3 παρὰ: πρὸς A 4 Θεοῦ om. O 5 οὐ: εἰ A ἀγία om. A 6 σεβασμίας A ante δύο<sup>2</sup> add. εἰς G 7 τέσσαρες O μὴ δὲ τοῦτον: μὴ δὲ τούτων V; μὴδεμίαν τούτων conj. Evans (p. 25, n. 7) ἡ om. A 9 πρὸς: ὡς A 10 μιᾶς ... υἰότητος: (ὅτι) μία ἐστὶν ἡ φυσικὴ υἰότης A ἐξ om. OG 11 ante ἀνάγκη add. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο A αὐτοῖς: τοῖς Νεστοριανοῖς A 12 ἐκ om. O γενομένης OG 13 τῆς<sup>2</sup> om. G ἐνώσεως post οὐσίαν trans. Pamph. τὰ ante προσόντα transp. O τῇ om. OG 15 ante οἱ δὲ add. ἡ G<sup>corr</sup> μὲν om. O 18 χώρου OG ἀπελήλασθον G 19 post πατέρων add. αὐτῶν G τούτων O 20 γεγόνασιν: τυγχάνουσι G τῆς δὲ: καὶ τῆς OG; τῆς A 23 γνώριμος post διαφορὰ transp. G 24 τῆς om. Evans (p. 28, n. 20) 26 ἥδε: ἥδη V γενέσθω O 28 εἰδοποιοῖς: ἰδιοποιοῖς O

and is worshipped by every rational nature? For the atheists should have realized that, even if the choicest of the varied gifts which have been given should reside in higher rather than lower creatures, still the grace of vitality and the gift of dignity is common to all. They must then either join them with God the Word, or with whichever one of the members of the Holy Trinity they wish, or even with the whole blessed Trinity, [join them] as two natures and distinguish [among them] two of three or four hypostases, or else they must not even unite him with the nature of God the Word or make him by composition into one Son, nor let him share one name with the archetypal Son; but they must not think one thing and say the other. For since there is one kind of natural sonship, from which all sonship is derived, the *man* they have trumped up must necessarily either share in natural sonship or else in that which comes by grace; and they must either join him to the Only-begotten in such a way that a union of essences makes available to one nature what belongs to the other, or else—no longer able to stand being reverent—they must openly put him in the same category as everyone else. But they do not speak their impiety openly (evil, after all, is naturally lacking in frankness), and they neither love the truth, nor fear the wages of the deceitful tongue. But let them be driven out of the divine assembly, along with the fathers of their impiety, Nestorius and those who taught and were taught by him; and let the truth of a union of essences be proclaimed loudly, and let us reflect philosophically about this, as accords with truth.

For the danger is not small that those who have been turned away from this error will fall into the opposite, and equally wrong, one of *confusion*. In order that the difference may become clear to us between the union of things which are united in essence but not changed and that of things whose nature it is to be changed by union, and [that we may know] what the form of the first kind and what the product of the second kind is, let us make the following division. All beings are joined to each other by universal common predicates and then are distinguished from each other by specific individuating differences, and [such predications] neither confuse what is distinct by these unions,

οὐδὲ ταῖς διακρίσεισι τὸ ἡνωμένον χωρίζουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ χρή παραδόξως εἰπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Πατέρας, ἡνῶνται διηρημένως καὶ διακέκρινται συνημμένως. Τῶν δὲ ἐνώσεων καὶ τῶν διακρίσεων διττὸς ὁ λόγος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡνῶνται τοῖς εἶδεσι, διήρηται δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, τὰ [1304 A] δὲ διήρηται τοῖς εἶδεσιν, ἡνῶνται δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν· καὶ τῶν ἡνωμένων μὲν τοῖς εἶδεσι, διηρημένων δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, ἡγῶν τῶν διηρημένων μὲν τοῖς εἶδεσι, ἡνωμένων δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, τὰ μὲν ἀπλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἑνώσιν τε καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν, τὰ δὲ σύνθετον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπλὴν ἔχόντων τὴν διττὴν σχέσιν, τὰ νῦν λέγειν ἀφείσθω· οὐ γὰρ τῆς παρουσίας σκέψεως ἡ ἐκείνων εἰς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐξάπλωσις, καὶ ἄλλως τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διαφεύγει γνῶσιν τε καὶ μάθησιν. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἡγῶν συμπλοκὴν ἢ κρᾶσιν ἢ ἑνώσιν ἢ ὅπως ποτὲ φίλον καλεῖν τὰς οὐσιωδεῖς τῶν ἑτεροειδῶν σχέσεις λεκτέον ἡμῖν, τοῖς ὀνοματομάχοις καταλιποῦσι τὰς, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐμφαντικωτέρας ἢ κυριωτέρας τῶν σημασιῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκλογὴς λέξεων ἡμῖν σχολή, ἐπὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπειγομένοις.

[B] Τῶν τοίνυν οὐσιωδῶς ὑπαρχόντων καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνουμένων, τὰ μὲν κἂν τῇ ἐνώσει σώζει τὸν ἴδιον τῆς ὑπάρξεως λόγον, τὰ δὲ συγχεῖ τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζει, τὴν ἀκρότητα τῶν ἡνωμένων λυμαινόμενα. Τῶν οὖν προτέρων ἡ μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις θεωρουμένη σχέσις ἐν μὲν τι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἐν εἶναι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἀποδείκνυσιν, τὸ διάφορον σώζοντα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἐν τῷ ταύτῳ τῆς ἐνότητος. Καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα ἐν μὲν ζώοις ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἢ φυσικοῖς σώμασιν ἡ τῶν αὐθυποστάτων καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ εἶναι δυναμένων πρὸς ἀλληλα ποιά σχέσις. Οἷον ὡς ἐπὶ λαμπάδος ἔστι θεωρησαί· ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ τί ἐστιν ἡ θρυαλλίς, ἕτερον δὲ πάλιν ἡ φλογώδης τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσία· σὺν ἀλλήλοις [C] δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὄντα, μίαν πεποιήκεν ἀμφοτέρα λαμπάδα· καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐκβιασάμενος εἴποι, πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐξυλωμένον καὶ ξύλον ἐκπερησμένον, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς μετέσχε λαμπρότητος, τὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν δᾶδα κεκοινώνηκε γεώδους παχύτητος, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν θάτερον θατέρω τῶν ἰδιωμάτων,

2-3 ἡνῶνται ... συνημμένως: cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 39, 11 (ed. C. Moreschini, SC 358, 172, 8-9; PG 36, 345 D1-2)

VOG; ll. 3-25 (τῶν δὲ ... οὐσία), VOG A 1 ἡνωμένων: ἡκριβωμένων G 3 δὲ om. A 4 post ἡνῶνται add. μὲν G post διήρηται add. μὲν A 6 μὲν om. O 6-7 ἡγῶν ... ὑποστάσεσιν supplevi; cf. Loofs, p. 67 8 τὴν<sup>2</sup> om. O οὖν om. wp 9 ἀφείσθω: ἀφορίσθω d 10 εἰς om. d τὴν: τῆς G 10-11 καὶ ἄλλως ... μάθησιν om. A 11 διαφεύγειν V 13 τοὺς ὀνοματομάχους O 14 ἐμφαντικωτέρας G 15 ἡμῖν om. O 16 post καὶ add. τὸ G ἐνουμένων: ἡνωμένων O; νοουμένων A 17 κἂν: καὶ A σώζει G<sup>sc</sup> λόγον ante τῆς ὑπάρξεως transp. OG ante συγχεῖ conj. Evans αὐτὸν (p. 42, n. 52) τε om. A 18 ἀφανίζει G λυμαινόμενα O 19 τι: τοι p 20 ἀποδείκνυσιν: δείκνυσιν O 21 σωζούσα conj. Evans (p. 46, n. 57) ἐν om. O ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ wp 22 ἢ: καὶ G 24 ὡς om. A τί om. A θρυαλλίς V 25 δὲ om. G 27 ἐμπερησμένον V 29 ante θατέρω add. τῷ G

nor separate what is united by the distinctions, but if one is to speak paradoxically—and follow the Fathers—they are united in distinction and distinguished in union. And there are two groups of unions and distinctions. Some things are united in species and distinguished in hypostases, others are distinguished in species but united in hypostases; and of these things which are united in species but distinguished in hypostases <or distinguished in species but united in hypostases>, the one group has a simple kind of union and division, the other a compound kind. Now let us avoid discussing things which have this double relationship of the simple kind; the explanation of them in detail is not part of our present investigation, and it is beyond most people's knowledge and understanding anyway. But we must speak of things which are related by composition or combination or mixture or union or whatever one wants to call the essential relationships of things which belong to different species—leaving it to those who quibble about names to decide which of the terms, in their opinion, is more expressive or more proper. We are eager to know, and thus have little time for choosing words!

Of things that have substantial existence, then, and are united in essence, some preserve the proper character of their existence, even in union, others confuse and destroy [it], injuring what is most important in what is united. Of this first group, the relation which is observed with and in each other produces one thing from both, and, as one might say, shows it to be numerically one, preserving the difference of existence in the sameness of unity. An example of this among living things is a man like us; among simple or natural bodies, any sort of relationship of objects which are independent substances, capable of existing by themselves, towards one another. It is possible to observe this sort of relationship in a lamp: the wick is one thing, the flaming substance of fire again another; and existing with and in each other, both of them form one lamp. If one wanted to put it in a forced way, one might say it is woody fire, or enkindled wood; the one shares in the brilliance of the fire, the other partakes in the earthy denseness of the torch, and each exchanges its characteristics with the other, both remaining in their unique, unconfused individual existence.

ἐν τῇ μονίμῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀσυγχύτῳ ἰδιότητι μείναντα. Μηδεὶς δὲ  
κακόσχολος πάλιν λαμβανέσθω τοῦ παραδείγματος, εἴ τι ἀνόμοιον ἔχει, τὸ  
ἔλαιον προσφέρων τὸ μεσιτεύον τῇ τούτων ἐνώσει, ἢ τὴν ὑποκειμένην  
ἐλαιώδη ποιότητα, ἢ τὸ μὴ διαρκεῖν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀλλὰ τεφροῦσθαι,  
5 μνημονεύων ὧν ἐμπροσθεν εἰρήκαμεν περὶ παραδείγματος καὶ τοῦ κατ'  
αὐτὸ ὄρου. Ἡ [D]δ' αὐτὴ ἂν εὕρεθείη καὶ πυρὸς πρὸς ἀέρα σύγκρασις, καὶ  
ἀέρος πρὸς ὕδωρ. ἢ γὰρ ὕδατος πρὸς γῆν μίξις ἤδη τοῦ συγχυτικοῦ τῆς  
ἐνώσεως ἄπτεται εἶδους, ὁδοποιούσα τοῖς ὕδροις τε καὶ λεπτομερέσι,  
διαφόροις δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ποιότητων ἐξαλλαγήν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς  
10 ἀντιπεπονθήσεως γινομένην τῶν ἁκρῶν μεταβολὴν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν.  
Παρίημι γὰρ τὰς ποιότητας λέγειν, αἱ καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν κεχωρισμένων  
πολλάκις ἐν ἀλλήλαις τε γίνονται καὶ ἀμιγῶς συνάπτονται. ὥσπερ τῶν  
φωσφόρων ἄστρων αἱ μαρμαρυγαί, ἀλλήλαις τε καὶ ἀέρι κιννάμεναι,  
σφῶζουσι τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ ἐν τῷ ποιῶ ποσοῦ. Παρίστησι δὲ τοῦτο ἡ τέχνη,  
15 τῆς φύσεως οὐσα μιμητικὴ· εἴ γ' οὐν τις, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν [1305 A] Διονύσιον,  
πολλὰς ἐξάψας δάδας ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ συγκλείσειεν, εἴτα μίαν ἐκ πασῶν  
ἀποσπάσας ἐξαγάγοι τοῦ δωματίου, συνεξοίσει ταύτη καὶ τὸ φῶς, οὔτε τι  
προσλαμβανομένης τῶν ἐτέρων οὔτε τι τοῦ ἰδίου πάλιν αὐταῖς ἀπολιπούσης.  
Καὶ καθόλου φάναι, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνουμένων τροπὴν ἢ σύγχυσιν ὑφίσταται,  
20 μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκατέρου τῶν ἐνουμένων παθητικὰς ἔχοντος ποιότητας. Τῶν γὰρ  
μὴ τοιούτων, ἢ μὲν δραστήριος ποιῆσαι ἂν καὶ οὐ πάθοι, ἢ δὲ παθητικὴ  
πάθοι ἂν καὶ οὐ δράσειεν· ὧν δὲ κοινὸς ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀντιπεπονθήσεως, ταῦτα  
κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἢ τὴν ἰσονομίαν τῶν παθοποιῶν αἰτιῶν τὴν ἐν  
θατέρῳ πάσχει τε καὶ ποιεῖ, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον. Ὡσπερ ἔχει ἐπὶ πάντων  
25 τῶν τηκτῶν καὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἢ τοῖς βαναύσοις  
κινᾶσθαι ἢ συντήκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην μεμηχάνηται.

[B] Τούτων τοίνυν προδιασταλμένων ἡμῖν, εἰδέναι χρή ὅτι τὰ μὲν  
ἀλλοιωτικὰ ἀλλήλων καὶ μεταβλητικὰ, ἐκ πολυειδῶν καὶ ἑτεροουσιῶν  
συνεστῶτα, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἀποσφῶζει ἀκραιφνὲς μετὰ τὴν  
30 σύνθεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς πάντων ἰδιότητος μίξασα καὶ συγχέουσα ἐκ πάντων  
παρὰ πάντα, ἑτεροῖον εἶδος

But let no one, again, take the paradigm in a frivolous way, if it has some  
dissimilarity in it, and point out the oil which is the medium of union for these  
elements, either its underlying oily quality, or its not lasting permanently but  
being consumed; let him remember what we said before about an example and  
the limitation with respect to it. The same mixture can be found in the case of  
fire and air, and air and water; the mixture of water and earth, after all,  
approaches the form of union by confusion, since it makes it possible for wet,  
light-particled substances, which differ by qualitative variation, to undergo the  
transformation and change of elements that comes from interaction. I will omit  
even mentioning qualities which often exist in each other even when their  
substances are divided, and participate in each other unmixed, as when the rays  
of the light-giving stars, when mixed with each other and with the air, preserve  
their qualitative and quantitative individuality. Human ingenuity, which  
imitates nature, proves this: if, according to the great Dionysius, one were to  
light many torches and enclose them all in one room, and then detach one from  
the rest and take it out of the room, he would remove its light along with it, but  
it would not take, beyond that, anything from the others nor again lose anything  
of its own to them. And to speak generally, none of the things united undergoes  
change or confusion unless each of the united things possesses passible  
qualities. Of things which are not so constructed, the active quality would affect  
and not be itself affected, the passible would be affected and not act; but in  
objects to which the principle of reciprocal influence is common, they are  
affected and produce effects to a greater or lesser extent, according to the  
predominance or equality of effect-producing causes in each. This is what  
happens in all solubles and metals, and in things that are mixed or dissolved  
together by the contrivance of doctors or craftsmen.

Since we have explained this in advance, one ought to realize that things  
which have the power to change or alter each other, consisting of elements of  
many different species and substances, preserve nothing of the compounded  
elements inviolate after compounding has taken place, but by mixing all their  
characteristics and confusing them from every source and beyond every  
definition, [the compounding] produces another,

5 cf. supra p. 136, ll. 10–11 13–16 cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De Div. Nom.* 2.4 (ed. B. R. Suchla (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 127.4–128.2; PG 3.641 A–C)

VOG; ll. 19–22 (καὶ καθόλου ... δράσειεν), VOGA 4 ἐλαιώδη O 5–6 κατ'  
αὐτὸ correxi; κατ' αὐτοῦ V; κατὰ ταῦτ' O; κατ' αὐτὸν G 6 δ': δὲ O 7 ante  
ὕδατος add. τοῦ G ἥδη: ἢ δὴ codd. 9 δὲ om. O 10 γενομένην O 11 post  
γὰρ add. καὶ G τῶν om. G 13 ἀστέρων G τε om. O 17 ἐξαγάγοι post  
δωματίου transp. G 18 τι om. OG ἀπολιπούσης: ἀπολειπούσης G; καταλιπούσης O  
19 καὶ om. A τῶν: τούτων d ἐνωμένων d 20 ἐκατέρων G ἐχόντων G  
21 μὴ om. A 22 δράσοι O 29 οὐδὲ G ἀκραιφνὲς μετὰ τὴν: ἀκραιφνεστάτην G  
30 συγχέασα G



πάμμικτον ἀπετέλεσε ἢ σύνθεσις, καὶ γέγονε πολλῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ φύσεων κατὰ τὴν μίξιν φυρμὸς καὶ σύγχυσις, οὔτε τὸ ἰδιάζον τῆς ὑποστάσεως οὔτε τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως φυλάξασα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον, ἐκ τούτων μὲν γενόμενον, οὐδενὶ δὲ ταῦτόν τῶν ἀφ' ὧν γέγονεν, ἀποτελέσασα. Εἰ  
 5 τοῖνυν θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης, κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνωθεῖσαι, μὴ φυλάττουσι  
 κὰν τῇ ἐνώσει τὴν ἑαυτῶν φυσικὴν ιδιότητα, συγκέχυνται, καὶ οὔτε  
 θεότης ἔμεινεν οὔτε ἀνθρωπότης, ἀλλ' ἕτερον οὐσίας εἶδος, ἐκ τούτων  
 γενόμενον [C] καὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτα ὑπάρχον, ἀποτετέλεκεν. Οὐ τί ἂν γένοιτο  
 ἀσεβέστερον ἢ βδελυκτότερον κὰν ἐννοῆσαι, μὴ ὅτι φρονούντας  
 10 δογματίζου;

Λείπεται τοῖνυν ἐκ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τοῦ λόγου τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσεως  
 τῆς τε θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν ἀσύγχυτον ιδιότητα κατὰ τὰ  
 πρότερα λαβεῖν ὑποδείγματα, ἀμυδρὰν τινα φαντασίαν ἐκ πάντων τῆς  
 ὑπὲρ πάντα ἀληθείας συλλεγομένοις, ἥτις ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐν μὲν τι τούτων  
 15 εἶναι τὸ ἀποτελεσμα, ὃ εἴτε πρόσωπον εἴτε ὑπόστασιν εἴτε ἄτομον εἴτε  
 ὑποκείμενον εἴτε τι ἄλλο φίλον καλεῖν αὐτὸ—οὐ διαφέρομαι. Τοὺς γὰρ  
 ἀξία ἢ αὐθεντία ἢ τινι τοιαύτῃ σχέσει διαιρετικῇ διὰ τοῦ συνάπτειν  
 χωρίζοντας πρῶην ἀπορραπίσας ὁ λόγος ἀποδεδίωχεν, ὑποστάσει τὰς  
 φύσεις [D] διαιροῦντας ἐλέγξας, καὶ μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἢ ἀντίδοσιν  
 20 ἐχούσας ἢ ἀντιδιδούσας.

Τούτων εἰρημένων, κατὰ τὸ δεδομένον ἡμῖν ἐκ Θεοῦ τῆς νοήσεως  
 μικρὸν μέτρον, παραπέμπομεν τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα εἰς τὰς τῶν θεηγόρων  
 Πατέρων διδασκαλίας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ἠντληκότες, ὡς ἐν μικρῷ  
 κρατήρι, τῷ τῆς ταπεινῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας λόγῳ, ποτίσαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν  
 25 τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστάς. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἐπορευόμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας, ταῦτα  
 μὲν ἔχοιτε “λήθης φάρμακον,” καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐκδημίαν ἡμῶν  
 ἀγάπης ὑπόμνημα, [1308 A] ὡς ἂν μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης καλὸν  
 ἐκρυέν οἰχήσῃται. Ἐπιστομίζετε δὲ τοὺς θρασυτέρους καὶ χειραγωγοῦτε  
 τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ τούτων ἀναφαινομένην ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις  
 30 Πατράσιν εἰλικρινὴ καὶ καθαρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας

completely mixed species, and there is a mess and confusion of many hypostases and natures by the mixture, which preserves neither the individuating character of the hypostasis nor the common element of the nature, but produces another thing which grew out of them but in no respect is the same as the things from which it grew. If, then, godhead and manhood, united in essence, do not preserve their peculiar natural constitution even in the union, they are confused, and neither godhead nor manhood remains, but another form of being which has grown out of them but is not they, is produced. What could be more irreverent or more disgusting than this—even to conceive of it, let alone to hold and teach it?

It remains, then, from our investigation of the subject of union in essence that we must accept the unmixed individuality of godhead and manhood according to the models we have mentioned, gleanings from all of them some faint impression of the truth that is above all examples, and which reveals that there is one being produced from these things, which is either a person or a hypostasis or an individual or a subject or whatever else one wants to call it—I have no preferences. But as for those who divide by joining them in dignity or authority or some other divisive relationship of this sort, our argument above has repulsed them and put them to flight, proving that they divide the natures by means of hypostases, natures which share nothing in common and exhibit no reciprocity.

After saying this, according to the humble measure of intelligence given us by God, we refer the reader to the teachings of the inspired Fathers, from which we too have drawn these things, with the hope of giving drink to all lovers of truth in a small container, with the arguments of our humble reason. And you, who yearn for the truth, have these things as a cure for forgetfulness and a memorial of our love for after our final departure, lest with time the beauty of love should melt away altogether. Bridle the bold, lead on the simple towards the pure and unmixed ray of truth which shines in the holy Fathers through these texts,

26 λήθης φάρμακον: cf. Eur., *Palamedes*, Fr. 2 (cf. *supra*, p. 116, l. 5)

VOG 1 παράμικτον O ἢ σύνθεσις addidi (cf. Evans, p. 50, n. 75); ἢ τέχνη conj.  
 Torres 8 ταῦτόν O ἀποτετέλεσται conj. Torres 9 βδελυκτότερον O  
 13 πρότερον O ὑποδείγματα: παραδείγματα O post ἀμυδρὰν add. δὲ V ante  
 φαντασίαν add. καὶ G ante ἐκ πάντων add. τοῖς G τῆς: τοῖς G 15 εἴτε:  
 εἴθ' O 18 χωρίσας O ἐπιρραπίσας G 24 τῷ om. O 25 ante τοὺς add.  
 πάντας G ὑμεῖς: ἡμεῖς G post ἐπορευόμενοι add. ὑπὸ V 26 τελευταίαν om. O  
 28 οἰχήσεται V θρασυνομένους O 30 εἰλικρινή V

αὐγὴν, καὶ ἡμῶν ὑπερέχουσι, δι' ἀγάπην, ὡς τὸ συνειδὸς μαρτυρεῖ, ταῦτα συγγράψαι, καὶ παρὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀνασχομένων. Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶς, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

## ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ἉΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ

- 5 Μέλλων τὰς χρήσεις παρατίθεσθαι τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πρὸς βεβαίωσιν τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, ἐπιστήσαι τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα παρακαλῶ. Συνετοῦ γὰρ δέσται ἀκροατοῦ ἢ τῶν θαυμαστῶν τοῦ Πνεύματος συμβούλων [B]παίδευσιν. Κάμνει γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀκοαῖς ἐνηχῶν ἀπαιδευσίας ῥύπῳ βεβαρημέναις· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν καὶ σάρδιον πολυτελὲς  
10 ἐνδέδεται, οὕτω λόγος σοφὸς εἰς οὓς εὐήκοον, ἢ σοφὴ ἀπεφθέξατο παροιμία. Οὐκοῦν τὸ κατὰ τὴν θείαν αἴσθησιν ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῶν παντὸς ἐκκαθάρωμεν ἄχθους, τοῦ ἐκ προλήψεως συνισταμένου καὶ ἀποκωφούντος τὸν νοῦν. ἤδη δὲ τὸ τῶν “μαρτύρων νέφος,” ἢ φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἐποίησμεν, ἂν ἄρα καὶ τοῖς τηλικούτοις εἴξωσιν οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες. Καὶ γὰρ  
15 τῆς αὐτῶν πατροπαράδοτου φιλονεικίας ἕνεκεν οὔτε διλήμματος ἢ ἀμφίβολον χρήσιν παρηγάγομεν, οὔτε μὴν ἀσημοτέρους Πατέρας ἐπεμαρτυράμεθα· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς φανοτάτους, καὶ μέγα ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ λάμπαντας, ἐπεβοησάμεθα, καὶ τρανοτάτας καὶ ἀναμφιλέκτους μαρτυρίας εἰσκεκομίσκαμεν, [C]πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλείοντες κατὰ τῆς  
20 ἀληθείας ἐπίνοιαν. Οὐ τὰς “ἐξ ὧν” ἢ “ἀφ’ ὧν” ἢ “παρ’ ὧν,” καὶ “πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως” (ὡς αὐτοῖς φίλον καλεῖν) ἢ “ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει,” καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ “μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν”—εἴπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν σοφίαν ταύτης τέλος—ἀλλὰ τὰς “ἐν οἷς” καὶ “δι’ ὧν,” “ἀμφοτέρας” τε καὶ “δι’ ἀμφοῖν” καὶ “ἄμφω,” “φύσεις” τε καὶ “οὐσίας,” “οὕσας” τε καὶ “φυλαττομένας,” “ἐν” τε “τῇ ἐνώσει” καὶ  
25 εἰς ἄπειρον “ἀδιαιρέτους,” “ἐν τῇ κατ’ οὐσίαν ὑποστατικῇ ἐνώσει,” ἀπεφύναμεν τοὺς ἁγίους καταγγείλαντας.

9–10 Prov. 25.12 (LXX)

13 Hebr. 12.1

VOG; ll. 11–13 (τὸ κατὰ ... νέφος), VOG A 1 post ὡς add. δὲ ταῦτα ante μαρτυρεῖ  
transp. O 4 ΤΩΝ<sup>1</sup> om. VG post ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ add. ΛΟΓΟΥ Α' G 5 τῶν  
ἐντυγχάνοντων O 8 συμβούλων ante τοῦ Πνεύματος transp. G ὁ om. V  
9 δὲ: γὰρ V 11 παντὸς ἐκκαθάρωμεν: καθάραι παντὸς A 12 ἄχθου  
wprd ἀποκωφῶντος G 13 ἤδη δὲ τὸ: ἢ δεῖδετο d post τὸ add. καὶ A ante νέφος  
add. τὸ A post νέφος add. ὑποδέξασθαι A 14 εἴξουσιν G 17 φανοτάτους O;  
φραντάτους G 18 τρανωτάτας V 25 ὑπεφύναμεν VG

and pray for us, who have dared to write this in love, as conscience prompts, and against our will. And thanks be to God in all things for each of his gifts, for all ages. Amen.

## PROLOGUE TO EXCERPTS FROM THE HOLY FATHERS

As I prepare to offer excerpts of the holy Fathers in confirmation of our arguments, I beg the reader to pay close attention, since instruction in the wonderful counsels of the Spirit requires an intelligent hearer. For argument becomes weak when it resounds in ears weighed down by the filth of ignorance; “as a golden earring or a precious carnelian is fastened to us, such is a wise word in the ear that listens well” (Prov. 25.12), the wise proverb declared. Therefore let us purify the hearing of our divine sensibilities from every burden, from prejudice that stiffens and deafens the mind. Now we shall bring forward a “cloud of witnesses,” as the Apostle puts it (Hebr. 12.1), in the hope that unbelievers will give way at least to such as these. And indeed, because of their ingrained contentiousness, we have not brought forward any double-meaning or ambiguous text, nor called undistinguished Fathers as witnesses; but we have invoked only the most renowned, who shine brightly in the whole world, and we have produced the clearest and least contestable proof-texts, as a way of excluding all speculation with respect to the truth. We have quoted the saints not when they speak of [natures] “out of which” or “away from which” or “from which,” or who say “before the union” (as our opponents like to say) or “in the union,” and not even “after the union”—if indeed there is an end to it, according to their brand of wisdom—but of [natures] “in which” and “through which,” “either” and “through either” and “both,” “natures” and “substances,” “existing” and “preserved,” both “in union” and “infinitely inseparable,” in the “hypostatic union on the level of substance.”

Εἰ δέ τις τὸ τούτων πλῆθος ἢ τῶν προσώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον κατὰ [D] τὸν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἀσεβῆ οὐκ αἰδεῖται ("Ἀσεβής" γάρ φησιν, "ὅς οὐκ ᾔδεσθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου"), ἀσήμους δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐγνωσμένας, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων, τούτοις ἐναντίας χρήσεις προκομίζοι, δεῖξάτω πρῶτον ὅτι μὴ αὐταὶ ἐκείνων οὐσαι τυγχάνουσι καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνας δεξαίμεθα. ἔως δ' ἂν αὐταὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔχωσι, τῇ τε τῶν συνταγμάτων λαμπρότητι καὶ περιφανείᾳ τῇ τῶν Πατέρων, ἐκείνας ἢ οὐ παραδεξαίμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν, κατὰ τούτων στρατευομένας, ἢ δεξάμενοι, ὡς σύμφωνον τούτοις ἐχούσας διάνοιαν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν μαχομένας ἐκδεξόμεθα. Τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἀντίφασιν 5 πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς θελόγους ἄγειν, καὶ ἀσυμφώνους σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι λέγειν, οὐ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐστι τὸ ἐγχειρίημα, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων δόξης—μᾶλλον δὲ [1309 A] τῆς τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ ἔτι τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αὐθεντίας καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ. Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς διδασκάλους, 15 κατὰ τὴν ἀνεξιχνίαστον τοῦ Πνεύματος οἰκονομίαν, τέθεικεν ὁ θεὸς "εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ." Οὐκοῦν ὁ τοὺς Πατέρας μὴ δεχόμενος, τοὺς διαφανεῖς τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ περιβοήτους, προφανῶς τῇ διαταγῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθέστηκεν.

Τί τοίνυν διαφέρει οὐσία ὑποστάσεως, ἡγουν φύσις προσώπου, ἐκ τῶν 20 μεγάλων φωστήρων, Βασιλείου τε καὶ Γρηγορίου, μαθεῖν ἔξεστιν, οἵτινες ὑπὸ κανόνα καὶ ὅρον τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν ζητούμενα ἀνήγαγον, σαφῶς διδάξαντες [B] τί μὲν οὐσία, τί δὲ ὑπόστασις, καὶ ὡς φύσις ταυτόν ἐστι τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὑπόστασις τε τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ πῶς καὶ κατὰ τινων ταῦτα λέγεται, τὰς τε ἀντωνυμίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντεμπλοκὴν, ἔμπαλιν ἐχούσης τῆς 25 θεολογίας τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων ἐπίζευξιν τε καὶ ὑπαλλαγὴν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων παράθεσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱεροῦς διδασκάλους παράξομεν εἰς μέσον, μιᾶς πον ἢ δευτέρας χρήσεως τὴν πᾶσαν ἡμῖν τῶν θεοσόφων διάνοιαν παριστώσης. Ἰκαναὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ καταιδέσαι τοὺς εὐγνώμονας· τοὺς γὰρ μὴ τοιούτους οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς πείσαι 30 τῶν ἁγίων χορὸς, καὶ εἰ τὰς πάσας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀθρόως ἐξαντλοῦντες καταχέοιμεν διδασκαλίας.

2-3 Job 34.19 (LXX)

15-16 Eph. 4.11-12

VOG; ll. 2-5 (ἀσεβής ... δεξαίμεθα), 16-18 (οὐκοῦν ... ἀνθέστηκεν) VOG  
 2 ἀσεβής ... ᾔδεσθη: (ὅτι) ἀσεβής οὐκ αἰδεῖται A φησιν om. O 3-4 ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ  
 ἐτέρων τούτοις ἐναντίας om. A 4 προσκομίζουσι A δεῖξάτωσαν A 4-5 ὅτι  
 ... δεξαίμεθα: ὅτι μὴ τῶν Πατέρων εἰσὶν αἱ χρήσεις τῶν ἐγκρίτων, καὶ τότε ἐκείνας ἂς  
 φασιν προαγέτωσαν (προσαγέτωσαν wp) A 6 ἔχουσι V τῇ om. O 8 ταύταις G  
 9 ἐκδεξόμεθα V 10 αὐτοὺς VO 12 τοῦ om. G ἁγίου om. OG 17 τε  
 om. B 18 τῇ: τὴν mr post περιβοήτους add. ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαταττόμενος τούτοις A  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ante διαταγῇ transp. OG 21 ζητουμένου O 22 ἐστι om. OG  
 28 θεοσόφων: θεοφόρων G ἱκανὰ G 29 πείσειε G

But if someone, like the "impious one" of Scripture, shows no respect for the number of these witnesses or the credibility of their persons (for "Impious," it says, "is the one who does not reverence the person of someone honorable" [Job 34.19]), but produces undistinguished and unrecognized texts to oppose them, either from the same or from other authors, let him show first that these [present texts] are not from the authorities we say, and we might then accept theirs; but as long as these retain their force, by the brilliance of the arguments and the eminence of the Fathers, we either will not accept their opposing texts from the beginning, or else, if we accept them, we will do it because they contain a meaning that harmonizes with these and in no way conflicts with them. For to attempt to lead the [great] theologians to oppose each other, and to say they have been in conflict among themselves, is not an assault against us but against their reputation, or rather against Paul's name, and even against the authority of the Holy Spirit and of Christ, who speaks in Him. For after the Apostles and the prophets, God has placed teachers in the Church, according to the unsearchable plan of the Spirit, "for the work of service, for the building-up of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4.11-12). Therefore the person who does not receive the Fathers, those resplendent and famous [leaders] in the Church of God, clearly is resisting the command of God.

We can learn, then, how substance (*ousia*) differs from individual (*hypostasis*), and nature (*physis*) from person (*prosopon*), from the great stars Basil and Gregory, who brought what we are now investigating under a rule and definition, clearly teaching what substance is and what hypostasis, and how nature is the same as substance, hypostasis as person, and how and of what realities these are predicated, and what terms are substitutes for them, what are implied with them—since the situation of God is the opposite of that of the Incarnation, with respect to the linking and variation of these words. And after we lay out [the contribution of] these theologians, we will introduce the other holy teachers, allowing one or two texts, at least, to present the whole thinking of these divinely wise writers. For they will be sufficient to win the respect of the well-disposed; but the whole chorus of saints could not persuade those who are not so, even if we were to draw abundantly from all their teaching and pour it out here.

[1] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ  
ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟΝ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμῖν δοκοῦν εἰπεῖν, ἐκείνο ἐροῦμεν. ὅτι ὃν ἔχει λόγον  
τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, τοῦτον ἔχει ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Ἐκαστος  
5 γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ τοῦ εἶναι μετέχει, καὶ τοῖς περὶ  
αὐτὸν ἰδιώμασιν ὁ δεῖνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. Οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖ· ὁ μὲν τῆς οὐσίας  
λόγος κοινός, οἷον ἡ ἀγαθότης, ἡ θεότης, ἡ εἴ τι ἄλλο νοοῖτο· ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις  
ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τῆς πατρότητος ἢ τῆς υἰότητος ἢ τῆς ἁγιαστικῆς  
δυνάμεως θεωρεῖται. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀνυπόστατα λέγουσι τὰ πρόσωπα,  
10 αὐτόθεν ἔχει ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀτοπίαν· εἰ δὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει εἶναι αὐτὰ ἀληθινῇ  
συγχωροῦσιν, ὁ ὁμολογοῦσι, καὶ ἀριθμείτωσαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου  
λόγος διαφυλαχθῇ ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας  
ἐπίγνωσις Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τῇ ἀπηρτισμένῃ καὶ  
ὀλοτελεῖ ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑποστάσει κηρύττῃται.

## 15 [2] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ἈΜΦΙΛΟΧΙΟΝ

Οὐσία δὲ καὶ ὑπόστασις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς  
τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, οἷον ὡς ἔχει τὸ ζῶον πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον.

[1] Basilius, Ep. 214, *Ad Terentium Comitem*, 4 (PG 32, 789 A12–B14; ed. Y. Courtonne, II, 205–6, ll. 6–22). Cf. etiam: Pamph. I (131 f., ll. 90–106); *Doctr. patr.* 6, III (35, 1. 15; 1); ll. 3–5 (εἰ δὲ... δεῖνα): Max. Conf., Ep. 15 (545 A7–12); ll. 3–8 (εἰ δὲ... θεωρεῖται): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 17 (160, 1.28–161, 1.6; tr. 125, ll. 23–31); Theor., *Disp.* (132 A1–10; 1); ll. 3–4 (ὅτι... ὑπόστασιν): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Fr. Graec. II (49, ll. 21–2); ll. 4–5 (ἐκαστος... μετέχει): Joan. Caes., *ibid.*, Fr. Syr. 15 (9, ll. 114–116); ll. 4–5 (ἐκαστος... καὶ ὁ δεῖνα): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 17 (162, ll. 12–14; tr. 126, ll. 30–3); Anon., *Contra Calumniatores Duplicis Naturae*, *Doctr. Patr.* 11, XV (72, ll. 7–9); 1. 6 (ὁ μὲν... νόοιτο): Sev., *Ad Serg.* 3 (174, l. 28–175, l. 1; tr. 133, l. 34–134, l. 2)

[2] Basilius, Ep. 236, *Ad Amphilochium Episcopum*, 6 (PG 32, 884 A8–10; ed. Y. Courtonne, III, 53, ll. 1–3). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 33 (253, ll. 11–13; tr. 198, ll. 5–8); Max. Conf., Ep. 15 (545 A14–B1); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, I (35, ll. 7–9); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 1 (67, ll. 7–10; tr. 52, l. 33–53, l. 1; 1); Pamph. I (132 f., ll. 109–31; 1); Theor., *Disp.* (132 A12–15; 1); ll. 14–15 (οὐσία... ἐκαστον): Sev., *Ad Serg.* 3 (166, ll. 17–18; tr. 127, ll. 14–16); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* IX, 2.39 f. (140: periphrasis); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.* 5 (112.11–12)

VOG [1] 3 εἰ δὲ om. Pamph. δοκοῦν ante ἡμῖν transp. Basil. codd. VPBM, *Doctr. Patr.* codd. CD ante εἰπεῖν add. ἐν βραχεῖ Basil., Sev., Max. Conf.; ante τὸ ἡμῖν add. ἐν βραχεῖ *Doctr. Patr.*, Pamph. ἐροῦμεν om. Pamph. 4 ἔχει τοῦτον G 5 κοινῶν G ante καὶ add. ἡ ὅτι Pamph. 7 οἷον om. G νοείτω Theor. 8 ἡ τῆς υἰότητος om. Theor. 10 αὐτὰ ἀληθινῇ εἶναι G; αὐτὰ εἶναι ἀληθινῇ Basil. codd. VPBM, Pamph., *Doctr. Patr.* 11 συγχωρήσουσιν Basil. cod. L, Pamph., *Doctr. Patr.* codd. ABCDE 12 φυλαχθῇ O φύσεως: θεότητος Basil. 14 κηρύττεται V

[2] 16 ἔχει om. Theor.

## 1. BY ST BASIL, FROM THE LETTER TO TERENCE

If we must also say what seems right to us, we will say this: substance has the same relationship to hypostasis that the universal has to the particular. For each of us participates in being through the common structure of substance, and is this or that particular being by the characteristics that cling to it. And so here [i.e. in God]: the structure of substance is common, including goodness, divinity, or whatever else we may think of; but the hypostasis is recognized in the characteristic of fatherhood or sonship or the power to make holy. Now if they say the personas do not exist concretely [*anypostata*], their saying will become untenable at that point; but if they agree that they exist in truly hypostatic ways, as they confess, then let them start counting! In this way, the structure of consubstantiality is preserved in the unity of nature, and the pious recognition of Father and Son and Holy Spirit will be proclaimed in the complete and full hypostasis of each of those named.

2. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM  
THE LETTER TO AMPHILOCHIUS

“Substance (*ousia*)” and “hypostasis” differ from each other in the same way as the universal and the individual, as in the relationship between “living being” and this or that human being.

## [3] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἑτέρα

Οἱ δὲ ταῦτόν λέγοντες οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν, ἀναγκάζονται πρόσωπα μόνον ὁμολογεῖν διάφορα.

- 5 [4] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ ἔκ τῆς ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΗΣ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ,  
ἘΝ ἣ ΚΑΘΥΠΟΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕΝ ἘΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΝ  
ΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝ, ἘΝ ὙΠΟΝΟΙΑ Ἄ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ  
ὩΣ ΤΑΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΔΟΞΑΖΟΝΤΑ

Προσῆκει τοίνυν ἐναργῶς ὁμολογεῖν ὅ τι πιστεύουσι κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων ἐκτεθέντα ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑγιᾶ  
10 ὑπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐμφερομένην διάνοιαν· εἰσι γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
πίστει δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν βούλημα τὸν  
νοῦν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ῥημάτων ἔλκοντες· ὅπου γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμησεν  
ἀσεβῶς ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ  
15 ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενος λόγον, ἐκείθεν προφασίσασθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφέναι.  
Ἐλεοντίου· Ἰδοὺ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μίαν ὑπόστασιν  
εἶρηκεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, προδιαστείλας μὴ ταῦτόν εἶναι οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν.

[5] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ἔκ τοῦ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΥ

Πιστεύομεν εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὁμοούσιά τε καὶ ὁμόδοξα.

[3] Basilius, *ibid.* (PG 32, 884 C2-4; ed. Y. Courtonne, III, 54, ll. 22-3). Cf. etiam: Pamph. VII (177, ll. 96-8); Max Conf., Ep. 15 (545 B2-4); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 33 (262, ll. 17-19; tr. 205, ll. 10-12; ↓); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, XII (37, l. 2; ↓); *Theor., Disp.* (132 C6-8; ↓)

[4] Basilius, Ep. 125, *Professio Fidei Eustathii Episc. Sebasteias* (PG 32, 545 C5-D1; ed. Y. Courtonne, II, 31, ll. 16-25). Cf. etiam: Max. Conf., Ep. 15 (545 C5-15; ↓); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, X (37, ll. 7-8; ↓); *Theor., Disp.* (132 D2-133 A1; ↓)

[5] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Orat.* 42 (PG 36, 476 C11-13). Cf. etiam: *Justn., Ctr. Mon., Test.* 179 (38, l. 29; ↓); Max. Conf., Ep. 15 (548 C6-7; ↓); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, XII (37, l. 12; ↓); *Theor., Disp.* (133 C9-10; ↓)

VOG [3] 3 μόνον post διάφορα transp. Pamph.

[4] 7 ΤΑ ἘΝΑΝΤΙΑ V 8 προσῆκει τοίνυν ἐναργῶς ὁμολογεῖν: λαμβάνειν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογούντας παροσῆκει Basil. 8-9 τὰ om. V; post πατέρων transp. *Doctr. Patr.* 9 τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Basil. Νικαέων V, *Doctr. Patr.* 10 ὑπὸ: ἐκ *Doctr. Patr.* post ῥημάτων add. τούτων Basil. (txt. cod. M) ἐκφερομένην O; ἐμφαινομένην Basil., *Doctr. Patr.* 12 Μάρκελος VO 13 ἀσεβῶς: ἀσεβῶν εἰς Basil. Max. Conf. ἀρνήσασθαι om. VO; ἐτόλμησεν ἀρνήσασθαι ἀσεβῶς *Doctr. Patr.* 14 εἰσηγούμενος *Doctr. Patr.* λόγον: ἄνθρωπον G εἰληφέναι: εἰ χρή φάναι *Doctr. Patr.* post εἰληφέναι continuit τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν διάνοιαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος Basil. Scholion Leontii ἘΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ addidi 16 ὁ διδάσκαλος om. OG [5] 18 ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΥ Greg. Naz., Max. Conf., *Doctr. Patr.* (txt. *Theor.*)

## 3. AND LATER ON

Those who say that substance and hypostasis are the same thing, are forced to confess that only the personas (*prosopa*) are different.

4. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SYNODAL  
LETTER WHICH HE REQUIRED EUSTATHIUS THE  
ARMENIAN TO SIGN, WHEN HE HAD COME UNDER  
SUSPICION OF BELIEVING THE OPPOSITE

It is proper, then, to confess clearly what they [i.e. opponents of the Nicene faith] believe, according to the formula of words laid out by our Fathers in Nicaea, as well as the meaning borne in a healthy way by those words. For there are some who are deceitful about the formulation of truth, even in using this formula of faith, and who twist the meaning of its words according to their own intention. So Marcellus impiously dared to deny the hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in explaining it as a mere word, professed that he had taken his basic principles from that source.

<Leontius:> Notice that the teacher speaks of the one hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ, after explaining that substance and hypostasis are not the same thing.

5. BY GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN,  
FROM HIS FAREWELL DISCOURSE

We believe in Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one in substance and one in glory.



## [6] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἘΤΕΡΑ

Τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ γνωρίζοντες καὶ τῷ ἀμερίστῳ τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τὰ δὲ τρία ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν ἡγουν προσώποις ἢ ὅ τί σοι φίλον καλεῖν· μηδὲ γὰρ οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ζυγομαχοῦντες ἀσχημονεῖωσαν.

5 [7] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κληδονίον πρῶτης  
Ἐπιστολῆς· ταύτης δὲ τῆς χρήσεως καὶ ὁ μακάριος  
Ἐπεμνησθὴ κυρίλλος ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν σύνοδῳ

Φύσεις μὲν γὰρ δύο θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα· υἱοὶ δὲ οὐ  
δύο οὐδὲ θεοὶ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύο ἄνθρωποι, εἰ καὶ οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος τὸ  
10 ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς προσηγόρευσεν. Καὶ εἰ δεῖ

[6] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *ibid.* (PG 36, 477 A3–6). Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test 179 (38, ll. 31–3; †); Pamph. XI (211, ll. 243–9; †); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, XI (37, l. 12; †); *Theor., Disp.* (133, C13–D2; †); ll. 4–5 (τὸ μὲν ... προσώποις): Max. Conf., Ep. 15 (548 C11–13; †); (τὸ μὲν ... καλεῖν): Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test 52 (209); ll. 3–4 (τὰ δὲ ... ἀσχημονεῖωσαν): *Doctr. Patr.* 22, III (139, ll. 6–7; †)

[7] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ep. 101, *Ad Cledonium I* (PG 37, 180 A6–B3; ed. P. Gallay, SC 208, 44, l. 6–46, l. 2). Cf. etiam: *Theor., Disp.* (141 B1–14); Fac. Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* I, 5, 15–15 (31, ll. 103–14; †); Conc. Eph., *Coll. Vat.* 54, 14 (43, ll. 26–33; †); *Coll. Ath.* 75, 14 (93, ll. 18–25; †); Leont. Byz., *DTN*, Test. 56 (†); Euth. Zig., *Pan.* 14 (885 A9–B7; †); l. 11 (φύσεις ... ἄνθρωπος) Anast. Sin. Hod. X, l. 2.93 f. (152); ll. 11–12 (φύσεις ... θεοὶ): Conc. Chal., *Ad Marc.*, Test. 3 (114 [473], ll. 15–16); Sev., *Ad Neph. II* (34, ll. 16–18; tr. 26, ll. 5–6); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 11 (1820 B1–3); Syn. Hispal. XIII, Test. 7 (566 D9–11); Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 7 (194); Flor. Marc. 573, f. 32<sup>v</sup>; ll. 11–13 (φύσεις ... προσηγόρευσεν): Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 154 (32, ll. 25–9; †); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 10 (146. no. 98); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, I (11, l. 7); 29, VI (207, l. 3); ll. 11–p. 35, l. 3 (φύσεις ... ἄλλος): Vat. Gr. 1431, 66, 15 (35, ll. 2–7; †); ll. 11–p. 35, l. 3 (φύσεις ... γένοιτο): Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 41 (166, l. 25–167, l. 5) Innoc. Mar., Test. 59 (179, ll. 25–9); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 1; ll. 11–p. 35, l. 4 (φύσεις ... συγκράσει): Gelasius, *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 22b (548); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 8 (148, ll. 8–20; tr. 103, ll. 11–23); ll. 13–p. 35, l. 4 (καὶ εἰ δεῖ ... συγκράσει): Sev., *Antijul.* (143, l. 27–144, l. 2; tr. 119, ll. 23–8); ll. 13–p. 35, l. 6 (καὶ εἰ δεῖ ... θεότητι): Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 13 (146 f., no. 101); p. 35, ll. 2–3 (ἄλλο ... γένοιτο): Sev., *Ad Serg.* 2 (126, l. 26–127, l. 2; tr. 95, ll. 19–22); p. 35, ll. 2–4 (ἄλλο ... συγκράσει): Sev., *Ad Neph. II* (48, ll. 19–23 tr. 36, ll. 6–10); p. 35, ll. 2–4 (ἄλλο ... ὀνομάσειεν): Sev., *Ad Neph. II* (34, ll. 20–5; tr. 26, ll. 8–16); p. 35, ll. 3–4 (τὰ γὰρ ... θεωθέντος): Euth. Zig., *Pan.* 7 (213 B2–3); p. 35, ll. 5–6 (λέγω ... θεότητι): *Theor., Disp.* (148 B12–C1)

VOG [6] 2 γνωρίζοντες: γινώσκοντες Greg. Naz., Pamph., Justn., *Theor.* 3 ἡγουν: εἵτουν Greg. Naz., Justn.; ἡτ' οὖν *Theor.* ἢ ὅ τί σοι: ἢ ὅ τί VG; εἰ τι O; ὅ τι O Greg. Naz., Pamph., *Theor.*; ὅ τί σοι Justn.; ἢ ὅ τι σοι *Doctr. Patr.* καλεῖν om. Pamph.

[7] 6 ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ om. OG 7 ἘΜΝΗΣΘΗΟ 8 μὲν γὰρ om. *Theor.* οὐδὲ θεοὶ om. Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431 θεοὶ: ἄνθρωποι Leont. Jer. οὐδὲ: οὐ Joan. Dam. ante τὸ ἐντὸς add. καλεῖ Thdt., (txt. cod. J) 10 τὸ ἐντὸς ... ἐκτὸς: τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς Sev. *Ctr. Gram.* προσηγόρευσεν om. Thdt. (txt. cod. J); ὀνομάζει Vat. Gr. 1431 καὶ εἰ: εἰ δὲ Joan. Dam.

## 6. AND LATER ON

We recognize the unity in substance and in our undivided adoration, and the three in hypostases or personae or whatever you like to call them—let those who quarrel with their neighbors about these things not disgrace themselves!

7. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS FIRST  
LETTER TO CLEDONIUS; THE BLESSED CYRIL ALSO  
CITED THIS TEXT, AT THE SYNOD LED BY HIM

For there are two natures: God and the human being—since he is soul and body. But there are not two sons or two Gods, nor are there here two human beings, except in the way Paul speaks about the “inner” and the “outer” person (Eph. 3.16). And if we must

συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἴπερ μὴ ταῦτόν τὸ ἀόρατον τῷ ὁρατῷ καὶ τὸ ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον· οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος—μὴ γένοιτο. Τὰ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν τῇ συγκράσει, θεοῦ μὲν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ θεωθέντος, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάσειεν.

5 Λέγω δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συγχέωμεν, οὐχ ἄλλο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο· ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία καὶ ταῦτόν τῃ θεότητι.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· Ἰκανὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ παραστήσαι ὁποῖαν ἔσχον οἱ παλαιοὶ δόξαν περὶ προσώπου καὶ ὑποστάσεως, φύσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας, καὶ ὡς

10 ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει ἢ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἔνωσις· ἥτις “ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο” καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν δείκνυσιν τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἔνωσις, “εἴπερ μὴ ταῦτόν,” φησὶ, “τὸ ἀόρατον τῷ ὁρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον.” Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδέποτε ἀλλήλοις ταῦτόν, εἰ καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑκάτερα. “Οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος,” φησὶ—“μὴ γένοιτο”· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ὁ Λόγος καὶ ἄλλος

15 ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐδ’ ἄλλος ὁ φύσει Υἱὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θέσει ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἑκάτερα. Ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Πατὴρ, φησὶ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύο ὑποστάσεις. Ἄλλο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δύο φύσεις· οὐ ποτὲ μὲν τοῦτο, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκείνο, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ ἄλλος μὲν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, αἰεὶ δὲ ἄλλο πρὸς τὴν σάρκα, ὡς δείξει καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν

20 μετὰ τούτους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὠφληθέντων Πατέρων συντάγματα.

[8] ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ  
Εἰς τὸ “ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ ΗΜΙΝ”

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς θεὸς καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἄνθρωπος, τῷ Πατρὶ, καθ’ ὃ ἦν, ὁμοούσιος καὶ ἐμοὶ, καθ’ ὃ γέγονεν ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, ὁμόφυλος· Ἡ θεία

VOG [7] 1 εἴπερ: ἐπεὶ Thdt. τὸ ὁρατὸν τῷ ἀοράτῳ G, Thdt. (txt. cod. J) 3 ἄλλος  
... ἄλλος: ἄλλο ... ἄλλο O post ἄλλος<sup>2</sup> add. Υἱὸς Sev. 3 συναμφοτέρωθεν Theor. τὰ γὰρ  
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν τῇ συγκράσει: τῇ εἰς ἄκρον ἔνωσει ἐν τῇ συγκράσει Conc. Eph., Vat. Gr.  
1431 5 post ἄλλο<sup>1</sup> add. μὲν Leont. Byz., DTN καὶ ἄλλο om. Theor. (148 B)  
6 ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Vat. Gr. 1431 καὶ ἄλλο om. Conc. Eph. codd. VMP  
Scholion Leontii 8 ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. V; ΣΧΟΛΙΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ G; ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ O 13 τὸν αὐτόν: ταῦτόν G ante οὐκ ἄλλος add. ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος  
ὁ Πατὴρ φησὶ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς V 14 ἄλλος ... ἄλλος: ἄλλο ... ἄλλο VO φησὶ ante καὶ transp. O  
οὐ: οὐδέ G οὐδ’: οὐδέ G 16 φησὶ om. Torres 17 καὶ ἄλλο om. O post αἰεὶ add.  
καὶ G ἄλλος: ἄλλο OG 20 μετὰ τούτους: μετὰ τοὺς O; μετ’ αὐτοὺς G ὑπ’: τὰ  
codd. ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: fort. legendum ὑπὸ τῶν ὠφληθέντων O Πατέρων om. G

[8] 23 ὁ αὐτὸς: οὗτος Doctor. Patr. post ὁ αὐτὸς (οὗτος) add. γὰρ Doctr. Patr. θεὸς  
ἀληθῶς G ἀληθῶς: γὰρ Proclus ἀψευδῶς om. Ps.-Joan. Mar.; ante ἄνθρωπος transp.  
Proclus καθ’ ὃ ἦν om. Ps.-Joan. Mar. 54 ἦν om. Niceph. 24 καθ’ ὃ γέγονεν om. Ps.-Joan.  
Mar. 54 καὶ ἐμοὶ ... ὁμόφυλος: καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁμοίος κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας Proclus ante  
θεία add. δὲ Proclus

speak concisely, the elements of which the Savior is formed are one thing and another (*allo men kai allo*), if indeed the invisible is not the same thing as the visible and the timeless as what is bound by time; but he is not one subject and another (*allos de kai allos*)—far from it! For the two are one by mixture—God being made human, a human being made divine—or however one might speak of it. I say “one thing and another,” the opposite of how it is with the Trinity. For there [we speak of] one subject and another, lest we confuse the hypostases, but not of one thing and another. For the three are one and the same in Godhead.

*Leontius:* These texts are sufficient to establish what opinion the ancients held about “persona” and “hypostasis,” “nature” and “substance,” and about how the union of the Incarnation is the opposite of that in the Trinity. The Incarnation reveals that the elements from which union is formed are “one thing and another” even after the union, “if indeed the invisible is not the same as the visible, and the timeless as what is bound by time.” For these are never the same as each other, even if they each refer to the same subject. “They are not one subject and another,” he says—“far from it!” For the Logos is not one subject and Christ another, nor is he who is Son by nature one, and he who is human by dispensation another, but both are one and the same. For the Father is one subject, he says, and the Son another, and for that reason there are two hypostases. God and a human being are one thing and another, and for this reason are also two natures; he [i.e. the Son] is not one thing now, another thing later, but is always another subject in relation to the Father, always another thing in relation to his flesh, as the rest of the texts we have assembled, from Fathers who were influenced by these authors, will show.

8. BY PROCLUS, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
ON THE TEXT, “A CHILD IS BORN TO US”

The same one is truly God and unmistakably human: of one substance with the Father, in what he was, and sinlessly of one race with me, in what he became. The divine

φύσις ἄκτιστος, ἣ ἐξ ἐμοῦ προσληφθεῖσα ἀνόθεντος· καὶ ἔστιν εἷς Υἱὸς, οὐ τῶν φύσεων εἰς δύο ὑποστάσεις διαιρουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῆς φρικτῆς οἰκονομίας τὰς δύο φύσεις εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἐνωσάσης.

[9] ΤΟΥ ὍΣΙΟΥ ἸΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἈΣΚΗΤΟΥ,  
ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΩΝΑ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

5

Ἄρτος ὁ Κύριος κέκληται, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τούτῳ καλῶν τῷ ὀνόματι· κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρόχειρον ἔκκλησιν ὡς πᾶσι τροφὴ σωτηρίας γινόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἔννοιαν τὴν ζύμην τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φυράματος ἐνώσας καὶ καθάρας καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξοπτήσας τῷ οἰκείῳ πυρὶ τῆς θεότητος, καὶ εἰς

10

ἐν συν αὐτῇ γεγωνῶς πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν προσκυνουμένην ὑπόστασιν.  
«ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ»· Καίρως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶς ἄλλων Πατέρων προσκομίσαι χρήσεις, ὡς ὑπεσχόμεθα.

[10] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ἸΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ, ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ  
ἉΓΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ, ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ Γ

15

Τότε δὴ τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ ἀποστὰς, πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατελήλυθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν σώματος κατάβασις, ἀλλὰ θείας ἐνεργείας βούλησις, μέση δὲ παρθένῳ

[8] Proclus Constantinopolitanus, *Sermo in Nativitate* (cf. Ch. Martin, *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 46, ll. 7–13). Cf. etiam: Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 46 (207); *ibid.*, Test. 54 (211); *Doctr. patr.* 7, V (48, l. 16–49, l. 4; ↓); Niceph., *Antirr. II*, Test. 36 (359, ll. 18–20; ↓); p. 35, l. 21–p. 36, l. 4 (ἡ θεία ... ἐνωσάσης): Ephr. Am., *Ad Domn. et Joan.*, Test. 38 (IV, 148, ll. 8–12); ll. 2–4 (καὶ ἔστιν ... ἐνωσάσης): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 82 (1836 B 8–13); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* 7.2.58–60 (110); *ibid.* X, l. 2.176 ff. (157)

[9] Isidorus Pelusiota Ep. I, 360 (PG 78, 388 A7–14)

[10] Ps.-Justinus (revera Theodoretus), *Expositio Rectae confessionis* 10 (PG 6, 1224 C4–15; ed. J. C. Th. Otto, *Corp. Apol.* IV, 34, 381 B5–C7). Cf. etiam: ll. 15–16 (τῶν οὐρανῶν ... βούλησις): Pamph. VII (176, ll. 73–5); ll. 15–p. 37, l. 6 (τότε ... οὐσιώσας): *Doctr. Patr.* 21, V (134, l. 3)

VOG [8] 1 ante ἡ add. καὶ Proclus, *Doctr. Patr.* ante ἐξ add. δὲ G ἐμοῦ; ἡμῶν Proclus ἡ θεία ... ἀνόθεντος om. Ps.-Joan. Mar. 54 προσληφθεῖσα: φύσις Proclus; πρόσληψις Ephr. Am., *Doctr. Patr.* εἷς ante ἔστιν transp. V; om. Proclus post οὐ add. μόνον Ephr. Am. 2 ante φύσεων add. δύο Proclus διηρημένων Leont. Jer., Anast. Sin. *Hod.* X post διαιρουμένων add. ὡς φησι Νεστόριος Ps.-Joan. Mar. 46 3 εἷς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ante τὰς δύο φύσεις transp. Anast. Sin. *Hod.* X ante ἐνωσάσης add. ἀσυγχύνων Ps.-Joan. Mar. 46 ἐνωσάσης: ἐνώσας ἑσπτόν Proclus

[9] 4 ΤΟΥ ἈΣΚΗΤΟΥ om. V ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup> om. G 5 ΘΕΩΝΑ G 7 ἔκλειψιν O γενόμενος Isidorus 8 ἀνθρωπίνου V ante ἐνώσας add. ἐαυτῷ Torres 9 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. G 11 ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. VOG; ante ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ add. ΣΧΟΛΙΟΝ G

[10] 13 ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup> om. V, Joan. Dam.; ΑΥΤΟΥ G 15 ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ om. Joan. Dam. 16 post δὴ repetitur τότε O δὴ: δὲ *Doctr. Patr.* codd. BCDP173<sup>2</sup> 17 ante κατάβασις add. ἡ Ps.-Just. (txt. cod. V) ἀλλὰ θείας: ἀλλ' ἀληθινῆς O

nature is uncreated, the nature taken on from me is unadulterated; and he is one Son, the two natures not being divided into two hypostases, but the awe-inspiring plan of God uniting the two natures into one hypostasis.

9. BY ST ISIDORE THE ASCETIC,  
FROM HIS LETTER TO THEON

The Lord is called bread, since he called himself by this name: in the ordinary understanding, because he has become for all the food of salvation; in a mysterious meaning, because he united the leaven of the human mass [to himself] and cleansed it, and baked it, one might say, with the fire of his Godhead, becoming one persona with it and one hypostasis, whom we adore.

[Leontius]: Now it is time to provide the excerpts from the other Fathers, as we promised.

10. BY ST JUSTIN, PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR,  
FROM THE THIRD BOOK OF HIS TREATISE ON  
THE HOLY TRINITY, CHAPTER 3

Then, without leaving the heavens, he came down to us. For this was not a descent of body, but a voluntary choice of the divine activity, making use of a virgin

ἐκ Δαυιτικοῦ καταγομένη τοῦ γένους διὰ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελίας πρὸς τὴν τῆς οἰκονομίας χρειαὶν χρησάμενος· καὶ ταύτης τῆς νηδὺν εἰσδύς, οἶονεὶ θεῖος σπόρος πλάττει ναὸν ἐαυτῷ, τέλειον ἄνθρωπον, μέρος τι λαβὼν τῆς ἐκείνης φύσεως καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ διάπλασιν οὐσιώσας, 5 ἐνδὺς δὲ τοῦτον κατ' ἄκραν ἔνωσιν, Υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἄμφω προελθὼν τὰς φύσεις—ἐξ ἐκείνου γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος—οὕτω τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν ἐπλήρωσεν.

[11] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ, ΙΖ' ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ

10 Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Υἱοῦ τὰς ἐναντίας φωνὰς, καταλλήλως μέριξε ταῖς φύσεσι τὰ λεγόμενα, ἂν μὲν τι μέγα καὶ θεῖον, τῇ θεΐᾳ φύσει προσνέμων, ἂν δέ τι μικρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπινον, τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ λογιζόμενος· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν φωνῶν ἀσύμφωνον διαφεύξῃ, ἐκάστης ἂ πέφυκεν δεχομένης φύσεως, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὸν ἓνα καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ 15 πρόσφατον κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὁμολογήσεις.

[12] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ

Ὡς περ εἴς μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἔχει δὲ φύσεις διαφόρους δύο, καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν λογίζεται, κατ' ἄλλο δὲ τὸ λογισθὲν ἐνεργεῖ—ψυχῇ μὲν

[10] ll. 2–6 (καὶ ταύτης ... προελθὼν): Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 2 (144, no. 90); ll. 4–8 (καὶ ταύτης ... ἐπλήρωσεν): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 5 (55, l. 26–56, l. 4; tr. 39, ll. 15–21)

[11] Ps.-Justinus, *ibid.* (PG 6, 1225 A6–14; Otto IV, 36, 382 A1–8). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 5 (56, ll. 4–12; tr. 39, ll. 21–8); *Doctr. Patr.* 13, VII (83, l. 16); Niceph., *Antirr.* II, Test. 41 (361, ll. 1–13); Theor., *Disp.* (145 A); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 77; Flor. Vat 1455, Test. 13; ll. 10–11 (ὅταν ... λεγόμενα): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 6 (89, l. 29–90, l. 2; tr. 63, ll. 8–9); *ibid.* (102, ll. 16–18; tr. 71, ll. 25–6); ll. 10–11 (ὅταν ... λεγόμενα) et 13 (ἐκάστης ... φύσεως): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.* (1825 C11–14)

[12] Ps.-Justinus, *ibid.* 11 (PG 6, 1225 B14–C6; Otto IV, 38–40, 382 C6–D3). Cf. etiam: Syn Lat. (304, ll. 4–9); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 3 (144, no. 91);

VOG [10] 2 ταύτην Joan. Dam. post νηδὺν add. ἀρρητῶς Sev. 3 post οἶονεὶ add. τις Ps.-Just. codd. meliores ante μέρος add. οὐ V 4 καὶ om. Sev. οὐσιώσας om. Sev. 5 τοῦτον: αὐτὸν Ps.-Just. ante κατ' add. καὶ Sev. ἄμφω προελθὼν: προήλθεν (προελθὼν codd. AA<sup>b</sup>[E<sup>b</sup>]V) ἄμφω Ps.-Just.; προελθὼν, ἄμφω οὐσιώσας Sev.; ἄμφω προήλθεν Joan. Dam.

[11] 10 περὶ om. Leont. Jer., Flor. Len. 131 κατ' ἀλλήλων Theor. 11 μὲν τι: μέντοι Flor. Len. 131 12 ἀνθρωπεία: ἀνθρωπίνη Ps.-Just. (txt. codd. BDG) post ἀνθρωπεία add. φύσει G post λογιζόμενος add. φύσει Ps. Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>V, Theor. 14 τῶν om. Ps.-Just. (txt. codd. D<sup>b</sup>MV), Theor.

[12] 17 ὥς περ: ὡς γὰρ Ps.-Just.; ὥς περ γὰρ *Doctr. Patr.* ὁ om. Leont. Jer. post φύσεις add. ἐν ἐαυτῷ Ps.-Just. δύο ante διαφόρους transp. Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>DGV; om Ps.-Just. cod. B; ante φύσεις transp. Leont. Jer. 18 post μὲν add. γὰρ Joan. Dam.

descended from the Davidic race through an announcement to it, for the sake of the divine plan. And entering into her womb, like a divine seed he formed a temple for himself, a perfect human being, taking part of her nature and giving it substance in the shape of a temple; and entering this by strict union, coming forth as Son of God in both natures—for the Son comes from God, both as divine and as human—so he brought to fulfillment God's plan for us.

11. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE  
SAME TREATISE, CHAPTER 17

When you hear, then, opposite expressions about the one Son, divide what is said, accordingly between the natures: if there is something great and divine, attribute it to the divine nature, but if there is something small and human, reckon it as part of the human. For so you will avoid disharmony among the attributes, if each nature receives what it is meant to have, and you will confess the Son as one, existing before all ages and yet new, according to holy Scripture.

12. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME CHAPTER

As the human being is one, but has two different natures, and reasons by one, but puts reasoning into action by the other—for he reasons by the rational soul,

νοερῶ λογισάμενος, εἰ τύχοι, τοῦ πλοίου τὴν σύμπληξιν, χερσὶ δὲ τὸ νοηθὲν εἰς πέρας ἄγει· οὕτως ὁ Υἱὸς, εἰς ὧν καὶ δύο φύσεις, κατ' ἄλλην μὲν τὰς θεοσημίας εἰργάζετο, κατ' ἄλλην δὲ τὰ ταπεινὰ παρεδέχετο.

## [13] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

- 5 Ὡσπερ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τοῦ πρωτογόνου φωτὸς πρὸς τὸ ἡλιακὸν σῶμα, οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὰ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέλοι, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἰδιαζόντως καλέσοι οὐδὲ πάλιν φῶς διηρημένως, ἀλλ' εἰς ὃ ἥλιος καὶ ἐν τῷ φῶς λέγεται, οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὸ μὲν κεχωρισμένον Υἱὸν οἶον τὸν θεῖον
- 10 Λόγον, τὸ δὲ οἶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐχ Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκάτερα νοήσει, ὡς ἐν φῶς καὶ ἓνα ἥλιον, τό τε δεχθὲν φῶς τό τε δεξάμενον σῶμα. Πάλιν ὡς ἐν μὲν φῶς καὶ εἰς ἥλιος, φύσεις δὲ δύο, ἡ μὲν φωτὸς, ἡ δὲ σώματος ἡλιακοῦ, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα· εἰς μὲν ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ καὶ Κύριος καὶ Χριστὸς καὶ Μονογενὴς, φύσεις δὲ δύο, ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα.
- 15 Καὶ αὖθις ὥσπερ τοῦ φωτὸς, ἡ φῶς ἐστὶν ἐν, τὴν ἐνέργειαν οὐκ ἂν τις χωρίσειε τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ δεκτικοῦ, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ διαιρῶν γνωρίσειε

[12 cont.] Flor. Len. 131, Test. 74; Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 44 (204-5; ↓); Doctr. Patr. 15, VI (93, ll. 17-17; ↓); p. 190, ll. 17-18 (ὥσπερ ... ἐνεργεῖ) et p. 192, ll. 2-3 (οὕτως ... παρεδέχετο): Leont. Jer., Ctr. Mon., Test. 41-2 (1825 C14-D4)

[13] Ps.-Justinus, ibid. 12 (PG 6, 1229 C8-1232 A13; Otto IV, 46-50, 385 A5-C6). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 75-6; ll. 12-14 (εἰς ἥλιος ... ἡμετέρα): Leont. Jer., Ctr. Mon., Test. 43 (1825 D5-8); p. 192, l. 15 - p. 194, l. 3 (ὥσπερ ... γνωρίσειεν): Syn. Lat. (304, ll. 11-15); Conc. Const. III (424 B9-C3); Doctr. Patr. 15, VII (93, ll. 20-1)

VOG [12 cont.] 1 ante νοερῶ add. γὰρ Ps.-Just. τὴν: τοῦ G χερσὶ δὲ om. Ps.-Joan. Mar. δὲ om. Ps.-Just., Joan. Dam. 2 πέρας: πείραν Syn. Lat. ἄγει: ἄγων Syn. Lat., Doctr. Patr. Υἱὸς: Χριστὸς Doctr. Patr. 3 εἰργάσατο VO; ἐργάζεται Leont. Jer. παρεδέξατο OG, Leont. Jer., Syn. Lat.

[13] 6 αὐτὰ post ἀλλήλων transp. Ps.-Just. 7 καλέσει V, Ps.-Just. codd. BG, Flor. Len. 131 οὐδὲ: τὸ δὲ Ps.-Just. ante φῶς add. τὸ Flor. Len. 131 εἰς ὃ ἥλιος καὶ ἐν τῷ φῶς λέγεται: εἰς ἥλιος τὸ φῶς λέγεται μετὰ τοῦ σώματος Ps.-Just. codd. D<sup>b</sup>M (om. μετὰ τοῦ σώματος codd. CEF) 9 τὸ μὲν: τὸν μὲν V, Ps.-Just. (txt. cod. C; τῶν μὲν cod. D; om. cod. V) κεχωρισμένως Ps.-Just. (txt. cod. G) θεῖον: Θεὸν Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>BDV; Θεοῦ Ps.-Just. cod. G 10 τὸν ἄνθρωπον: τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τυχόν O τὸ δὲ οἶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐχ Υἱὸν: τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον Ps.-Just. codd. CD<sup>b</sup> (E) FM; τὸν δὲ πάλιν οὐχ Υἱὸν οἶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>BDE<sup>b</sup>G 11 τό τε: καὶ τὸ O 12 ante πάλιν add. καὶ G 13 εἰς μὲν ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ καὶ Κύριος: εἰς μὲν Υἱὸς ὁ (καὶ: Ps.-Just. exc. codd. BDGV) Κύριος OG, Ps.-Just., Leont. Jer. 15 καὶ αὖθις: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Flor. Len. 131; καὶ αὖ Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>; om. G, Syn. Lat., Conc. Const. III ὥσπερ ... ἐνέργειαν: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, ἡ φῶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>; ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτός τὴν ἐνέργειαν Ps.-Just. codd. BDG; ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτὸς φῶς ἐστὶ τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ ὁ οὐκ ἂν Ps.-Just. codd. CD<sup>b</sup>EFM; ὥσπερ τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶ φῶς ἐν, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν Ps.-Just. cod. V 16 χωρήσειε Syn. Lat. 15 διαιρῶν: διελῶν Ps.-Just., Conc. Const. III

say, how to build a ship, but brings what he has thought out to final realization by his hands; so the Son, who is one subject and two natures, works divine revelation by one [nature] and undertakes humble tasks by the other.

## 13. AND LATER ON

Just as, after the union of the first-created light with the body of the sun, one would not divide them from one another, nor speak of the sun by itself or of light as something separate, but rather the sun and light are spoken of as one, so when speaking of the true light and the all-holy body one would not refer to one reality as Son by himself, because he is the divine Word, and to the other as not Son, because he is a human being; but one will understand both as one and the same—as one light and one sun, the light that is received and the body that received it. And again, as the light is one thing and the sun another, but the natures two—one of the light, the other of the body of the sun—so also here: there is one Son, who is Lord and Christ and Only-begotten, but two natures: one above us, the other our own.

And again, just as no one would separate the activity of the light, because light is one thing, from the body that receives it, but by a rational division would recognize



τὴν φύσιν ἧς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ ἢ ἐνέργεια, οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
πάσαν μὲν ἐνέργειαν οὐκ ἂν τις χωρίσειε τῆς μιᾶς υἰότητος, τῆς δὲ φύσεως  
ἧς ἐστὶν οἰκείον τὸ γινόμενον τῷ λόγῳ γνωρίσειεν.

[14] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ Εἰρηναίου Ἐπισκοποῦ  
ΛΟΥΓΔΟΥΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ

5

Ὡς περ γὰρ ἡ κιβωτὸς κεχρυσωμένη ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ  
ἦν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα καθαρὸν ἦν καὶ διαυγές, ἔσωθεν μὲν  
τῷ λόγῳ κοσμούμενον, ἔξωθεν δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι φαιδρυνόμενον, ἵνα ἐξ  
ἀμφοτέρων τὸ περιφανές τῶν φύσεων ἐπιδειχθῇ.

10

[15] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ Ἱππολύτου Ἐπισκοποῦ  
ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ Ἐκ τῶν Ἐυλογίων τοῦ Βαλαάμ

Ἵνα δειχθῇ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν τὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ  
τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος λέγει, “μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ  
ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς”. “ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ  
15 γίνεταί, ἀλλὰ δύο), ἔδει οὖν τὸν Χριστὸν, Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μεσίτην  
γινόμενον, παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀρραβωνά τινα εἰληφέναι, ἵνα φανῇ δύο  
προσώπων μεσίτης.

[15] 13–14 1 Tim. 2.5 14–15 Gal. 3.20

[14] Ps.-Irenaeus, Fr. 8 (revera Hippolytus, *De Libro Primo Regum, Quae de Helcana et Samuele*: cf. G. Jouassard, *RevSR* 17 (1937), 290–305), hic primo Graece inventum (cf. PG 7, 1233 A13–18; ed. Harvey, *Adv. Haer.* II, 479). Cf. etiam: Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Fr. Syr. 118 (46, ll. 1154–9); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X.1.2.186–90 (157); Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, Test. 1 (143, no. 89); Flor. Marc. 573, ff. 34<sup>v</sup>; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 46; Sev., *Chr. Gram.*, III, 40 (275, ll. 24–9; tr. 202, l. 34–203, l. 2; ↑); Flor. BM Syr. Add. 12157, f. 198 (↑)

[15] Hippolytus, *De Benedictione Balaam*, fragmentum Graecum unicum. (cf. GCS I, 2, 82) Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 88; ll. 12–13 (ἵνα ... ἀνθρώπων): Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 85 (1836 C9–12); ll. 12–14 (ἵνα ... Ἰησοῦς): Flor. Marc. 573, f. 30<sup>v</sup>

VOG [13 cont.] 1 post ἐνὸς add. μονογενοῦς Ps.-Just. codd. BDG; add. ἐπὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς Ps.-Just. codd. AA<sup>b</sup>(E<sup>b</sup>)V, Conc. Const. III Υἱοῦ Χριστοῦ Syn. Lat. 2 τῆς μιᾶς om. Syn. Lat. γινόμενον G, Ps.-Just. codd. CD<sup>b</sup>EFM τῷ λόγῳ om. G 3 γνωρίσειεν: χωρίσειεν G

[14] 5 ΛΟΥΓΔΩΝΟΥ V; ΛΟΥΓΔΩΝΩΝ O; ΛΥΓΔΩΝΟΣ G ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ om. OG 6 γὰρ om. Anast. Sin. ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν Flor. Marc. 573 ἦν ante ἔσωθεν transp. Joan. Dam. 7 καὶ om. Joan. Dam., Flor. Len. 131 τοῦ Χριστοῦ post σῶμα transp. Anast. Sin. 8 φαιδρυνόμενον: φρουρούμενον OG, Joan. Caes., Sev., Anast. Sin., Joan. Dam., Flor. Marc. 573 9 τῶν φύσεων: αὐτοῦ Sev. ἐπιδειχθῇ: δειχθῇ Anast. Sin., ἀναδειχθῇ Joan. Dam.

[15] 11 post Ἐκ add. ΤΗΣ ἘΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ Flor. Marc. 573 ΒΑΛΑΑΜ: ἈΒΡΑΑΜ O, Flor. Marc. 573 12 post ἵνα add. δε O 13 ὁ Ἀπόστολος: Παῦλος Flor. Len. 131 15 μεσίτην ante Θεοῦ transp. G 16 γινόμενον V, Flor. Len. 131

the nature of which it is the proper activity, so one would not separate the whole activity of the single Son of God from his one Sonship, but one would recognize by reason what comes to be, as proper to the nature from which it comes.

14. BY ST IRENAEUS, BISHOP OF  
LYONS AND MARTYR

As the ark was gilded on the outside and on the inside with pure gold, so the body of Christ was pure and without blemish, made beautiful on the inside by the Word, and on the outside resplendent with the Spirit, so that from both sources the beauty of the natures might be revealed.

15. BY ST HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR,  
FROM “THE BLESSINGS OF BALAAM”

In order that he might be shown to have in himself both the essence of God and that of human beings (as the Apostle says, “the mediator of God and human beings, the human Christ Jesus” (1 Tim. 2.5); “and there is no mediator [consisting] of a single human” (Gal. 3.20), but of two), it was therefore necessary for Christ, who was mediator between God and the human race, to take some part from both sides, so that he might be revealed as the mediator of two persons.

[16] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ  
ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ἩΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑΣ

Και τῷ Ἰούδα φησί· “φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως;” Ταῦτα  
5 τὰ τε τούτοις ὅμοια, τὰ τε σημεῖα πάντα ἃ ἐποίησε καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις,  
δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· τὰ συναμφότερα τοῖνυν  
δείκνυται ὅτι θεὸς ἦν φύσει καὶ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει.

[17] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ.  
10 ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΩΝ ἘΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ

“Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ,” φησὶν, “ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι  
ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών.” Εἰ ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ἴση ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τέλειος ἐτύγγανε Θεός, καὶ ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ  
δούλου τέλειος ἄνθρωπος· τοῦτο γὰρ διδάσκει ἡ θεία γραφή· τέλειος οὖν  
15 ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ  
ὁμοούσιος τῇ Παρθένῳ καὶ μητρὶ· ἀμήτωρ ἄνω παρὰ Πατρός, ἀπάτωρ  
κάτω παρὰ μητρός.

16. BY ST PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA  
AND MARTYR, FROM HIS WORK ABOUT THE  
PRESENCE AMONG US OF OUR SAVIOR

And he says to Judas, “Do you betray the son of man with a kiss?” These words  
and others like them, all the signs that he did and his miracles, reveal him to be  
God made human. Both things taken together, then, reveal that he was God by  
nature and became a human being by nature.

17. BY ST CYRIACUS, BISHOP OF PAPHOS AND  
CONFESSOR, FROM HIS SERMON ON THE THEOPHANY;  
HE WAS AMONG THOSE PRESENT AT NICAEA

“Existing in the form of God,” Scripture says, “he did not consider being equal  
to God as something to hold fast to, but he emptied himself, taking on the form  
of a servant” (Phil. 2.6–7). If the form of God is equal to God, and he was in fact  
perfect God, so too the form of the servant was a perfect human being—for that  
is what the Holy Scripture teaches. Being complete, then, in both substances,  
Christ is consubstantial to God the Father and consubstantial to the Virgin his  
mother. On high, he was without mother and came from the Father; down here,  
he was without father and came from his Mother.

[16] 4 Luc. 22.48

[17] 11–12 Phil. 2.6–7

[16] Petrus I Alexandrinus, *De Adventu Salvatoris Nostri*, Fragmentum. (PG 18, 512 A [Lat.]; 521 C2–6 [e Justn.]) Cf. etiam: Tim. Ael, *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 5; Flor. Marc. 573, f. 31'; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 89; ll. 4–7 (ταῦτα ... φύσει): Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 138 (29, ll. 22–3); ll. 6–7 (τὰ συναμφότερα ... φύσει): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 80 (1836 B2–3)

[17] Cyriacus Paphensis, Fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr. II*, Test. 42 (361, 11, 18–22); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 90; ll. 11–15 (ὁς ... Χριστός): Flor. Marc. 573, f. 34'. Huius fragmenti etiam mentionem faciunt: Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 39 (180, ll. 25–31), ut a Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, citati; Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 229 (996 B6–7; 1020 B2–6), ut ab Ephr. Am., *Ad Domn. et Joan.*, citati

VOG [16] 3 ἩΜΩΝ om. G 5 πάντα om. Flor. Marc. 573 ἃ: ὅσα Justn.  
6 δεικνύουσιν V θεὸν ante εἶναι transp. O εἶναι ante αὐτὸν transp. Flor. Marc. 573; om.  
Justn. τὸ συναμφότερον Leont. Jer. 7 δέικνυνται G γέγονεν: ἐγένετο Justn.  
[17] 8 ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ: ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟΥ O ΤΗΣ om. O 10 ΟΥΤΟΣ: ΑΥΤΟΣ  
VG ἔστι om. O 11 ὁς: Θεός Niceph.; ὡς Flor. Len. 131 φησὶν post ὑπάρχων transp.  
O; post μορφῇ transp. Flor. Marc. 573 τὸ om. V 14 οὖν om. V 15 ταῖς om. Flor.  
Marc. 573 ὁ om. Flor. Marc. 573 ante Πατρὶ add. τῷ G 16 καὶ om. Flor. Len. 131

[18] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ  
ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ· ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗ  
ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ ΕΝ  
ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

5 Σκοπὸς τοίνυν καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὡς πολλάκις εἵπομεν, διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀπαγγελίαν ἐν αὐτῇ· ὅτι τε καὶ αἰεὶ θεὸς ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς, Λόγος ὢν καὶ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον, δι' ἡμᾶς σῶμα λαβὼν ἐκ παρθένου τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας, ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν.

10 [19] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ

«...» αὐτὸς δὲ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος οὐ τραπεῖς εἰς ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν οὔτε παριδὼν τὴν ἀνθρώπου ὑπαρξιν σκιοειδῇ τὴν δείξιν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ὢν φύσει θεὸς, γεννᾶται ἄνθρωπος, ἵν' εἰς ἣ τὰ ἐκότερα, τέλειος κατὰ πάντα, φυσικὴν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην γέννησιν ἐπιδειξάμενος.

15 [20] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Καὶ οὕτως ἂν λέγοιτο τέλειος θεὸς καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστὸς· οὐχ ὡς τῆς θεϊκῆς τελειότητος εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην τελειότητα μεταποιηθείσης, ὁ

[18] Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* III, 29 (PG 26, 385 A8–14). Cf. etiam: Joan. Cass., *De Inc. Dom.* VII, 29 (CSEL 17, 387–8); Cyr. Alex., *Ad Mon. Aeg.* (12, ll. 5–8); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 24 (31, ll. 11–17; tr. 22, ll. 19–24); *ibid.* 33 (135, ll. 6–12; tr. 97, l. 32–98, l. 3); *ibid.* 37 (234, l. 27–235, l. 2; tr. 172, ll. 22–7); *Ad. Serg. II* (117, ll. 20–6; tr. 88, ll. 8–14); *Doctr. Patr.* 4, I (29, l. 14).

[19] Athanasius (?), *Contra Apollinarem* I, 7 (PG 26, 1105 A14–B5). Cf. etiam: *De Sect.* IX, Test. 1; Niceph., *Antirr. II*, Test. 23 (354, ll. 17–18); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 71; ll. 12–14 (ἀλλ'... ἐπιδειξάμενος); Leont. Byz., *DTN*, Test. 57; Eulog., *Or. IV*, Test. 2 (V, 35, ll. 2–4); *Doctr. Patr.* 7, XI (52, l. 4).

[20] Athanasius (?), *ibid.* I, 16 (PG 26, 1121 C15–1124 A7). Cf. etiam: Pamph. VI (167, ll. 237–46); Niceph., *Antirr. III*, Test. 24 (354, ll. 20–1); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 72.

VOG [18] 1 ΑΓΙΟΥ: ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ V ΕΚ ΤΟΥ om. G 2 ΤΡΙΤΟΥ om. V  
4 ΜΟΝΑΣΤΑΣ: ΤΟΥΣ ΜΟΝΑΖΟΝΤΑΣ O 5 post τοίνυν add. οὗτος Athan.,  
Cyr. θείας: ἀγίας Athan. codd. RS, om. cett. εἶπον *Doctr. Patr.* 6 διπλοῦς G  
εἶναι: ἵνα G ἐπαγγελίαν Athan. codd. RS, Cyr. codd. PDR1, *Doctr. Patr.* codd. AP ἐν αὐτῇ  
om. *Doctr. Patr.* καὶ om. G, Athan., Cyr. 7 καὶ ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς: καὶ Υἱὸς ἔστι Athan.  
codd. RS, *Doctr. Patr.* cod. P; om ὁ Cyr. 8 σῶμα: σάρκα Athan., Joan. Cass., Cyr., Sev.,  
*Doctr. Patr.* τῆς θεοτόκου om. Athan. cod. Harl.

[19] 11 αὐτὸς: ὁ Λόγος *De Sect.* δὲ om. Athan. ante ἀνθρώπου add. τοῦ Athan.  
12 σκιοῶδη O δείξιν: ἐνδείξιν Flor. Len. 131 πεποιήτο G ante ὢν add. ὁ Athan., Leont.  
Byz. *DTN*, Eulog., *Doctr. Patr.* 14 φυσικὴν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην γέννησιν ἐπιδειξάμενος:

Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός Eulog. ante γέννησιν add. τὴν Athan. codd. RS, Leont. Byz. *DTN*

[20] 16 ante θεός add. ὁ Pamph. καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. OG, Pamph. 17 μεταποιηθείσης:  
μεταβληθείσης Pamph. ὁ: ὁπερ Pamph.

18. BY ST ATHANASIUS, FROM HIS  
THIRD DISCOURSE ON THE TRINITY; THE  
BLESSED CYRIL ALSO RECALLED THIS TEXT  
IN HIS LETTER TO THE MONKS

The aim, then, and the mark of Holy Scripture, as we have often said, is double, with respect to the proclamation it makes about the Savior: that he was always God and is the Son, being the Word and resplendence and wisdom of the Father, and that later, taking up a body from the Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, for our sakes, he became a human being.

19. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE  
FIRST BOOK AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

... and he, when he became human, was not changed into human form, nor did he disregard human existence to make a show out of shadows, but being God by nature he was begotten as a human being, so that he might be one in respect to both, perfect in every respect, revealing in himself a natural and utterly true birth.

20. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME BOOK

And so Christ might be spoken of as perfect God and perfect human being: not in that his godly perfection was transformed into human perfection, which is

ἐστὶν ἀσεβὲς· οὐδὲ μὴν ὡς δύο τελειότητων κατὰ διαίρεσιν ὁμολογουμένων, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀλλότριον εὐσεβείας· οὐδὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πρόσληψιν δικαιοσύνης—μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπαρξιν ἀνελλιπή, ἢν εἰς ἣ τὰ ἐκότερα, τέλειος κατὰ πάντα θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός.

5 [21] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΝ Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ τὸ “ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχειν” ἴσον δύνασθαι τῷ ἐν οὐσίᾳ θεοῦ ὑπάρχειν φημι· ὡς γὰρ τὸ “μορφὴν ἀνελιφέναι δούλου” ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι σημαίνει, οὕτω λέγων “ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχειν” τῆς θείας οὐσίας παρίστησι τὴν ιδιότητα.

[22] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΝ Δ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ληπτέον τοίνυν τὸ μὲν “ἐγέννησεν” ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ δὲ “ἔκτισεν” ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ δούλου λαβόντος· ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις οὐ δύο λέγομεν, Θεὸν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἰδίᾳ—εἰς γὰρ ἦν—ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν λογιζόμεθα.

[21] 6–10 Phil. 2.6–7

[21] Basilius, *Adversus Eunomium* I, 18 (ed. B. Sesboué, SC 299.236, ll. 9–15; PG 29, 552 C7–553 A2). Cf. etiam: Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 39 (166, ll. 13–17); Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.* (114, ll. 7–10); Vat. Gr. 1431, II, 32 (38, ll. 1–5); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 75 (30, ll. 703–9); Pamph. VI (168, ll. 248–53); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 6 (145, no. 94); Flor. Marc. 573, f. 32; Flor. Edes., Test. 31 (29, ll. 1–6; ↓)

[22] Ps.-Basilius, *Adversus Eunomium* IV (revera probabiliter Didymus, *De Dogmatibus et Contra Arianos* I: PG 29, 704 C5–9). Cf. etiam: Justn., *Conf. Rect. Fid.* (84, ll. 28–31); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 71 (29, ll. 664–75; ↓); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 7 (117, l. 28–118, l. 3; tr. 85, ll. 18–23; ↓); ibid. III, 33 (139, ll. 3–7; tr. 100, ll. 27–31; ↓); ll. 12–13 (ληπτέον ... λαβόντος): Syn. Hispal. XII, Test. 10 (566 E12–567 A4; ↓); ll. 13–16 (οὐ δύο ... λογιζόμεθα): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 20 (1821 A9–12; ↓); ll. 14–15 (ἀλλὰ ... λογιζόμεθα): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 43 (19, ll. 396–9)

[20 cont.] 1 οὐδέ, οὔτε Athan., Flor. Len. 131 2 ante εὐσεβείας add. τῆς Pamph. οὐδέ: οὔτε δὲ Athan. ἦ: καὶ Athan. 3 ἀνελλιπή G, Flor. Len. 131 ἵνα Athan., Pamph., Flor. Len. 131 4 τέλειος om. Pamph. θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός: ἄνθρωπος Pamph. ante ἄνθρωπος iter. τέλειος O

VOG [21] 5 post ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ add. ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝ 7 τὸ om. V τῷ: τὸ V, Flor. Marc. 573; τοῦ Vat. Gr. 1431 ante θεοῦ add. τοῦ Flor. Marc. 573 θεοῦ om. Vat. Gr. 1431; post ὑπάρχειν transp. V 8 ὑπάρχειν om. Joan. Dam. 9 τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ante ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ transp. Joan. Caes. τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν: τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Conc. Chalc. cod. Bo ἡμῶν om. Joan. Dam. ante γεγενῆσθαι add. αὐτὸν Joan. Caes. γεγενῆσθαι Basil. codd. DGLMNY γενέσθαι OG, Pamph.; ante λέγων add. ὁ Thdt. (txt. codd. IV), Flor. Edes. λέγων: δὲ καὶ το Basil.; τὸ λέγειν Joan. Dam. 10 τῆς θείας οὐσίας: τῆς οὐσίας τῆς θεϊκῆς Conc. Chalc. οὐσίας: φύσεως Flor. Marc. 573 ante παρίστησι add. πάντως OG, Pamph.; post παρίστησι add. πάντως Basil., Conc. Chalc., Vat. Gr. 1431 ιδιότητα: διάνοιαν G

[22] 11 Δ' ΛΟΓΟΥ: Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ O; Γ' ΛΟΓΟΥ V; ΛΟΓΟΥ Γ' G 12 τοίνυν: οὖν Ps.-Basil., Justn. τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ: τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ O 15 λογιζόμενοι Justn.

an impious thought; nor indeed in that two kinds of perfection are confessed in distinction [from each other], which is foreign to religious piety; nor by way of progress in virtue or the acquisition of righteousness—far from it! But in an existence that lacks nothing, so that both may be a single subject, the same one is God and a human being, perfect in every way.

21. BY ST BASIL, FROM HIS FIRST BOOK  
AGAINST EUNOMIUS

For I say that the phrase, “existing in the form of God” (Phil. 2.6), can also be seen as equivalent to “existing in the substance of God.” For just as “taking up the form of a servant” (Phil. 2.7) means that our Lord has come to be in human substance, so saying he “exists in the form of God” presents to us the characteristic of the divine substance.

22. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
FOURTH BOOK AGAINST EUNOMIUS

The phrase “he begot” is to be taken, then, as referring to God the Son, but “he created” as referring to the one who took on the form of a slave. In all these things, we do not speak of two—God by himself and the human by himself—for they were one; but by a mental stratagem we conceive of the nature of each.

[23] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ  
ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΟΥ

Τοῦτο ἡ κενωθείσα θεότης, τοῦτο ἡ προσληφθεῖσα σὰρξ, τοῦτο ἡ καινὴ  
μίξις, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἑξ ἄμφοιν καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἀμφοτέρα.

## 5 [24] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΕἰΣ ΤΑ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ

Ἀπεστάλη μὲν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκοπίασεν καὶ  
ἐπείνησεν καὶ ἐδίψησεν καὶ ἡγωνίασεν καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν νόμῳ φύσεως.

## [25] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΥἱΟΥ Β' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς τὸ μείζον κομπάζοντας. Θεὸς δὲ  
10 λέγοιτο ἂν οὐ τοῦ Λόγου, τοῦ ὀρωμένου δέ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ κυρίως  
Θεοῦ Θεός; Ὡσπερ καὶ Πατὴρ οὐ τοῦ ὀρωμένου, τοῦ Λόγου δέ. Καὶ γὰρ

[23] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 2, 23 (ed. J. Bernardi, SC 247, 120, c. 23, ll. 3–5; PG 35, 432 B15–C2). Cf. etiam: Eulog., Orat. IV (V, 35, ll. 5–8); Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, Test. 11 (146, no. 99; 1); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, II (11, l. 9; 1); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 104 (41, ll. 1020–2; 1); Cod. Novar. 30, Test. 88 (93, ll. 31–3); ll. 3–4 (καινὴ ... ἀμφοτέρα): Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 3 (1817 C11–12)

[24] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 38, 15 (ed. C. Moerschini, SC 358, 138, c. 15, ll. 1–3; PG 36, 328 C11–14). Cf. etiam: Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 45 (168, ll. 2–4); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 5 (22, ll. 5–7); *Tomus II*, Test. 13 (124, ll. 28–30); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 105 (42, ll. 1031–4); Sev., *Chr. Gram.* III, 37 (233, ll. 22–4; tr. 171, ll. 28–30); *Ad Serg. II* (115, ll. 22–4; tr. 86, ll. 24–6); Leont. Byz., *CA*, Test. 11; *De Sect. IX*; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 2; *Flor. Vat.* 1455, Test. 19; *Doctr. Patr.* 7, X (52, l. 2; 1); l. 1 (ἀπεστάλη ... ἦν); Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 22 (1821 B13–14); *Doctr. Patr.* 4, IV (30, l. 7); Sev., *Ad Neph. II* (42, ll. 17–18; tr. 31, ll. 28–9); *Chr. Gram.* III, 23 (20, ll. 29–30; tr. 14, ll. 31–2); ll. 6–7 (ἐπεὶ ... [φύσεως]): Sev., *Antijul.* (133, l. 16–tr. 103, ll. 10–12); ll. 6–7 (καὶ [ἐπείνησεν] ... φύσεως): Anast. Sin., *Hod. X*, 2.5.51 f. (173)

[25] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 30, 7–8 (ed. P. Gallay, SC 250 240, l. 16–242, l. 13; PG 36, 113 A6–B10; ed. A. J. Mason, 119 f.). Cf. etiam: *De Sect. IX*; ll. 2–5 (Θεὸς ... οὐ κυρίως): Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 8 (194, ll. 2–5); *Doctr. Patr.* 4, III (30, ll. 4–5); ll. 2–7 (Θεὸς ... Πατὴρ): Pamph. VI (168, ll. 255–60); ll. 11–p. 204, l. 3 (Θεὸς ... ἐπίζησις):

VOG [23] 3 post (σὰρξ) add. “et hoc est quod ex utroque mercamur” Dion. Exig. 4 ἐξ ἄμφοιν: ἐκ δυοῖν Eul. (ἐν ... ἀμφοτέρα): “ut per unum utrumque habere possumus” Dion. Exig.

[24] 5 ΤΑ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ: ΤΟ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΟΓ 6 ἀλλ' om. *De Sect.* διπλοῦς ... ἐπεὶ: διπλὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ φύσις αὐτοῦ (ἐν αὐτῷ: Leo, Joan. Caes.), ἀμέλει τοι ἐντεῦθεν Thdt., Leo, Joan. Caes., Sev. (txt. Thdt. cod. P; ἡ φύσις αὐτοῦ om. Thdt. cod. I) ante ἐκοπίασεν add. ἡῶξησεν καὶ Flor. Len. 131 καὶ ἐπείνησεν om. V<sup>c</sup>, *De Sect.* 7 ἐπείνασε Anast. Sin. καὶ ἐδίψησεν om. Flor. Len. 131 καὶ ἡγωνίασεν om. *De Sect.*, Anast. Sin. νόμῳ φύσεως: νόμῳ σώματος Greg. Naz., Thdt. codd. SD, Sev., *Doctr. Patr.*, Flor. Len. 131; ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ Thdt. cett. (sed om. ἀνθρωπίνου cod. D), Leo, Joan. Caes., Leont. Byz. *CA*, *De Sect.*

[25] 8 Β' ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΛΟΓΟΥ Β' V; Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ Ο 9 οὖν om. *De Sect.* ἡμῖν post εἰρήσθω transp. *De Sect.* εἰρήσθω V Θεός: Κύριος Pamph. VI, cod. V; δέ om. Pamph. 10 λέγουτ' Ο, Pamph. VI, cod. V ἂν om. Flor. Len. 131, ante λέγοιτο transp. Pamph. XVII τοῦ κυρίως om. Pamph. VI [25] 6–7 Eph. 1. 17 [26] 10 (διὰ ...

πάντα) cf. Joan. 1. 3 1–2 Eph. 3.17

23. BY ST GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN,  
FROM HIS APOLOGETIC DISCOURSE

This is the emptied divinity, this is the assumed flesh, this is the new mixture—  
God and a human being, one from both and both through one.

24. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE  
ORATION ON CHRIST'S BIRTH

He was sent, but as a human being—for he was double, since he labored and  
was hungry and thirsty and struggled and wept, by the law of nature.

25. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
SECOND ORATION ON THE SON

Let this be our affirmation against those who make a lot of noise about the word  
“greater” (see John 14.28): he should be called the “God” not of the Word, but of  
the one who is seen. For how could he be God of one who is properly God? Just  
as he is Father not of the one who is seen, but of the Word. For



ἦν διπλοῦς, ὥστε τὸ μὲν κυρίως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ οὐ κυρίως, ἀλλ' ἐναντίως ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει· ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ κυρίως Θεός, οὐ κυρίως δὲ Πατήρ. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὃ ποιεῖ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς τὴν πλάνην, ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίζευξις, ἐπαλλαττομένων τῶν ὀνομάτων διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν. Σημεῖον δὲ ἡνίκα αἱ φύσεις διίστανται, ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς συνδιαίρεται καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Παύλου λέγοντος ἄκουσον ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τῆς δόξης· Χριστοῦ μὲν θεός, τῆς δὲ δόξης Πατὴρ. Ἐἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ συναμφοτέρων ἓν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ φύσει, τῇ δὲ συνόδῳ.

[26] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ  
ΚΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ Α'

10

Ὡς καὶ τὸ διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγονέναι τὰ πάντα καὶ τὸ "κατοικεῖν Χριστὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν" οὐ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ κατὰ

Scholion ad 25, l. 1 (τὸ μὲν ... ἔχει) in calc. O: cf. Appendicem II huius libri.

[25] 6-7 Eph. 1. 17 [26] 11 (διὰ ... πάντα) cf. Joan. 1. 3 11-12 (κατοικεῖν ... ἡμῶν) Eph. 3. 17

Pamph. XVII (256, ll. 112-18); p. 204, l. 11 (Θεὸς ... λόγον δὲ) et p. 204, ll. 4-5 (ἡνίκα ... ὀνόματα): Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 18 (1820 D11-1821 A3); p. 202, l. 9 - p. 204, l. 9 (θεὸς ... συνόδῳ): Theor., *Disp.* (140 D8-141 A11); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 60-1 (cum omissionibus); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 46 (168, ll. 6-16; †); Just. *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 136 (29, ll. 10-18; †); ll. 3-5 (καὶ τοῦτο ... ὀνόματα): Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.*, Test. 4 (114 [473], ll. 18-19: in aliquibus codd. om. l. 4 [ἐπαλλαττομένων ... σύγκρασιν]); ll. 2-8 (καὶ τοῦτο ... συνόδῳ): Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, Test. 14 (1493 A7-15; †); ll. 4-5 (σημεῖον ... ὀνόματα): Euth. Zig., *Pan.* XVI (1080 A14-B2); ll. 4-8 (σημεῖον ... συνόδῳ): Sev., *Ad Neph II* (41, ll. 16-22; tr. 31, ll. 2-8); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, III (11, l. 11); Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, Test. 12 (146, no. 100); ll. 4-8 (ἡνίκα ... συνόδῳ): Sev., *Chr. Gram.* III, 8 (153, ll. 4-9; tr. 106, l. 29-107, l. 1); Justn., *Conf. Rect. Fid.*, Test. 8 (84, ll. 34-6); ll. 6-7 (εἰ γὰρ ... συνόδῳ): Sev., *Exp. Fid.*, apud *Doctr. Patr.* 2, II (25, ll. 14-15); Leont. Jer. *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 24 (1821 C9-10); Pamph. VI (158, ll. 20-1; 169, ll. 261-2); Euth. Zig., *Pan.* VII (213 B5-6); Theor., *Disp.* (152 A11-12)

[26] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ep. 101, *Ad Cledonium I* (ed. P. Gallay, SC 208, 48, ll. 15-20; PG 37, 181, C2-7). Cf. etiam: p. 204, l. 11 - p. 206, l. 1 (ὡς καὶ ... κλήσεων): Thdt.

VOG [25] 1-2 ὥστε ... Πατὴρ om. Flor. Len. 131 ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ ... Πατὴρ om. Pamph. XVII 2 ἀλλ' om. Greg. Naz., Pamph., Justn. *Chr. Mon.*, Theor. ἢ om. O; δὲ ἢ Pamph. ἔξει Thdt. μὲν post κυρίως transp. Greg. Naz., Thdt. (txt. cod. J), Pamph. VI, Just. *Chr. Mon.*, Theor. post Θεός add. ὁ Θεός Greg. Naz. Codd AD 4 ἐπαλλαττομένων ... σύγκρασιν om. Thdt. (txt. cod. J), Conc. Chalc. codd. MW. Flor. Len. 131 ἐναλλαττομένων Theor. ὑπαλλαττομένων De Sect. τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων Thdt. cod. J ante ἡνίκα add. ὡς V 5 διαίρεται Euth. Zig. ἀκούετε Thdt. (txt. cod. J) ἵν' O 6 post ὁ Θεός add. καὶ Πατὴρ Joan. Dam. 7 Χριστοῦ μὲν: τοῦ μὲν Χριστοῦ Flor. Len. 131 καὶ om. Thdt., Joan. Dam. 8 τὰ συναμφοτέρα Pamph. ἀλλ' om. Pamph. 1 post συνόδῳ add. τούτων Greg. Naz.

[26] 10 ΚΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΝ G A' ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ O; ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ B' V; B' ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ G 11 ὡς: ὥσπερ Greg. Naz., Thdt. τὸ ... τὸ om. Thdt. ante Χριστοῦ add. τοῦ Greg. Naz. codd. AS<sup>c</sup> DPC, Thdt. τὸ<sup>2</sup> om. G, Greg. Naz. 12 ἡμῶν: ὁμῶν Greg. Naz.

he was double, so that there is one proper, and another improper, predication for both—but in a way opposite to what holds good for us. For us, after all, he is properly God, but not properly Father. And this is what causes error for the heretics: the linking of names, so that they become interchangeable because of the mixture. A sign of this is when the natures are distinguished, the names, too, are divided along with the ideas. Hear Paul saying this: "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory" (Eph. 1.17). Of Christ he is God, but the Father of glory. If both are one thing, it is not by nature but by conjunction.

26. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS FIRST  
LETTER TO CLEDONIUS

... So that also our affirmation that all things have come to be through Christ (John 1.3), and that "Christ dwells in our hearts" (Eph 3.17), are said not with regard to the earthly appearance of God but with regard to

νοούμενον, κιρναμένων ὥσπερ τῶν φύσεων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν κλήσεων, καὶ περιχωρούσων εἰς ἀλλήλας τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συμφυίας.

[27] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΥΣΣΗΣ ἘΚ  
ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΝ ἈΝΤΙΡΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ

- 5 Εἰ οὖν φυσικὸν τῇ σαρκὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύεσθαι, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Ἀπολινάριος, ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ τῇ φύσει τὸ θεῖον, πῶς ὁ ταῦτα διδούς ἐν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι τὰ ἀμφοτέρω τῇ φύσει διορίζεται, πᾶσιν ὄντος προδήλου ὅτι ἕτερος τοῦ ὑποχειρίου καὶ ἄλλος τοῦ ἐπιστατούντος ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ πεφυκὸς ὁδηγεῖσθαι καὶ ἕτερον πάλιν ᾧ φύσις τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν ἐστίν; Εἰ οὖν ἐν τοῖς  
10 ἐναντίοις ιδιώμασιν ἡ θατέρου τούτων θεωρεῖται φύσις, τῆς σαρκὸς λέγω καὶ τῆς θεότητος, πῶς μία αἱ δύο φύσεις εἰσίν;

[26 cont.] *Eran.* I, Test. 46 (104, ll. 15–18); 112–3 (κιρναμένων ... συμφυίας): *Leont. Jer.*, *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 19 (1821 A5–7); *Pamph.* IV (150, ll. 12–14)

[27] *Gregorius Nyssenus, Adversus Apollinarium* 40 (ed. F. Mueller, GNO III/1.195, l. 24–196, l. 5; PG 45, 1213 D5–1216 A9). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XV (14, l. 31); *Niceph.*, *Antirr.* IV, 66, 7 (485, ll. 10–23); *Justn.*, *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 191 (40, l. 38–41, l. 2; ↑); *De Sect.* IX (↓; ut in V); ll. 9–11 (εἰ οὖν ... εἰσίν): *Leont. Jer.*, *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 75 (1833, D7–9); *Ephr. Am.*, *Ad Domn. et Joan.* (IV, 146, ll. 22–4); *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 161, l. 26–162, l. 29); *Joan. Dam.*, *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 23 (149, no. 113); *Doctr. Patr.* 9, IV (60, ll. 2–4); *Euth. Zig.*, *Pan.* 16 (1080 C7–9); *Theor. Disp.* (153 D15–156 A3); *Flor. Len.* 131, Test. 78; l. 11 (πῶς μία αἱ δύο φύσεις εἰσίν): *Eustathius* (444l. 936); *Anast. Sin.*, *Hod.* X, l. 2.81 f. (151)

VOG [26] 2 φύσεων ... κλήσεων: κλήσεων ... φύσεων Thdt.

VG [27] Hoc testimonium om. O, transp. post test. 31 V. 3 ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ om. V

4 ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΝ ἈΝΤΙΡΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ: ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ 5–7 (εἰ οὖν ... προδήλου) om. G 6 τῇ om. *Doctr. Patr.*, *Niceph.* εἶναι om. *Doctr. Patr.*; εἶναι τὰ om. *Niceph.* ante εἶναι add. τὸ *De Sect.* 9 ἐν om. *Euth. Zig.* τοῖς om. *Flor. Len.* 131 10 ὑπεναντίοις *Theor.* θατέρου: ἑκατέρου *Leont. Jer.*, *Justn.*; θάτερα *Ephr. Am.*, *Ad Or. Mon.* cod. A, *Flor. Len.* 131 θεωρεῖται: εὐρίσκεται *De Sect.* ante σαρκὸς add. γὰρ *Euth. Zig.* Post σαρκὸς add. τε V, *Ephr. Am.*, *Ad Or. Mon.* λέγω om. *Doctr. Patr.* 9, IV 11 ante μία add. οὖν *Anast. Sin.* μίαι *Niceph.* φύσεις om. G, *Niceph.*, *Euth. Zig.*, *Theor.* φύσεις εἰσίν om. *Ephr. Am.* Post εἰσίν add. Πῶς δὲ θεῖαν (θεῖαν τινα *Greg. Nyss.*) καὶ οὐρανία σάρκα περιπλάσσει τῷ Λόγῳ; μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸν (om. *De Sect.*) προαποσαρκοῖ (προαποσαρκοῖς *De Sect.*) τὸν Λόγον, οὐκ οἰκονομικῶς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν (om. *Greg. Nyss.*) ἡμερῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπελθόντα (ἐπελθόντα *De Sect.*) μορφήν, ἀλλ' αἰ τοῦτο (ταῦτόν *De Sect.*) τοῦ ἀτρέπτου τὴν σάρκα (τὸν ἄτρεπτον τῆς σαρκὸς *De Sect.*), καὶ τοῦ καθηγουμένου προσδέεσθαι, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄντικρυς λέγει σάρκα, τὴν διὰ τὸ τρεπτὸν τῆς φύσεως εἰς ἁμαρτίαν πεσοῦσαν· εἰ δὲ ὑπερουράνιον (ἐπουράνιον *De Sect.*) τι καὶ θεῖον σῶμα, καθὼς φησι, θεωρεῖ (θεωρεῖται *Greg. Nyss.*) περὶ τὸν Λόγον, οὐδὲ τὸ τρεπτὸν (ἄτρεπτον V) αὐτῷ πάντως κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον δίδωσιν. V, *De Sect.* (= *Greg. Nyss.*: Mueller 196, ll. 5–15; PG 45.1216 A9–B5)

what we know; as the natures are blended, so indeed are the terms we use for them, and they move interchangeably with each other, by reason of their growing together.

27. BY ST GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA,  
FROM HIS REFUTATION OF APOLLINARIUS

If, then, it is natural for flesh to be guided, as Apollinarius says, and the divine is guide by its nature, how can someone who grants this lay it down that both are naturally one from the beginning? It must be more than clear to all that the structure of what is subject is one thing, and that of what is in command is another, and that what is naturally suited to be led along is one thing, and what has the nature to lead is yet another. If, then, the nature of each of these things is recognized in opposite characteristics—I mean those of flesh and of Godhead—how are the two natures one?

## [28] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤ' ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΥ Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Τὸν γὰρ “μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,” καθὼς ὠνόμασεν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δείκνυσιν ὄνομα, ἐκατέρα φύσει, τῇ τε θείᾳ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ, κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἐφαρμοζόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ  
 5 Υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐγένετο· ἵνα τῇ πρὸς ἐκάτερον κοινωνίᾳ δι' ἐαυτοῦ συνάψῃ τὰ διεστῶτα τῇ φύσει.

## [29] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Β' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ποία μορφή ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους ῥαπίζεται, καὶ ποία ἐξ αἰδίου δοξάζεται; Φανερά γὰρ ταῦτα, κἂν μὴ τις ἐφερμηνεύσῃ τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι αἱ μὲν πληγαὶ  
 10 τοῦ δούλου, ἐν ᾧ ὁ δεσπότης, αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ τοῦ δεσπότη, περὶ ὃν ὁ δούλος· ὡς διὰ τὴν συνάφειάν τε καὶ συμφυρίαν κοινὰ γενέσθαι τὰ ἐκατέρου ἀμφοτέρω, τοῦ τε δεσπότη τοὺς δουλικοὺς μώλωπας εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τοῦ δούλου τῇ δεσποτικῇ δοξαζομένου τιμῇ.

## [30] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Δ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

15 Πανταχοῦ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκρασιν κηρύσσων, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τὸ ἴδιον καθορᾷ.

[28] 2 1 Tim. 2.5

[28] Gregorius Nyssenus, *Contra Eunomium* III, 1, 92 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 35, ll. 12–19; PG 45, 597 B11–C5). Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Mon.* 130 (28, ll. 33–6); ll. 2–4 (τὸν γὰρ ... ἐφαρμοζόμενον): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 27 (1821 D6–9); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 79.

[29] Gregorius Nyssenus, *ibid.* III, 3, 66 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 131, ll. 6–13; PG 45.705 C10–D3). Cf. etiam: Conc. Const. III (425 A7–B2; ↑); *Doctr. Patr.* 15, XIX (97, ll. 8–9; ↑); I. 8 (ποία ... δοξάζεται): Gelasius, *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 24<sup>b</sup> (549; ↑); Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 17), ll. 27–9; ↑; Anast. Sin., *Hod. X*, l. 2.78 f. (151); ll. 8–9 (ποία ... λόγῳ): Thdt., *Eran.* III, Test. 48 (241, 11, 27–8); ll. 8–10 (ποία ... δούλος): Fac Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* XI, 4 (340, ll. 9–13; ↑); ll. 8–12 (ποία ... ἀμφοτέρα): Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 24

[30] Gregorius Nyssenus, *ibid.* III, 4, 13 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 138, ll. 18–19; PG 45, 716 A10–12). Cf. etiam. Flor. Len. 131, Test. 4; Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 25a

VOG [28] 1 ΑΥΤΟΥ: ΑΓΙΟΥ (ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ V) ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΥΣΗΣ  
 VO 'ΕΚ ΤΩΝ G A' om. V A' ΛΟΓΟΥ om. O 2 τὸν: τὸ Justn. γὰρ om.  
 Leont. Jer., Justn. ante ὠνόμασε add. καὶ Leont. Jer. ὠνόμακεν V θεῖος: μέγας Greg.,  
 Nyss., Justn. 3 Απόστολος om. O Υἱοῦ: Χριστοῦ Greg. Nyss. codd. VI; Κυρίου Flor.  
 Len. 131 ante φύσει add. τῇ G, Greg. Nyss. cod. V 4 τε om. V, Leont. Jer.; post θείᾳ transp.  
 Greg. Nyss., Justn. ante ἀνθρωπίνῃ add. τῇ V 5 Θεοῦ ante Υἱὸς transp. Greg. Nyss., Justn.  
 [29] 8 μορφή: φύσις Χριστοῦ Anast. Sin. αἰδίου: Ἰδοῦ Ephr. Am. 9 μὴ τις:  
 μηδεὶς Thdt. (txt. cod. I) ἐρμηνεύῃ Thdt. 11 γίνεσθαι Greg. Nyss. (txt. codd. TS), Conc.  
 Const. III 13 ἀναλαμβάνοντος V<sup>ac</sup> O δεσποτικῇ: τοῦ δεσπότη V

[30] 15 ἀνθρωπίνου Greg. Nyss. κηρύττων V, Greg. Nyss. 16 καθοράν Flor. Len. 131

28. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
FIRST BOOK AGAINST EUNOMIUS

Nothing else than the name of the Son, then, reveals the “mediator between God and human beings” (1 Tim. 2.5), as the divine Apostle calls him—a name fitted to each nature, the divine and the human, equally. For the same one is Son of God, and became son of man in the plan of God, so that he might link together what is naturally separate by their sharing with each other through himself.

## 29. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM BOOK 2

Which form is scourged in the Passion, and which is eternally glorified? This is obvious, even if one does not use one's reason for interpreting, that the beatings belong to the servant in whom the master dwells, and the honors to the master whom the servant surrounds. As a result, through their conjunction and growth together, both qualities of each become common: the master receives the servant's wounds into himself, and the servant is glorified with the master's status.

## 30. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM BOOK 4

... For proclaiming everywhere the mingling of what is human with what is divine, he nonetheless perceives what is proper in each.

## [31] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τὰ δύο περὶ τὸ ἐν λέγεσθαι τὸ πρόσφορον νοοῖτο περὶ ἐκάτερον, περὶ μὲν τὸ θεῖον ἢ ἀπάθεια, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἢ κατὰ τὸ πάθος οἰκονομία.

5 [32] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΡΩΜΗΣ·  
ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΡΗΣΙΝ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ  
ΠΑΡΗΓΑΓΕΝ ἘΝ Τῇ ΚΑΤ' ΑΥΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΟΔῳ

«...» ὅθεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν καθόλου καὶ τὸ θεϊκὸν καθόλου  
λέγεσθαι· καὶ ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἡνωμένοις διαφορὰν εἰδέναι, τί τὸ  
10 ἴδιον ἐκατέρου, ἐναντιώμασιν ἀσυμφώνοις περιπεσεῖται· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἴδια  
γινώσκων καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν φυλάττων οὔτε τὰς φύσεις ψεύσεται οὔτε τὴν  
ἔνωσιν ἀγνοήσει.

[33] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΠΙΚΤΑΒΩΝ· ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ἘΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ  
15 ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ Θ'

Οὐκ οἶδεν, οὐκ οἶδεν οὗτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωὴν, ὃς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς  
ἀληθῆ Θεὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀληθῆ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

[31] Gregorius Nyssenus, *ibid.* III, 4, 14 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 139, ll. 3–6; PG 45, 716 B9–13). Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Mon.* 148 (31, ll. 12–13; ↑); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 25b; Syn. Hispal. (566 E3–10; ↑); Justn., *Conf. Rect. Fid.*, Test. 9 (86, ll. 2–4; ↑)

[32] Ps.-Julius Romae (revera Apollinarius Laodicenus), *De Unione* 17 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 192, l. 14–193, l. 2). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Ad Neph. II* (29, ll. 9–14; tr. 22, ll. 13–18); Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 173, ll. 31–6); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 35 (359, ll. 14–15); Flor. Marc. 573, f. 31<sup>v</sup>; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 91; ll. 9–12 (καὶ ὁ μὴ ... ἀγνοήσει); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 117 (46, ll. 1143–6), cum correctionibus Severi; Sev. *Ad Serg. I* (88, ll. 19–25; tr. 64, l. 33–65, l. 4); ll. 10–12 (ὁ δὲ ... ἀγνοήσει; Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 46 (1828 A12–14))

[33] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *De Trinitate* IX, 3 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 373, c. 3, ll. 6–7; PL 10, 282 B10–12). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 92<sup>a</sup>; Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 1 (20, ll. 8–9; ↓ [cum 34 coniunctum]); *Tomus II*, Test. 2 (120, ll. 21–2; ↓ [cum 34 coniunctum]); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 79 (178, ll. 3–4; ↓ [cum 34 coniunctum])

VOG [31] 2 ἰν'Ο

[32] 6 ΔΕ om. V 7 ΠΑΡΗΓΑΓΕΝ ante Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ transp. G 8 post  
σωματικὸν add. αὐτοῦ Sev. *Ad Neph.* post θεϊκὸν add. αὐτοῦ Sev., *Ad Neph.* 9 λέγεται  
G, Ps.-Julius δυνάμενος ἐν: δυναμένοις Niceph. διαφοροῖς Ps.-Julius, Ephr. Am., Sev.  
10 ἀσυμφώνως Ps.-Julius τὰ om. Leont. Jer. 11 φυλάσσειν Ps.-Julius τὴν φύσιν Ps.-  
Julius, Sev. (corr. ad Joan. Caes.) ψεύδεται Ephr. Am. 12 ἀγνοήσκειν Ephr. Am.

[33] 13 ἸΛΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ G 14 ΟΥΤΟΣ: ΑΥΤΟΣ V ΤΩΝ ἘΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ: ΤΗΣ ἘΝ  
ΝΙΚΑΙΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ Ο 15 Θ' ante ΛΟΓΟΥ transp. V 16 οὐκ οἶδεν om. G, Thdt.  
(txt. cod. J) οὗτος: ὁντως Leo *Tomus I*, Thdt. 17 ἀληθῶς O

## 31. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME BOOK

So that, on the basis of the two being said of the one thing, the appropriate category might be attributed to each: freedom from suffering concerns what is divine, but the divine plan of the Passion concerns what is human.

32. BY ST JULIUS, BISHOP OF ROME; THE BLESSED  
CYRIL BROUGHT THIS TEXT FORWARD IN THE  
SYNOD HELD UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP

... For that reason, what is generally proper to the body and what is generally divine is necessarily predicated. And anyone who cannot recognize the difference in what is united—what is proper to each—will encounter opposite characteristics that clash with each other; but anyone who recognizes what is proper [to each], and preserves the union, will neither be deceived about the natures nor be unaware of their union.

33. BY ST HILARY, BISHOP OF POITIERS  
(HE, TOO, WAS ONE OF THOSE AT NICAEA);  
FROM HIS TREATISE ON THE FAITH, BOOK 9

He is unaware—unaware!—of his own life, who does not recognize Jesus Christ as true God, just as he is truly human.

## [34] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

Ταῦτα ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ γενόμενος ἔλεγε καὶ ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Κύριος τῆς  
 δόξης ἐδίδασκε, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας σωτηρίαν μεσίτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων  
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ, δι' οὐπερ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις  
 5 ἐμεσίτευσεν, εἰς τυχάνων τὸ συναμφότερον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνωθεισῶν εἰς αὐτὸ  
 δὴ τοῦτο φύσεων ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν δι' ἐκατέρας φύσεως ὦν· πλὴν οὕτως ὡς ἐν  
 ἐκατέρῳ μὴδ' ὁποτέρου χηρεύειν, μή πως παύσῃται Θεὸς εἶναι τικτόμενος  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἢ πάλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦ τῷ διαμένειν Θεός· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο τῆς  
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσεως τὸ μακάριον, τὸ τὸν Θεὸν μὲν καὶ ἄνθρωπον  
 10 κηρύττειν, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ Λόγον ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν εἰδέναι ὅτι  
 ἄνθρωπος εἶη, καὶ τὴν σάρκα μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι καὶ Λόγος ἐστίν.

## [35] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Πιστεως Λογου Ζ'

Ὅρῳς ἄρα οὕτω καὶ Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογεῖσθαι.

## [36] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

15 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκάτερα ταῖς οἰκείαις γεγένηται φύσεσιν, ἓνα μοι Χριστὸν  
 ἐκεῖνον εἶναι μνημόνευε τὸν ὄντα ἀμφοτέρω.

[34] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *ibid.* (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 374, c. 3, ll. 12–23; PL 10, 285 A2–14). Cf. etiam: Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 79 (178, ll. 10–20; ↑ [cum 33 coniunctum]); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 1 (20, ll. 14–23; ↑ [cum 33 coniunctum]); Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 2 (121, ll. 1–8; ↑ [cum 33 coniunctum]); ll. 6–7 (ἐν ... χηρεύειν): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 87 (1836 D9–10)

[35] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *ibid.* IX, 11 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 382, l. 20; PL 10, 290 B11). Cf. etiam: Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 81 (180, l. 2; ↓ [cum 36 coniunctum]); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 3 (21, l. 27; ↓ [cum 36 coniunctum]); *Tomus II*, Test. 4 (122, l. 9; ↓ [cum 36, ll. 14–15 coniunctum]); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 12 [cum 36, ll. 15–16 coniunctum]

[36] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *ibid.* IX, 11 et 14 (ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A, 383, ll. 26–8; 385, ll. 1–4; PL 10, 290 C2–291 A2; 292 B5–9). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 92<sup>b</sup>; Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 81

VOG [34] 2 post Ἰησοῦς add. Χριστὸς Hil., Leo, Thdt. 3 διδάσκει Thdt. codd. IS ἐν ... μυστηρίῳ: ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυστηρίῳ Thdt. (txt. cod. J) καὶ αὐτῷ om. Leo 5 αὐτό: ταῦτό V 5–6 εἰς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο: εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὴ Leo; εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὲ Thdt. (ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τούτῳ cod. J; εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο δύο cod. I) 6 ante φύσεων add. τῶν G ταῦτόν: ταῦτο Leo ὦν om. Leont. Jer. ἐν om. Leont. Jer. 7 ὁποτέρῳ V μὴδ' ὁποτέρου: μὴδετέρου Leo, Thdt. (μὴδ' ἐτέρῳ codd. ISV<sup>ac</sup>; txt. cod. J) 8 ἄνθρωπος ante τικτόμενος transp. O οὐκ ἦ: οὐχί Thdt. (οὐκ ἦν cod. J) 8–9 οὐκοῦν ... μακάριον: "haec itaque humanae beatitudinis fides vera est" Hil. 9 φύσεως: ἀληθοῦς πίστεως Leo, Thdt. μὲν ante Θεὸν transp. Leo, Thdt. (txt. cod. J) 10 ante Θεὸν add. τε Leo, Thdt. cod. J; add. μὲν Thdt. codd. cett. 11 ante ἄνθρωπος add. καὶ Leo, Thdt. καὶ τὴν: τὴν δὲ V, Thdt. cod. S

[35] 12 Ζ' post ΛΟΓΟΥ transp. V 13 καὶ om. Leo, Thdt.

[36] 15 ἐπειδὴ Flor Marc. 573 ante ταῖς add. ἐν Leo codd. PS γεγένηται Leo ἓνα μοι Χριστὸν om. O μοι: μέντοι ("tamen") Hil.; μόνον Flor Marc. 573 post Χριστὸν add. Ἰησοῦν Thdt., Leo, Flor. Marc. 573 16 εἶναι om. Thdt.

## 34. AND LATER ON

The Word made flesh said these things, and the man Jesus, the Lord of glory, taught them, being himself mediator, in himself, for the salvation of the Church; by that very mystery, by which he mediated between God and the human race, he was in both respects one subject—one and the same reality through each nature, from natures united into this same thing. But this happened in such a way that in each of them he was not deprived of the other, lest he should cease to be God when he was born as a human being, or on the other hand not be human because he remained God. Indeed this is the blessed thing about the nature we humans share: to proclaim God and a human being, and to confess the flesh and the Word; to know about God that he is human, and not to be unaware that the flesh is also the Word.

35. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
TREATISE ON THE FAITH, BOOK 7

So you see, then, that both God and a human being are confessed.

## 36. AND LATER ON

And since both came to be within their own proper natures, recall, if you will, that he is one Christ who is both ... I have demonstrated this



τούτου χάριν διὰ βραχέων ὑπέδειξα, ἵνα ἑκατέραν φύσιν ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ νοεῖσθαι μνημονεύωμεν· ὁ γὰρ ὢν ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ἔλαβε δούλου μορφήν.

[37] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ἈΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΕΔΙΟΛΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
5 ὉΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΟΥ, ἘΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ·  
ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΡΗΣΙΝ ΠΑΡΗΓΑΓΕΝ ἘΝ Τῇ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΟΔῶ Ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ

Φυλάξωμεν τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς· εἰς γὰρ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ  
λαλεῖ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπειδή περ ἐν αὐτῷ ἑκατέρα φύσις ἐστίν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ  
10 ὁ αὐτός ἐστι λαλῶν, πλὴν οὐκ αἰεὶ μονοτρόπως λαλεῖ.

[36] 2-3 Phil 2.6-7

[36 cont.] (180, ll. 5-10); ↑ [cum 35 coniunctum]); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 3 (21, ll. 30-3; [cum 35 coniunctum]); p. 212, ll. 15-16 (καὶ ... ἀμφοτέρω); Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 4 (122, ll. 11-12; [cum 35 coniunctum]); p. 212, l. 16 - p. 214, l. 2 (ταῦτα ... μνημονεύωμεν); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 86 (1836 D1-3); (ταῦτα ... μορφήν); Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 5 (122, ll. 12-16)

[37] Ambrosius, *De Fide ad Gratianum II*, 9, 77 (ed. O. Faller, CSEL 78, 84-5, ll. 32-8; PL 16, 576 B13-C5). Cf. etiam: Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 31 (163, l. 25-164, l. 2); Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor II, 16 (35); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 88 (35, ll. 832-8); Innoc. Mar., Test. 61 (179, ll. 33-6); *De Sect. IX*; Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X l. 2.64-6, 73-4; om. p. 214, l. 9 - p. 216, l. 1 [εἰ γὰρ ... ἀνθρώπου]; *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI (15, ll. 4-10); Niceph., *Antirr.* II, Test. 37 (360, ll. 1-9); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 42 (om. p. 214, l. 10 - p. 216, l. 2 [θεώρησον ... λαλεῖ]); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 33 (164, ll. 15-21; ↑) Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 7 (22., ll. 19-25; ↑); *Tomus II*, Test. 8 (123, ll. 11-15; ↑); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 155 (32, ll. 31-5; ↑); Fac. Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* I, 5, 12-13 (30, ll. 83-90; ↑); Syn. Lat. (298, ll. 20-4; ↑); Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Vat.* 54, Test. 13 (42, l. 29-43, l. 4; ↑); *Coll. Ath.* 75, Test. 13 (92, ll. 24-8; ↑); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 17 (279, ll. 23-30; tr. 196, ll. 30-5; ↑); l. 8 (φυλάξωμεν ... σαρκὸς); *Doctr. Patr.* 5, VI (34, l. 10); ll. 8-9 (φυλάξωμεν ... ἐστίν); Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.*, Test. 2 (114 [473], ll. 12-13); Fulg. Rusp.,

VOG [36] 1 ἑκατέραν φύσιν: "utriusque naturae personam" Hil.; ἑκατέρα φύσις Flor. Len. 131 ἡμῶν om. Hil. 2 νοεῖσθαι: tractari Hil μνημονεύωμεν G

[37] 4 ΜΕΔΙΟΛΑΝΩΝΟΓ 7 ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ· ΚΑΤ' ΑΥΤΟΝ 8 post φυλάξωμεν add τοίνυν Syn. Lat.; φυλάξωμεν τὴν διαφορὰν: πρόσχες τὴν ἔνωσιν Ephr. Am. τὴν ... τῆς ... τῆς om. Conc. Chalc., τῆς ... τῆς om. Anast. Sin. τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς θεότητος Flor. Marc. 573 post τῆς add τε Syn. Lat. εἰς γὰρ om. Leont. Jer. 1829B ἑκατέρω: ἐτέρω Ephr. Am.; ἑκατέρω De Sect. 9 λαλεῖ: φθέγγεται Conc. Chalc., De Sect., τελεί Joan. Dam. ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ: om. ὁ Conc. Chalc.; ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Ephr. Am., Leont. Jer. 1829B, Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* Euth. Zig.; Χριστὸς Anast. Sin.; Θεοῦ Υἱὸς (quod ante ἐν ἑκατέρω transp.) Flor. Marc. 573, Syn. Lat. ἐπειδή περ: ἐπειδὴ G, Conc. Chalc., De Sect., Anast. Sin., Euth. Zig.; ὅτι Ephr. Am. ἐπειδὴ περ ... ἐστίν: ἑκατέρω γὰρ φύσις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ (ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ: *Doctr. Patr.*) Leont. Jer. 1829B, *Doctr. Patr.* 8, II ἐν αὐτῷ post ἐστὶν transp. De Sect., Anast. Sin., Syn. Lat., Flor. Marc. 573; εἰ γὰρ om. Joan. Caes. εἰ γὰρ καὶ om. Syn. Lat., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI 10 ἐστὶ λαλῶν: λαλεῖ *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI οὐ G αἰεὶ om. G εἰ γὰρ ... λαλεῖ: ὁ αὐτὸς λαλεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ πάντως προσώπῳ De Sect. πλὴν ... λαλεῖ: καὶ οὐκ ἐνὶ πάντοτε διαλέγεται τρόπῳ Syn. Lat., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI; om. Ps.-Joan. Mar.

briefly for this reason, that we might recall that each nature is recognized in our Lord Jesus Christ. For the one who is in the form of God took on the form of a slave.

37. BY ST AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN AND CONFESSOR,  
FROM HIS WORK TO THE EMPEROR GRATIAN;  
THE BLESSED CYRIL BROUGHT THIS TEXT FORWARD  
IN THE SYNOD HELD AGAINST NESTORIUS

Let us preserve the difference between the divinity and the flesh. For one Son of God speaks in both, since indeed each nature is in him; and if the one who speaks is the same, still he does not always speak in the same way. Contemplate

Θεώρησον ἐν αὐτῷ νῦν μὲν δόξαν Θεοῦ, νῦν δὲ πάθη ἀνθρώπου· ὡς Θεὸς τὰ θεῖα λαλεῖ, ἐπειδήπερ Λόγος ἐστίν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λαλεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἰδὴ ἐν τῇ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐσίᾳ ἐφθέγγετο.

## [38] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τοῦ Γ' Λογοῦ

- 5 Ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐναυθῆ φησιν ἀβοήθητον ἑαυτὸν ὁ Υἱὸς ὅτι ἐγένετο, καίτοι ἐκείνου ῥηθέντος ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω, "ἐθέμην βοήθειαν ἐπὶ δυνατόν"; Διάστιξον οὖν καὶ ἐναυθῆ τὰς φύσεις· βοηθὸν γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ σὰρξ, οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ θεότης.

## [39] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τοῦ Κατὰ Ἀπολλινάριου Θ' Λογοῦ

- 10 Πλὴν ἡ πίστις αὕτη γενικῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς Υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αἰδὶς ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ τεχθεὶς ἐκ Παρθένου, ὃν ὡς γίγαντα ὁ ἅγιος Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης ἐξέφρασεν, ὅτι μόνος δίμορφος καὶ διττῆς εἴης φύσεως, κοινωνῶν θεότητος τε καὶ σώματος.

[38] 5 ἀβοήθητον: cf. Ps. 87.5 (LXX)

6 Ps. 88.20 (LXX)

[39] 11 ὡς γίγαντα cf. Ps. 18.6 (LXX)

[37] Ep. 14, 20 (409, l. 797–410, l. 799); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 52 (1829 B14–C2); Ephr. Am., *Def. Cyr.* (IV, 131, ll. 26–8); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 17 (148, no. 107); *Doctr. Patr.* 8, II (55, ll. 14–16); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 72, Test. 30 (486, l. 12); Euth. Zig., *Pan.* XVI, 27 (1080 C3–5); Flor. Marc. 573, f. 34<sup>r</sup> p. 214, l. 8 – p. 216, l. 1 (φυλάξωμεν ... ἀνθρώπου); Theor., *Disp.* (144 C7–11) p. 214, l. 8 – p. 216, l. 2 (εἰς ... ἐστίν); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 91 (1837 C6–7); Eulog., *Or.* 3 (V, 21, ll. 11–13) p. 214, l. 8 – p. 216, l. 3 (εἰς ... ἐφθέγγετο); Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 10 (194–5) p. 214, l. 10 – p. 216, l. 3; Tim. Ael., *Ep. de Isaia* (197, l. 25–198, l. 5; tr. 137, ll. 11–15) p. 214, l. 10 – p. 216, l. 3 (ὁ αὐτὸς ... ἐφθέγγετο); Tim. Ael., *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 34 (18, l. 31–19, l. 3); cf. Flor. B.M. Syr. Add. 12156, Test. 13 (f. 7<sup>b</sup>); *ibid.*, Test. 39 (f. 31<sup>b</sup>)

[38] Ambrosius, *ibid.* III, 4, 28 (ed. O., Faller, CSEL 78, 118, ll. 16–20; PL 16, 595 B14–C3); cf. *etiam*: ll. 6–7 (διάστιξον ... θεότης); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 93 (1837 A2–3)

[39] Ambrosius, *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento* 5. 35 (ed. O. Faller, CSEL 79, 240, ll. 8–12; PL 16, 827 C3–7). Cf. *etiam*: Cod. Novar. 30, Test. 40 (82, ll. 3–17; ↓) ll. 9–11 (ὅτι ... [σώματος]); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 93 (1837 B11–C1)

VOG [37] 1 θεώρησον ... λαλεῖ om. Flor. Len. 131 θεώρησον: ὁρᾷς γὰρ *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI; ὅρα Syn. Lat. ante ὡς add. ὅτι Syn. Lat. 2 λαλεῖ ante τὰ θεῖα transp. Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI post θεῖα add. Χριστὸς Anast. Sin. ἐπειδὴ Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI, codd. MW; ἐπεὶ cett., Syn. Lat. τὰ om. De Sect. λαλεῖ ante τὰ ἀνθρώπινα transp. Syn. Lat., Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI 3 ἀνθρώπινα: τοῦ ἀνθρώπου *Doctr. Patr.* 2 XVI (txt. cod. A) 3 ἐν τῇ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐσίᾳ: "in hac natura" Joan. Caes. κατ' ἐμὲ: ἡμετέρᾳ Syn. Lat.; ἐμῇ Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI ἐφθέγγετο: λαλεῖ Anast. Sin.; διαλέγεται *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVI

[38] 5 ὅτι ἐγένετο: γεγονέναι O 7 εἶχεν: εἶχε δὲ Leont. Jer.

[39] 11 τοῦ om. G 13 σώματος: ἀνθρωπότητος V, Leont. Jer.

in him now the glory of God, now the sufferings of a human being; as God he speaks divine things, since he is the Word; as a human he speaks human things, since he speaks in a substance like mine.

38. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM BOOK 3  
[OF THE SAME WORK]

But how does the Son say that he was "helpless" when he came to be [human] (Ps. 87.5 LXX), although he says a little later, "I have offered help as far as possible" (Ps. 88.20 LXX)? Distinguish, then, the natures even here: the flesh received help, but the divinity did not.

39. BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
FROM HIS WORK AGAINST APOLLINARIUS, BOOK 9

But this faith holds, in general, against all opponents, that Christ is the Son of God, eternally from the Father and born of the Virgin; David the prophet described him as "a giant" (Ps. 18.6 LXX), because he alone is double in form and of a double nature, sharing in divinity and in a body.

## [40] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἑΤΕΡΑ

Εἷς ἐστὶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ, τουτέστι τῇ θεότητι καὶ τῷ σώματι· οὐ γὰρ ἕτερος ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ ἕτερος ἐκ Παρθένου, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτός, ἐτέρως μὲν ἐκ Πατρὸς, ἐτέρως δὲ ἐκ Παρθένου, καὶ γεννῆσει γέννησις οὐ προκρίνει, οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ  
5 τῇ θεότητι.

[41] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ  
ΣΑΒΙΝΟΝ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Οὐκοῦν ἐν τῷ τελείῳ τῆς θεότητος ὦν, ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ τέλειον τῆς κατὰ ἄνθρωπον φύσεως ὁλόκληρου· ὥς οὐδὲν ἔλειπε τῷ Θεῷ,  
10 οὕτως οὐδὲ τῷ καταρτισμῷ τῷ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα τέλειος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ φύσει τυγχάνῃ.

[42] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΡΜΗΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ  
ἘΝΝΟΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΥ

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν, ἢ παθητὸν τὸν Λόγον, ἢ εἰς  
15 σάρκα τραπέντα συνουσιώμενον ἐσχηκέναι τὸ σῶμα, ἢ οὐρανόθεν αὐτὸ

[40] Ambrosius, *ibid.* 5, 35–36 (CSEL 79, 241, ll. 17–20; PL 16, 827 C14–D3). Cf. etiam: l. 2 (εἷς ... σώματι); Eulog., Or. 3 (V, 21, ll. 8–9; †); ll. 2–4 (εἷς ... Παρθένου: Doctr. Patr. 8, VIII (56, ll. 20–3; †); ll. 4–5 (γεννῆσει ... θεότητι): Cod. Novar. 30, Test. 41 (82, ll. 19–22; †)

[41] Ambrosius, Ep. 39, *Ad Sabinum*, 6 (CSEL 82.31, ll. 79–82; PL 16, 1147 B15–C4). Cf. etiam: *De Sect. IX*; Theor., *Disp.* (144 D4–8); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 142 (30, ll. 16–19; †); Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 11 (124, ll. 6–8; †); ll. 9–11 (ὥς ... τυγχάνῃ). Eustathius (434 f., ll. 662–4); l. 9 (ἵνα ... τυγχάνῃ): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 94 (1837 C4); Eulog., Or. 3 (V, 22, ll. 29–30)

[42] Ambrosius (?), *Expositio Fidei*, Frag. primo apud Theodoretum, *Eran. II*, Test. 29 (163, ll. 3–12; †) inventum. Cf. etiam: Ephr. Am., *Def. Cyr.* (IV, 131, l. 31–2, l. 11); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 149 (31, ll. 15–21); Pamph. VI, 169 f., ll. 264–75; *De Sect. IX*; Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 47 (207) Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 18 (ed. Kotter 148, no. 108); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVII

VOG [40] 2 post εἷς add. γὰρ V ἐστὶν om. Eulog., *Doctr. Patr.* τῇ om. O, Eulog.; καὶ *Doctr. Patr.* τῷ om. Eulog., *Doctr. Patr.* οὐ: οὐδὲ *Doctr. Patr.* post ἕτερος add. μὲν ἐστὶν *Doctr. Patr.* 3 καὶ ἕτερος: ἕτερος δὲ O, *Doctr. Patr.* 3–4 ἐτέρως ... ἐτέρως: ἕτερος ... ἕτερος V<sup>sc</sup>; ἕτερον ... ἕτερον V<sup>cont</sup>; ἄλλως ... ἄλλως *Doctr. Patr.* 4 προσκρίνει O οὐδὲ om. G ἢ om. O

[41] 6 ΣΑΒΙΝΟΝ: ΣΑΒΙΑΝΟΝ O; ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ Leont. Jer.; ΣΑΒΙΝΟΝ Eulog.; ΣΑΒΗΝΙΑΝΟΝ *De Sect.* 7 ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ om. G 6–7 ΤΟΥ ... ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΤΗΣ ... ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ G 8 οὐκοῦν om. Theor. τελείῳ: ἰδίῳ Theor. 9 ὁλόκληρου O, Justn. ante οὐδὲν add. οὖν *De Sect.* ἔλιπε V, Justn., Eustathius; ἔλλιπες *De Sect.* 10 ante ἄνθρωπον add. τὸν Just., Eustathius 11 φύσει: forma Ambr.

[42] 14 τὸν om. V, Niceph. Λόγον: Θεὸν Ephr. Am., Justn., *Doctr. Patr.*, Niceph.; Θεὸν Λόγον Joan. Dam., Flor. Len. 131 ἢ εἰς σάρκα τραπέντα om. Pamph. 15 ante συνουσιώμενον add. ἢ Thdt., Ephr. Am., Justn., Pamph., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Flor. Len. 131 ἢ om. Ephr. Am. αὐτὸ: τοῦτο Thdt., Ephr. Am., *Doctr. Patr.*, Flor. Len. 131

## 40. AND LATER ON

He is one in both: that is, in divinity and in the body. For there is not one coming forth from the Father, and another from the Virgin, but the same one, coming forth in one way from the Father and in another way from the Virgin; one begetting does not prejudice the other, nor does flesh prejudice divinity.

41. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
LETTER [39] TO SABINUS

Existing, then, in the perfection of divinity, he “emptied himself” (Phil. 2.7) and took up the full perfection of human nature. As nothing was lacking to him as God, so nothing was lacking in his human equipment, so that he should be, in fact, perfect in each nature.

42. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, IN HIS INTERPRETATION  
OF THE MEANING OF THE HOLY CREED

And those who say that Christ is a mere human being, or that the Word is capable of suffering, or that he was turned into flesh when he had a body that was united to his substance, or that his body came from heaven,

κεκομικέναι, ἢ θνητὸν λέγοντας τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον δεδεῆσθαι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀναστάσεως, ἢ ἄψυχον σῶμα ἀνειληφέναι, ἢ ἄνουν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ τὰς φύσεις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάκρασιν συγχυθείσας μίαν γεγενῆσθαι φύσιν, καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν 5 δύο εἶναι φύσεις ἀσυγχύτους, ἐν δὲ πρόσωπον καθ' ὃ εἰς Χριστὸς καὶ εἰς Κύριος, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

[43] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ἈΜΦΙΛΟΧΙΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ἸΚΟΝΙΟΥ  
ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ἈΡΕΙΑΝΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Διάκρινον, φησὶ, τὰς φύσεις, τὴν τε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· οὔτε 10 γὰρ κατ' ἐκπτώσιν Θεοῦ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οὔτε κατὰ προκοπὴν

or who say that God the Word was mortal and needed to be raised from the dead by the Father, or that he took up a body without a soul or a human being without a mind, or that the natures of Christ, being confused by a form of blending, became a single nature, and who do not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is two unconfused natures but one person, since he is one Christ and one Lord—these the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes.

43. BY ST AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM,  
FROM HIS WORK AGAINST THE ARIANS

Distinguish, he says, the natures of God and a human being. For he neither became human by abandoning his role as God, nor became God by progressing

[42] (15, ll. 12–21); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 72 (486, ll. 15–16); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 41; p. 218, ll. 14–15 (τοὺς δὲ... τραπεῖντα); *Doctr. Patr.* 10, I (66, ll. 7–8); τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας + p. 220, ll. 3–6 (τὰς φύσεις... ἐκκλησία); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 44 (1825 D11–1828 A3); ll. 3–6 (τὰς φύσεις... ἐκκλησία); Syn. Sel. Ctes., Test. 30 (328–9); *Doctr. Patr.* 10, II (66, ll. 9–10); τοὺς δὲ + p. 220, ll. 4–6 (μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας... ἐκκλησία); Ephr. Am., *Ad Domn. et Joan.* (IV, 148, ll. 2–5)

[43] Amphilochius Iconiensis, Frag. II, 2 (CCG 3.228, ll. 14–17), primo apud Theodoretum, *Eran.* I, Test. 56 (107, ll. 7–10); inventum. Cf. etiam: Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.*, Test. 6 (114 [473], ll. 27–9); Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, 21 (36, ll. 1–5); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 90

VOG [42] 1 post κεκομικέναι add. ἢ φάντασμα εἶναι Thdt., Justn., Pamph., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*; ἢ φαντασίαν εἶναι Ephr. Am., Flor. Len. 131 λέγοντας om. *De Sect.* Θεὸν om. *De Sect.* Λόγον; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο *Doctr. Patr.* cod. B; ἢ *Doctr. Patr.* cod. C ante δεδεῆσθαι add. καὶ Justn.; ἢ *De Sect.*, Joan. Dam., Niceph., Flor. Len. 131 post δεδεῆσθαι add. δὲ Ephr. Am. 2 ante σῶμα add. τὸ Thdt. ἀνειληφέναι: εἰληφέναι *De Sect.*, Flor. Len. 131; post ἄνθρωπον transp. Ephr. Am., Justn., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* Flor. Len. 131 ἄνθρωπον: ψυχὴν Ps.-Joan. Mar. 3 ante φύσεις add. δύο Thdt. τὰς φύσεις: τὰς δύο οὐσίας Ephr. Am., Justn., Ps.-Joan. Mar., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Flor. Len. 131 κατὰ: καὶ ὁ τὴν om. Thdt., Leont. Jer., Ephr. Am., Justn., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* *De Sect.* ante συγχυθείσας add. οὐ Flor. Len. 131 συγχυθείσας OG, Niceph. 4 φύσιν: οὐσίαν Ephr. Am. Def. Cyr., Justn., Ps.-Joan. Mar., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* 10, II, Flor. Len. 131 τὸν: εἰς Thdt. Κύριον: Θεὸν *De Sect.* Ἰησοῦν: τὸν ὁ, Pamph.; Ἰησοῦν τὸν G 5 εἶναι post φύσεις transp. Thdt. φύσεις: οὐσίας Ephr. Am., Justn., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* Flor. Len. 131 εἰς Χριστὸς om. Leont. Jer. καὶ εἰς Κύριος: εἰς Υἱὸς Thdt., Ephr. Am., Justn., Ps.-Joan. Mar., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* Flor. Len. 131 6 τούτους om. *De Sect.* ante καθολικὴ add. ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Pamph.; ἀγία Ps.-Joan. Mar., Flor. Len. 131 καὶ ἀποστολικὴ om. *De Sect.* ἀποστολική: ἀγία Ephr. Am. Def. Cyr.

[43] 7 post ἸΚΟΝΙΟΥ add. ἘΤΑΙΡΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ G 9 φησὶ om. V, Leont. Jer., Niceph.; μοι λοιπὸν Thdt. *Eran.* I codd. MSV; λοιπὸν Thdt. *Eran.* I codd. cett., *Eran.* II, Conc. Chalc., Vat. Gr. 1431, Joan. Caes. Anast. Sin., Flor. Len. 131; "igitur, inquit" Gel. καὶ τὴν: τὴν τε Thdt. *Eran.* I, Conc. Chalc., Vat. Gr. 1431, Anast. Sin., Flor. Len. 131 οὔτε: οὐδὲ ὁ, Niceph. 10 κατ': κατὰ V, Thdt., *Eran.* II ἔκπτωσιν: οἰκείωσιν Anast. Sin. ante Θεοῦ add. ἐκ Thdt., Anast. Sin., Flor. Len. 131 ante ἄνθρωπος add. ὁ G

ἐξ ἀνθρώπου Θεός· Θεὸν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπον λέγων, δὸς τὰ πάθη τῇ σαρκὶ, δὸς τὰ θαύματα τῷ Θεῷ.

## [44] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΝ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Ὡς τε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μορφήν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν συντελεῖν εἰς ἓν  
5 πρόσωπον Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτω Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον  
ὁμολογῶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἓνα Υἱὸν δύο φύσεων, παθητῆς καὶ ἀπαθoῦς,  
θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου, ψηλαφητῆς καὶ ἀνεπάφου, ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀρξαμένης,  
ἀπεριγράφου καὶ περιγραφομένης.

## [45] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

10 Ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δύο τελείων φύσεων εἰς Υἱὸς, ὁ κατὰ τὴν  
θεότητα ἀπεράντως τε καὶ ἀπεριγράφως τὰ πάντα περιέχων τε καὶ  
περιέχει·

[43] (36, ll. 853–7); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 8 (485, ll. 28–32); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 58; Gel., *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 27 (550; ↓); Eustathius (423 f., ll. 291–7↓) *Syn. Sel. Ctes.*, Test. 26 (328; ↓) Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 38 (↓); p. 220, l. 9 (διάκρινον ... ἀνθρώπου); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 96 (1837 C9–10); p. 220, l. 9–p. 222, l. 1 (διάκρινον ... Θεός); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 54 (170, ll. 18–20); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.145 ff. (155)

[44] Amphilochius Iconiensis (?), *Ep. ad Seleucum*, Frag. Spuria I, 3 (CCG 3.264, ll. 36–41). Cf. etiam: Eph. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 169, l. 9–170, l. 2); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 10 (345, l. 22–346, l. 5); ll. 4–5 (ὥς τε ... Χριστοῦ): *Doctr. Patr.* 6, XIV (38, ll. 4–5); ll. 4–7 (ὥς τε ... ἀθανάτου): Flor. Len. 131, Test. 54; ll. 5–6 (οὕτω ... ἀπαθoῦς): Euth. Zig., *Pan.* XVI (1080 B4–6); ll. 5–7 (οὕτω ... ἀθανάτου): Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 19 (1496 A14–B1); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, VII (12, ll. 13–15); ll. 6–8 (ὁμολογῶ ... περιγραφομένης): Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 11 (195; ↓); ll. 5–6 (ἓνα ... ἀπαθoῦς): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 97 (1837 C12). Huius testimonii etiam mentionem facit Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 34 (tr. 139, ll. 14–25), ut a Joan. Caes. citati

[45] Amphilochius Iconiensis (?), *Ep. ad Seleucum*, Frag. Spuria I, 5–6 (CCG 3, 264, ll. 49–53). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 40 (360, ll. 24–9); *Antirr.* IV, 68 (487–8); l. 10 (ὁ Χριστὸς ... Υἱός²);

VOG [43] 1 γὰρ δὲ Eustathius, Flor. Len. 131 λέγων: OG, Thdt., Conc. Chalc. (txt. cod B; λέγει cod. W), Gel., Vat. Gr. 1431 Niceph.; post Θεὸν γὰρ transp. Conc. Chalc., Vat. Gr. 1431 δὸς ... Θεῷ om. OG, Niceph.; ὅταν δὲ τὰ παθήματα τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῷ Θεῷ δῶς ... Thdt., Gel., Eustathius πάθη: παθήματα Conc. Chalc., Flor. Len. 131 2 δὸς: καὶ Joan. Caes., Flor. Len. 131

[44] 3 ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ G 5 οὕτω: οὕτε Flor. Len. 131 post Θεὸν add. τε O 6 ante τὸν Υἱὸν add. τὸν Χριστὸν Ephr. Am., Flor. Len. 131 ante ὁμολογῶ add. τὸν Χριστὸν Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Euth. Zig. τὸν om. *Doctr. Patr.* ante Υἱὸν² add. δὲ Ephr. Am. ante δύο add. ἐκ Euth. Zig. παθητῆς om. G post παθητῆς add. τε V, Ephr. Am., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Euth. Zig. 7 post θνητῆς add. τε V, Ephr. Am., Joan. Dam. post ἀθανάτου add. νοητῆς καὶ ἀοράτου Ephr. Am.; δρατῆς καὶ ἀοράτου Flor. Len. 131 ἀρχομένης Ephr. Am. ¶ ἀπεριγράφου G, Niceph. περιγεγραμμένης Ephr. Am.

[45] 10 ὁ⁴ om. O 11 ἀπεράντος V ἀπερίγραφος V περιέχων: περικυκλεῖ O 12 περιέχει: διοικῶν Niceph.

from being human; but when you say, "God and human," attribute the sufferings to the flesh and the miracles to God.

## 44. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS LETTER TO SELEUCUS

Just as I confess the "form of God" and the "form of a servant" (cf. Phil. 2.6–7) to contribute to one persona of Jesus Christ as Son and Lord, so I confess the Son of God to be God and human: one Son of two natures, which are passible and impassible, mortal and immortal, palpable and impalpable, without beginning and beginning in time, uncircumscribed and circumscribed.

## 45. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME LETTER

Christ the Son of God—one Son formed of two perfect natures, holding all things together in a limitless and uncircumscribed way, by his divinity—holds it together still.



ἓνα μὲν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δύο δὲ φύσεών φημι, οὐκ ἀρνούμενος τὴν θείαν  
<...>.

## [46] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἑΤΕΡΑ

Οἰκειοῦται οὖν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, πάσχων οὐδέν, τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς  
5 ἐν πρόσωπον συντελοῦσιν αἱ δύο φύσεις.

[47] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΛΑΣΙΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΙΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ὉΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΟΥ.  
Εἰς ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ὉΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΝ'.  
ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ἙΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΥ

10 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσχυεν ἀνθρωπίνη γλῶσσα μόνη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἀσθενὴς γὰρ  
ἦν ἡ φύσις. Ἦλθε τοίνυν εἰς ταῦτον Θεὸς ἅμα καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα σῶμα μὲν  
ὑπηρετήσῃται, Θεὸς δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν παράσχηται.

[45 cont.] Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 98 (1837 D1-2); l. 1 (ἓνα ... φημι): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 99 (1837 D3); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 20 (ed. Kottler 148, no. 110); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, VIII (12, ll. 16-17); Euth. Zig., *Par.* XVI (1080 B8); l. 1 (ἓνα ... θείαν): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 113 (1840 D8-10; †)

[46] Amphilochius Iconiensis (?), *Ep. ad Seleucum*, Frag. Spuria I, 6 (CCG 3.264, ll. 57f.). Cf. etiam: Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 100 (1837 D4-6); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 57 (†); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.136 f. (154; †); Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 21 (ed. Kottler 148 f., no. 111; †); l. 4 (οἰκειοῦται ... ναοῦ): *Doctr. Patr.* 2, IX (12, l. 21); *ibid.* 7, XXV (54, l. 16-55, l. 1); *ibid.* 8, XIV (57, ll. 16-17; †); ll. 4-5 (ἐπειδὴ ... φύσεις): Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.119 f. (153 D4); *Doctr. Patr.* 6, V (36, ll. 2-3; †); ll. 4-5 (εἰ[s] ... φύσεις): Anast. Sin., *Hod.* IX, 2.46 f. (141). Cf. etiam Nicetas Heracleensis, *Catena in Lucam* (ed. A. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* IX (1837), 712)

[47] Gelasius Caesariensis, Frag. 4 (ed. F. Diekamp, *Anal. Patr.* 45, ll. 9-23). Cf. etiam: Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 106 (42, ll. 1044-3, l. 1052); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV (361, l. 23-362, l. 1); l. 10-p. 226, l. 4 (ἀσθενὴς ... ἡμᾶς): Flor. Len. 131, Test. 93; l. 11-p. 236, l. 2 (ἦλθε ... στόμα): *Doctr. Patr.* 4, XI (31, l. 19-32, l. 2); *ibid.* 15, III (92, l. 17)

VOG [45] 1 ante ἓνα add. καὶ Niceph.; μὲν: τοίνυν O; οὖν Leont. Jer. Test. 113, *Doctr. Patr.*, Joan. Dam., Euth. Zig. τὸν om. Leont. Jer. Test. 113, Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Euth. Zig. τοῦ Θεοῦ: τὸν Χριστὸν Leont. Jer. Test. 113; om. Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Euth. Zig. δὲ om. OG, Leont. Jer., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*, Euth. Zig. οὐκ ... θείαν: ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* θείαν: ἀλήθειαν Niceph.

[46] 4 οὖν: γοῦν Flor. Len. 131 αὐτὸ O<sup>cont</sup> οὖν αὐτὸς: δὲ Anast. Sin., Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.* πάσχων οὐδέν: ἀπαθῶς Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* οὐδὲ G πάσχων ... ναοῦ: ἀπαθῶς τὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ναοῦ ἀνθρωπίνη πάθη, σταυρόν φημι καὶ θάνατον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκονομικῶς θεωρεῖται, οἰκειοῦται, αὐτὸς πάσχων οὐδέν Joan. Dam. ante τὰ add. οἰκειοῦται (= οἰκειοῦται) δὲ Flor. Len. 131 ante ναοῦ add. ἰδίου Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* εἰς: εἰ Anast. Sin. *Hod.* IX 5 δύο om. *Doctr. Patr.*; διτταί Anast. Sin., Joan. Dam., Flor. Len. 131

[47] 7 ante ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΙΝΗΣ add. ΤΗΣ O 8 ὉΥΤΟΣ: ΑΥΤΟΣ V post PN' add. ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ O 9 ἘΚ ... ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΥ: ἘΝ ἙΞΗΓΗΣΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΟΣ Joan. Caes., *Doctr. Patr.* 10 ἴσχυεν G 11 ἦλθον (venit) Joan. Caes. 12 ἐαυτοῦ OG

I say he is one Son of God, but of two natures, and I do not deny the divine nature.

## 46. AND LATER ON

God the Word himself, then, without suffering anything, made the experiences of the temple his own, since the two natures contribute to the one persona.

47. BY ST GELASIUS, BISHOP OF CAESARAEA IN  
PALESTINE AND CONFESSOR; HE, TOO, WAS A MEMBER  
OF THE COUNCIL OF THE 150; FROM HIS  
INTERPRETATION OF THE CREED

But no human tongue alone is powerful enough to do this; for our nature is weak. God and a human being therefore came together into one, so that the body might act as servant and God might provide his activity through it.

διπλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀληθῆ πάντα καὶ τέλεια πάντα, καὶ φιμούσθω πᾶν αἱρετικὸν στόμα· μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ μετὰ Πατρός, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ ἐξ ἡμῶν. "Σὰρξ μου," φησὶν, "ἐξ αὐτῶν." Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν αἰεὶ, τὸ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς· ἡ μὲν θεότης αἰεὶ, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπότης δι' ἡμᾶς.

## 5 [48] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ θείῳ δαδουχούμενοι λόγῳ ἀνύβριστον τοῦ Μονογενοῦς φυλάξωμεν τὴν εὐγένειαν, μήτε διὰ τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀθετοῦντες τὸν Λόγον, μήτε διὰ τὸ ὕψος τῆς θεότητος παρορῶντες τὴν σάρκα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Λόγον ὡς Θεὸν, τὴν δὲ σάρκα ὡς ναὸν τιμήσωμεν Θεοῦ.

10 [49] ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΊΠΠΩΝΗΡΓΙΩΤΟΥ  
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΟΛΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Νῦν δὲ οὕτω μεταξὺ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνεφάνη μεσίτης, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐνότητι συνάπτειν ἑκατέραν φύσιν <...>.

## [50] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἑΤΕΡΑ

- 15 Ἐπίγνωθι τὴν διττὴν φύσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν θείαν δὴ λέγω, τὴν ἴσῃν ὑπαρχουσαν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν, ἧς μεῖζων ἐστὶν ὁ Πατήρ· πλήν ἑκάτερον ὁμοῦ, καὶ οὐ δύο ἀλλ' εἰς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἵνα μὴ τετράς εἴη καὶ οὐχὶ τριάς ὁ Θεός.

[48] Gelasius Caesariensis, Frag. 6 (ed. F. Diekamp, *Anal. Patr.* 46, ll. 8–12), hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 94

[49] Augustinus, Ep. 137, *Ad Volusianum*, 9 (CSEL 44, 108, ll. 13–15). Cf. etiam: Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 101 (1837 D9–11); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 82 (180, ll. 13–14; ↓); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 13 (23, ll. 32–4; ↓); *Tomus II*, Test. 22 (127, ll. 24–5; ↓)

[50] Augustinus, *Tractatus in Joannem* 78, 3 (CC L 36, 524, ll. 4–8). Cf. etiam: *De Sect.* IX; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 96; Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 24 (128, ll. 5–7; ↓); ll. 15–16 (ἐπίγνωθι ... Πατὴρ), Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 102 (1837 D12–14); ll. 15–17 ([ἐπίγνωθι] ... Χριστός): Flor. Marc. 573, f. 31<sup>v</sup>

VOG [47] 1 καὶ ἀληθῆ πάντα om. O, *Doctr. Patr.* 2 μετὰ: ἐκ Joan. Caes. ante Πατρός add. τοῦ G 3 ante σὰρξ add. ἡ Flor. Len. 131 4 ante ἡ μὲν add. καὶ V

[48] 6 δὲ om. OG, Flor. Len. 131 9 ante Θεοῦ add. τοῦ O Θεοῦ ante τιμήσωμεν transp. V

[49] 10 ΊΠΠΩΝΗΡΓΙΟΥ V; ΊΠΠΩΝΗΣ ΠΗΓΙΟΥ O (txt. G, Thdt. cod. J) 12 οὗτος Thdt. 12 ante φύσιν add. τὴν (Thdt. (txt. cod. J), Leo

[50] 15 ἐπίγνωμεν ("agnoscamus") Aug. ἐπίγνωθι ... φύσιν: ἔγνωμεν δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν Flor. Marc. 573 δὴ: δὲ *De Sect.* δὴ λέγω: δηλαδή Flor. Marc. 573, Aug. ("scilicet") 15–16 ἴσῃν ὑπαρχουσαν: συνυπάρχουσαν *De Sect.* 16 τὴν om. O ἀνθρωπίνην *De Sect.* 17 ἑκατέραν *De Sect.*, Flor. Len. 131 ὁ om. *De Sect.* εἴη: ἡ V καὶ οὐχὶ: ἀλλὰ V, *De Sect.*

Everything was double, everything true, everything complete—let every heretical mouth be silent! God is with us, the one who is with the Father is with us, the one who comes from among us is with us. "My flesh," he says, "comes from them." But the one is eternal, the other for our sakes: the divinity is eternal, the humanity is for our sakes.

## 48. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME WORK

But let us, led forward by the divine Word, preserve the noble birth of the Only-begotten from any insult, neither rejecting the Word because of the humble status of his flesh, nor overlooking the flesh because of the loftiness of the divinity, but let us venerate the Word as God, and the flesh as God's temple.

49. BY AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO REGIUS,  
FROM HIS LETTER TO VOLUSIANUS

But now a Mediator has appeared between God and the human race, so that he brings each nature together in the unity of his persona.

## 50. AND LATER ON

Recognize the double nature of Christ: I mean the divine, which exists equal to the Father, and the human, than which the Father is greater (see John 14.28). But both are together, and Christ is not two but one, so that God might not be a quaternity rather than a trinity.

[51] ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ἸΩΑΝΝΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ· Εἰς τὴν πρὸς  
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ Ζ'

Ἐπειδὴ μοι “μορφὴν δούλου ἔλαβεν,” τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο, φησὶν,  
5 οὐκοῦν “ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων” Θεὸς ἦν· μορφὴ γὰρ καὶ μορφὴ κεῖται.  
Εἰ τοῦτο ἀληθές, καὶ κεῖται· φύσει ἄνθρωπος ἢ μορφῇ τοῦ δούλου· οὐκοῦν  
φύσει Θεὸς ἢ μορφῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[52] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τῆς Ἑρμηνείας τῆς πρὸς  
ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Α' ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ, ΛΟΓΟΣ Ζ'

10 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δύο φύσεων μέσος γέγονεν, ἐγγὺς τῶν δύο φύσεων εἶναι δεῖ.  
ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τόπου τινὸς μέσος ἐκατέρων ἐστὶ τῶν τόπων ἐγγὺς, οὕτω  
καὶ ὁ τῶν φύσεων μέσος ἐκατέρων ὀφείλει εἶναι τῶν φύσεων ἐγγὺς.  
ὥσπερ οὖν ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, οὕτω καὶ Θεὸς ἦν.

[53] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Εἰς τὴν Ἀναλήψιν

15 Καὶ τί ποιεῖ ὁ μεσίτης; Ἔργον μεσίτου. Καθὰ περ δύο τινῶν ἀποστρεφόμενων  
ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐ βουλομένων διαλλαγῆναι, ἕτερός τις ἔλθων καὶ μέσον  
ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἐκατέρων λύσει τὴν ἔχθραν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησεν.  
ὠργίζετο ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός, ἀπεστρεφόμεθα ἡμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον  
δεσπότην· μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐκάτεραν φύσιν κατήλλαξεν.

[51] 4 Phil. 2.7      6 Phil. 2.6

[51] Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Epistulam ad Philippenses* Hom. VI, 2 (PG 62, 219, l. 60–220, l. 5).  
Cf. etiam: Pamph. VI, 171, ll. 284–8

[52] Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Epistulam I ad Timotheum* Hom. VII (PG 62, 537, ll. 2–7)

[53] Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Ascensionem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* 2 (PG 50, 445, ll. 21–8). Cf.  
etiam: ll. 15–19 (καθὰ περ ... κατήλλαξεν): Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 72 (176, ll. 2–8; †); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test.  
10 (23, ll. 10–14; †); *Tomus II*, Test. 15 (125, ll. 12–15; †); ll. 18–19 (ὠργίζετο ... κατήλλαξεν): Sev., *Ad*  
*Neph.* II (47, ll. 17–20; tr. 35, ll. 15–17)

VOG [51] 2–3 Εἰς τὴν ... ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ· Ἐκ τῆς ... ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ Ν ΛΟΓΟΥ V  
3 Ζ' ante ΛΟΓΟΣ transp. O      4 ἐπειδὴ μοι: εἶπε δὴ μοι Joan. Chrys.      μοι: μέντοι V  
ante μορφὴν add. τὸ Joan. Chrys.      δούλου ante μορφὴν transp. Pamph.      τουτέστιν: τί  
ἐστὶν Joan. Chrys.      5 ante ἐν add. καὶ Joan. Chrys.      6 ante ἢ add. καὶ Joan. Chrys.  
[52] 8 ἙΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ om. V      9 Ζ' ante ΛΟΓΟΥ transp. O      10 ante εἶναι  
add. αὐτὸν Joan. Chrys.      δεῖ: δὴ V<sup>c</sup>      11 ὁ om. O      ὁ ... μέσος: τὸ ... μέσον Joan.  
Chrys.      τόπων τινῶν V      ἐστὶ O      οὕτω om. O      12 ante φύσεων: add. δύο O  
μέσος om. V      13 ἦν ante καὶ Θεὸς G

[53] 14 Εἰς τὴν Ἀναλήψιν: Ἐκ τοῦ Εἰς τὴν Ἀναλήψιν ΛΟΓΟΥ O  
15 post καθὰ περ add. γὰρ Joan. Chrys.      17 λύει O, Joan. Chrys., Thdt., Leo  
18 ὠργίζετο ... Θεός: ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὸς ὠργίζετο Sev.      post ἀπεστρεφόμεθα add. καὶ οὕτως  
Sev.      Θεὸν om. Sev.      19 ante φύσιν add. τὴν Joan. Chrys.

51. BY THE GREAT JOHN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE;  
ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS, HOMILY 7

In my view, since he says “he took on the form of a servant”—that is, became  
human—therefore when he “existed in the form of God” he was God: form,  
after all, is contrasted with form. But if this is true, this must be also: the “form  
of a servant” means he was human by nature, and therefore “the form of God”  
means he was God by nature.

52. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS INTERPRETATION  
OF THE FIRST LETTER TO TIMOTHY, HOMILY 7

For since he came to be in a middle position between two natures, he must be  
close to the two natures—just as a midpoint in space is near both places, so a  
midpoint in natures must be near both natures. As he became human, then, so  
he was also God.

53. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON THE ASCENSION

And what does the Mediator do? The work of a mediator! Just as when two  
people are quarreling with each other and do not want to be reconciled,  
someone else comes along, and by inserting himself between them resolves the  
enmity, so Christ did. God was angry with us, and we had quarreled with God,  
the Lord who loves the human race; Christ threw himself between us, and  
reconciled each nature.

[54] ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΦΡΑΪΜ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Τῶν δύο φύσεων μετέχει ὁ μαργαρίτης ὁ πολύτιμος, ἵνα δείξῃ Χριστὸν, ὅτι Λόγος ὢν Θεοῦ, ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπος γεγέννηται. Οὐ μερικὴν ἔσχε  
5 τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέτερον ἂν ζῶον ἐτύγχανε. Τελείαν ἔχει τὴν διπλὴν φύσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὰς δύο. Οὐτε ἡμίθεος ὥφθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε ἡμιάνθρωπος ἀνέβη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ἐκ τελείου τέλειος, ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεός, ἐκ Παρθένου Χριστός.

[55] ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Δ' ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΕΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

10

Διπλοῦς ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ἄνθρωπος μὲν τὸ φαινόμενον, Θεὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον.

[56] ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΝ

15 "Τίς ὡς ἀληθῶς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀκουστάς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ;" Τίς ἂν λόγῳ παραστήσειε

[56] 15-16 Ps. 105.2 (LXX)

[54] Ps.-Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo adversus Haereticos seu de Margarita* (ed. J. Assemani, II, 263 E6-F7). Cf. etiam: Flor. Marc. 573, f. 34<sup>v</sup>; ll. 3-6 (τῶν δύο ... οὐρανοῖς): Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.112-15 (153; om. ll. 3-5 [ἵνα ... ἔχει]); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 45; ll. 5-7 (τελείαν ... οὐρανοῖς): *Doctr. Patr.* 4, XI (32, ll. 4-6); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 47 (362, ll. 18-21); *Antirr.* IV, 68, Test. 6 (488, ll. 3-5)

[55] Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catechesis* IV, 9 (ed. G. C. Reischl et J. Rupp, I, 100, ll. 5-6). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 4, X (31, ll. 16-17); Gel., *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 18 (548, ll. 17-20; ↓); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 107 (43, ll. 1054-6; ↓); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 62 (↓); Thdt., *Eran.*, II, Test. 77 (177, ll. 20-1; ↓)

VOG [54] 1 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ: ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ Ο 2 ΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΟΥΣ G  
3 μετέχει post μαργαρίτης transp. Ps.-Ephr. πολύτιμος: ἀτίμητος Anast. Sin. Χριστὸν  
ante ἵνα transp. Flor. Len. 131 4 ὢν post Θεοῦ transp. Ps.-Ephr., Flor. Marc. 573  
ἄνθρωπος post γεγέννηται transp. Flor. Len. 131 γεγέννηται Ps.-Ephr.; γίνεται Flor. Marc. 573 οὐ  
ὦν Flor. Len. 131 ἔσχε: ἔχων Flor. Marc. 573 5 ἂν ante οὐδέτερον transp. Ps.-Ephr.  
τελείαν ... φύσιν: διττὴν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν Anast. Sin. 6 post φύσιν add. ὁ Χριστός *Doctr.*  
*Patr.*, Niceph., Flor. Marc. 573 τὰς δύο ante ἀπολέση transp. Anast. Sin. post οὔτε<sup>1</sup> add. γὰρ  
Anast. Sin. ἡμίθεος: ἡ μία ἢ Θεός (sic) φύσις Ps.-Ephr. ὥφθη: κατήλθεν Anast. Sin. post  
ὥφθη add. μόνῃ Ps.-Ephr. 7 ἡμιάνθρωπος: ἡ ἑτέρα ἢ ἄνθρωπος (sic) φύσις Ps.-Ephr.  
ἀνέβη: ἀνῆλθεν Anast. Sin. τοῖς om. Anast. Sin. εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς V, *Doctr. Patr.* (om. τοὺς  
codd. BC), Niceph.; εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνῃ Ps.-Ephr. ante ἐξ ἀνθρώπου add. καὶ Ps.-Ephr.  
8 ante ἐκ Θεοῦ add. καὶ Flor. Marc. 573 ante ἐκ Παρθένου add. καὶ Ps.-Ephr., Flor. Marc. 573

[55] 10 ἘΚ ... ΛΟΓΟΥ: ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΕΩΣ V ΛΟΓΟΥ post Δ'  
transp. G 11 διπλοῦν G

[56] 13 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ: ΑΓΙΟΥ V 14 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΝ: ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ  
ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ O

54. BY THE GREAT EPHREM, FROM  
HIS HOMILY ON THE PEARL

The "pearl of great price" (see Matt. 13.46) shares in two natures, so that he might reveal that Christ, who is Word of God, is begotten as a human from Mary. He did not have a partial nature, since neither would have been a living being. He possessed a double nature in perfection, so that he might not lose the two of them. Nor did he appear on earth as half-God, or ascend into the heavens as half-human. He was complete from complete things: a human being from a human parent, God from God, Christ from a Virgin.

55. BY CYRIL, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM,  
FROM THE FOURTH CATECHESIS

Christ was double: a human being in what could be seen, God in what could not be seen.

56. BY THE GREAT FLAVIAN, BISHOP OF  
ANTIOCH, ON THE ASCENSION

"Who will truly speak of the powerful deeds of the Lord, or make audible all his praises?" (Ps. 105.2 LXX) Who will present to us in words

τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐεργεσίας τὸ μέγεθος; Ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει θεότης συνάπτεται, μενούσης ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκατέρας φύσεως.

[57] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ  
ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

- 5 Ἐδειξε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦ σωματικοῦ νέφους ὃ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ὑπελθὼν, ἵνα ἀμφοτέρας αὐτοῦ διδαχθῶμεν τὰς φύσεις, καὶ τὸν ὁρώμενον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν διὰ σώματος ἐνεργοῦσαν θεότητα.

[58] ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΪΔΟΣ.  
ἮΣ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ

- 10 Μὴ συγχέης τὰς φύσεις καὶ οὐ ναρκήσεις περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν· κράτει τὸν Θεὸν, δίδου τὰ πρέποντα τῷ Θεῷ· δέχου τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, δίδου τὰ πρέποντα τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι.

[59] ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ.  
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ "ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ ΗΜΙΝ"

- 15 «...» καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῷ λόγῳ διέλε, καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου θεολόγησον.

[56] Flavianus Antiochenus, Frag. 6 (ed. F. Cavallera, 107), primo apud Theodoretum, *Eran.* II, Test. 76 (177, ll. 6–9) inventum. Cf. etiam Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.*, Test. 8 (115 [474], ll. 4–7); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 44 (362, ll. 4–9); ll. 1–2 (ἀνθρωπίνῃ ... φύσεως): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 104 (1840 A8–9)

[57] Flavianus Antiochenus, Frag. 5 (ed. F. Cavallera, 107), primo hic inventum. Cf. etiam: Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 4 (193); Flor. Marc. 573, ff. 34r, 35r; ll. 6–7. (ἵνα ... θεότητα): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 103 (1840 A4–6)

[58] Antiochus Ptolemaeus, Frag. de Nativitate (cf. Ch. Martin, *Le Muséon* 54 [1941], 56, l. 27–57, l. 2). Cf. etiam: Flor. Marc. 573, f. 35; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 97; Gel., *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 41 (557); l. 10 (μὴ ... οἰκονομίαν): Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 78 (177, l. 28); Conc. Chalc., *Ad Marc.* Test. 7 (115 [474], l. 2); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.192 f. (157)

[59] Proclus Constantinopolitanus, *Homilia in Nativitate* (?): Frag. primo apud Flor. Chalcedonense (*Ad Marc.*, Test. 11 [115 (474), l. 25]) inventum. Cf. etiam: Anast. Sin., *Hod.* VII, 2.57 f. (110); *Hod.* X, l. 2.180 f. (157)

VOG [56] 1 ἀνθρωπίνῃ ... θεότης; ἀνθρωπίνῃ (ἀνθρωπεία Thdt.; ἡ ἀνθρωπεία Thdt. co. d J) φύσις θεότητι Thdt., Conc. Chalc. θεότης: Θεός G 2 ante φύσεως add. τῆς Conc. Chalc.

[57] 3 ἘΚ ΤΟΥ om. G 4 post ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ add. ΛΟΓΟΥ V 6 ἐπελθὼν G ἵν' O 6–7 τὴν ὁρωμένην ἀνθρωπότητα Flor. Marc. 573 7 ante σώματος add. τοῦ V, Leont. Jer.

[58] 9 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ G 10 συγχύσεις O; συγχύης Antioch.; συγχύσης Anast. Sin. ναρκήσεις: "contremiscas" Gel. 11 post Θεὸν add. τῇ πίστει Antioch. τὰ ἀνθρώπινα: τὸ ἀνθρώπινον V; τὸν ἄνθρωπον Antioch. post [ἀνθρώπινα] add. οἰκονομικῶς Antioch. δίδου ... ἀνθρωπότητι om. Antioch.

the greatness of his kindness towards us? The Godhead is joined to human nature, while each nature remains what it is.

57. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
COMMENTARY ON JOHN'S GOSPEL

The one who put on our nature showed himself through the cloud of his body, so that we might learn of both his natures: both the human being, which is seen, and the Godhead that works through his body.

58. BY ANTIOCHUS, BISHOP OF PTOLEMAIS;  
THE BLESSED CYRIL QUOTED THIS TEXT

Do not confuse the natures, and you will not be in a state of numbness about God's saving plan. Take hold of God, attribute what is fitting to him; accept the human qualities, attribute what is fitting to the humanity.

59. BY PROCLUS, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
ON THE TEXT "A CHILD IS BORN TO US"

...and distinguish the natures in your mind, and confess the divine unity of the Mystery.



## [60] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ

Εἰ μὴ παρθένος ἔμεινεν ἡ μήτηρ, ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τεχθεὶς καὶ οὐ  
παράδοξος ὁ τόκος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τόκον ἔμεινε παρθένος, ἐκείνος ἀφθόρως  
ἐγεννήθη, ὁ καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἀκωλύτως εἰσελθὼν—οὐ τὴν  
5 συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων θεωρῶν ὁ Θωμᾶς κέκραγε λέγων, “ὁ Κύριός μου  
καὶ ὁ Θεός μου.”

[61] ἸΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ ἈΣΚΗΤΟΥ ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΟΥ ΕΚ  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Οὐκ ἔστι φυσικὰς ἀποδείξεις τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ζητεῖν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ σὰρξ  
10 ἀληθῶς ὁ Λόγος γεγέννηται, ἀλλ’ οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστὸς,  
ἐνανθρωπήσας δὲ μᾶλλον Θεὸς, ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς φύσεσιν εἰς ὑπάρχει Υἱός.

[60] 5–6 Joan. 20.24–9

[60] Proclus Constantinopolitanus, Hom. 1 (*Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Constantinopoli*), 3 (ACO I, 1, 1, 104, ll. 3–6). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 7, VIII (49, l. 17); Niceph., *Antirrh.* II, Test. 77 (370, ll. 1–3); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 81; ll. 2–4 (εἰ μὴ ... εἰσελθὼν); Tim. Ael., *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 81 (33, ll. 26–32; 1); ll. 3–5 (ἐκείνος ... Θωμᾶς): *Anast. Sin., Hod.* X, 2.7.196 ff. (189); ll. 4–6 (ἐκείνος ... μου); Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 84 (1836 C6–8; om. ll. 3–5, ὁ καὶ ... εἰσελθὼν); *Anast. Sin., Hod.* VII, 2.52–5 (110); *Hod.* X, 1.2.105–8 (152 f.)

[61] Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. I, 405, *Theodosio Diacono* (PG 78, 409 A3–7). Cf. etiam: *Conc. Eph., Coll. Cas.* II, 80, 9 (11, ll. 2–4); Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 41 (204); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 82; ll. 10–11 (οὐ ψιλὸς ... Υἱός): Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 105 (1840 A12–14); l. 11 (ἐν ἑκατέραις ... Υἱός): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 112 (44, ll. 1094–5)

VOG [60] 2 καὶ om. *Doctr. Patr.* 3 ante τόκον add. τὸν Procl. (ACO), *Doctr. Patr.* παρθένος ante ἔμεινε transp. *Doctr. Patr.* post παρθένος add. πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ Θεός, καὶ τὸ μυστήριον ἄφραστον; Procl. ἀφθόρως: ἀφράστως Procl.; ἀφθάρτως Leont. Jer., *Anast. Sin., Doctr. Patr.*; ἄφθαρτος Flor. Len. 131 4 ἐγενήθη *Anast. Sin. Hod.* VII; γεννηθεὶς Flor. Len. 131 post [ἐγεννήθη] add. τουτέστιν ἀναμάρτητος Flor. Len. 131 τῶν om. *Anast. Sin.* VII, 2 et X, 2 εἰσελθὼν ante ἀκωλύτως transp. Procl. οὐ τὴν: οὗτος *Anast. Sin. Hod.* VII 5 θεωρῶν om. Procl.; ἑωρακὼς (quod post Θωμᾶς transp.) *Anast. Sin., Flor. Len.* 131 κέκραγε: ἀνεκεκράγει Procl. (ACO Coll. Vat.); ἐκέκραγε Procl. (ACO, Coll. Ath.), *Anast. Sin.* VII, 2 et X, 1; *Doctr. Patr.*

[61] 7 ἈΣΚΗΤΟΥ post ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΟΥ transp. G ante ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ Ο 10 ἀληθῆς Isid. Pel. γεγέννηται Ο, Flor. Len. 131 ἄνθρωπος om. Ο 11 δὲ post μᾶλλον transp. Leont. Jer., Ps.-Joan. Mar. ὑπάρχων Flor. Len. 131 Υἱός: Χριστὸς V<sup>ac</sup> post Υἱός add. τοῦ Θεοῦ Isid. Pel., *Conc. Ephes.*, Ps.-Joan. Mar.; add. τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεός Joan. Caes.

## 60. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON THE BIRTH OF CHRIST

If the mother did not remain a virgin, the one who is born is simply a human being and his birth is not mysterious. But if she remained a virgin, even after giving birth, he was born without corruption—he who also entered without resistance when the doors were closed; and when Thomas gazed on the linking of his natures, he cried out, “My Lord and my God!” (John 20.28).

61. BY ISIDORE, ASCETIC OF PELUSIUM,  
FROM HIS LETTER TO THE DEACON THEODOSIUS

It is improper to seek out natural proofs for what lies above nature. For if the Word also truly became flesh, Christ is still not simply human; but rather, since God has become human, a single Son exists in both the natures.

[62] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ  
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

πάση φυλακῇ τήρει σὴν καρδίαν, μή που μίαν φύσιν Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν  
σάρκωσιν δέξῃ· θατέρας γάρ ἐστιν ἀναίρεσις ἢ περὶ τὴν μίαν συγκατάθεσις,  
5 ἢ τῆς θείας τραπέισης, ἢ τῆς ἡμῶν μειωθείσης· αὕτη τοῦ Μάνεντος ἢ  
Χάρυβδιδος, δι' ἧς πάντας εἰς Γεένναν καταγαγεῖν ἐσπούδασεν.

[63] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΝ  
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, οὔτε ὁ ἦν  
10 τραπεῖς, καὶ ὁ οὐκ ἦν προσλαβὼν, ἐν φύσεσι δύοσιν εἰς ὑπάρχων Υἱὸς,  
ἀναρχος καὶ ἀπέραντος, πρόσφατος καὶ αἰδιος, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀρνηθείης,  
πλείστας ἔχων τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου περὶ τούτων  
συναινέσεις, ἀνθρώπου τὰ θεῖα ὑπερφυῶς ἐμβατεύσαντος.

[62] Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. I, 102, *Timotheo Lectori* (PG 78, 252 C12–D4). Cf. etiam: Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 42 (204); Niceph., *Antirr.* III (363, ll. 3–9); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 83; Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Cas.* II, 80, Test. 2 (9, ll. 14–17; †); I. 3–4 (πάση ... δέξῃ): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.* Test. 77 (1836 A3–4); ll. 3–4 (πάση ... συγκατάθεσις): Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.123 ff. (154; ut cum Test. 63 coniunctum); ll. 3–5 (πάση ... μειωθείσης): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 111 (44, ll. 1087–91)

[63] Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. I, 323, *Cyrillo Archiepiscopo* (PG 78, 369 B5–12). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 84; Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Cas.* II, 80, Test. 5 (10, ll. 7–11; †); Conc. Chalc., *Coll. Sangerm.* 11 (146, ll. 24–8; †); ll. 9–13 (ὅτι ... συναινέσεις): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 51 (1828 C12–D3); l. 10 (ἐν φύσεσι ... Υἱὸς): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 113 (44, l. 1099; correctio Severi, *ibid.*, ll. 1100–2); ll. 11–13 (οὐδ' ἂν ... ἐμβατεύσαντος): Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 114 (44, ll. 1103–45, l. 1107); ll. 12–13 (πλείστας ... ἐμβατεύσαντος) Anast. Sin. *Hod.* X, l. 2.126 f. (154; ut cum Test. 62 coniunctum)

VOG [62] 3 post πάση add. τοίνυν Isid. Pel., Leont. Jer. ante σὴν add. τὴν Isid. Pel. μή ... -Χριστοῦ: μή που δόκησιν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσιν (μήπως μίαν Χριστοῦ φύσιν codd. Vat. 649 et Altaensis 1) Isid. Pel. ante Χριστοῦ add. ἐπὶ Anast. Sin., Flor. Len. 131 3–4 τοῦ Χριστοῦ post σάρκωσιν transp. Anast. Sin., cod. M 4 θατέρας ... συγκατάθεσις: ἢ γὰρ εἰς μίαν συγκατάθεσις ἑκατέρας ἐστὶν ἄρνησις Anast. Sin. τὴν μίαν: μιᾶς Isid. Pel. 5 Μάνεντος; Μάνητος Isid. Pel. 6 ἢ Χάρυβδιδος: Χαίρωδης Flor. Len. 131; "la mauvaise opinion" Ps.-Joan. Mar. κατάγειν Niceph.

[63] 7 ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ G 9 ὅτε G ὁ om. Flor. Len. 131 post γέγονεν add. ἀληθῶς Isid. Pel. 10 ἐν φύσεσι δύοσιν: ἐν δύο φύσεσιν Leont. Jer.; ἐκ φύσεων δυοῖν Isid. Pel., correctio Severi ad Joan. Caes. ante εἰς add. ὁ Isid. Pel. post Υἱὸς add. καὶ Θεὸς Joan. Caes. 11 ἀναρχος καὶ ἀπέραντος: ἀτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος Leont. Jer. πρόσφατος om. Conc. Chalc. αὐτὸ VO 12 ante μεγάλου add. τοῦ G, Leont. Jer., Flor. Len. 131 13 συνέσεις O, Joan. Caes. ὑπερφυῶς: ὑπὲρ φύσιν G; eximie Joan. Caes. πλείστας ... ἐμβατεύσαντος: ἔχων περὶ τούτων πλείστας ἀποδείξεις τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀνδρος ὑπερφυῶς τὰ θεῖα ἐμβατεύσαντος Anast. Sin.

62. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
LETTER TO THE LECTOR TIMOTHY

Keep a close watch over your heart, and do not ever accept one nature of Christ after he became flesh. For assent concerning a single nature is dissent on both, with either the divine nature changing or our own being lessened. This is the Charybdis presented by Manes, by which he is working hard to bring everyone down to Gehenna!

63. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS LETTER  
TO THE BLESSED CYRIL, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

You yourself would not deny that the true God, who is above all things, became human: not changing what he was, but taking up what he was not, existing as one Son in two natures, without beginning and without limit, new and eternal. And you have many assenting sayings on this subject by our holy father the great Athanasius—a man who ventured to discuss divine things in a supernatural way.

## [63a] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Ἡ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπεία, θαυμάσιε, οὔτε ἀνεπίδεκτός ἐστι κακῶν οὔτε φυσικῶς κέκτηται τὰ κακὰ, ἀλλὰ γνώμη καὶ ῥαθυμία τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῶν χρηστῶν ὑπομένει. ὅπερ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος πέπονθεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξέπεσεν, ἣν αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ δεύτερος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀπέδωκεν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ τὴν ἀληθῆ φύσιν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐπιδειξάμενος. Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀληθῶς, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν εἰς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ τραπεῖς ὅπερ ἦν ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι ὁ ἐσμέν.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προηγησαμένοις καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου, βεβαιωτικὰς τῶν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ Πατέρων καὶ ἐρμηνευτικὰς τῆς ὁλῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας, παραθέσθαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι οὔτε οὗτος οὔτε τις ἕτερος τῶν Πατέρων τὸ “ἐκ δύο” ἢ τὸ “ἐξ ἀμφοῖν” ἐπ’ ἀναιρέσει τοῦ “ἐν δύο” εἰρήκασιν. Πολλαχοῦ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς διαιρέσεως Νεστορίου μαχόμενος, οὐ μόνον τὰ “ἐξ ὧν” τέθεικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ “ἐν” προθέσει ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐχρήσατο, ὡς αὐτόθεν ἐξ ὧν ὑπετάξαμεν αὐτοῦ χρήσεων ῥᾶόν ἐστι μαθεῖν. ἐφ’ ἅπασιν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις τῶν χρήσεων τὰς ἀναμφιλέκτους μόνας, αἱ οὐδὲ μανέντες παρερμηνεύσαι δυνήσονται, παραθέσθαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν.

[64] ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ  
ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱερός τε ἡμῖν ἀληθῶς καὶ σοφώτατος Παῦλος, μᾶλλον δὲ σύμπας ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χορὸς, διττὸν οἰονεῖ πως ἡμῖν τὸν ἐπὶ Υἱῷ λόγον ἐγγνώκασί τε καὶ εἰσκομίζουσι μετὰ τὸ ἐνωθῆναι σαρκί, τουτέστι καθ’ ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι καθ’ ὁλόκληρον ὁμοίωσιν, δίχα μόνης ἀμαρτίας.

[63a] Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. I, 303, *Ad Leandrum* (PG 78, 357 C6–360 A2). Huius epistolae etiam mentionem fecit Sev., *Chr. Gram.* III, 39 (251, ll. 4–7; tr. 184, ll. 33–4).

[64] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Trinitate, Dial. I* (SC 231.162, ll. 17–22; PG 75, 680 B5–11). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* II, Test. 50 (363, ll. 21–2); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 47a (cum Test. 65 coniunctum) ll. 22–4 (ὁ σοφώτατος ... σαρκὶ); *Doctr. Patr.* 4, V (30, ll. 9–11); *Theor., Disp.* (244 A5–8).

V (om. OG) [63a] 4 ὑπομένει ante τῶν χρηστῶν transp. Isid. Pel. 5 οὐρανοῦ: αὐτοῦ Isid. Pel. (txt. codd. Vat. 649 et Altaensis 1) 6 ἀποδέδωκεν Isid. Pel. ἐπιδεξάμενος Isid. Pel. 7 ἐν δύο φύσεσιν: ἐκ δύο φύσεων Sev. (ut varia lectio) δύο: δύοσι V<sup>corr</sup> 8 τοῦ: ὧν Isid. Pel.

VOG Scholion Leontii 9 ante ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ add. ΣΧΟΛΙΟΝ VG καὶ om. O 12 οὗτος: αὐτός V 14 Νεστορίου ante διαιρέσεως transp. G τὰ: τὸ O

[64] 22 μὲν ... καὶ om. *Doctr. Patr.*, *Theor.* 23 σύμπας: πᾶς *Theor.* διττὸν ... λόγον ante ὁ σοφώτατος Παῦλος (17) transp. *Doctr. Patr.*, *Theor.* οἰονεῖ πως ἡμῖν om. *Doctr. Patr.*, *Theor.* ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ G; ἐφ’ Υἱῷ Cyril 25 γενέσθαι Cyr. ante ἀμαρτίας add. τῆς Niceph.

63A. BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
FROM HIS LETTER TO LEANDER

Human nature, my dear friend, is neither incapable of experiencing evil things, nor does it naturally take on evil, but it undergoes a decline from the good by choice and by indolence. This is what happened to the first human being, and he departed from the terms defining his well-being; but the second human being—the one from heaven—restored it to him when he received in himself our true nature. For being truly God, he truly became human: one Son of God in two natures, not changing what he was in becoming what we are.

*Leontius*: We are eager to set alongside all these texts that we have produced others by the Blessed Cyril, which both confirm [the positions of] the Fathers before him and interpret his entire way of thinking, so that people might know that neither he nor any other Father has used the phrases “from two” or “from both” as a way of denying “in two” [natures]. Many times, when he is fighting against Nestorius’s division, he not only uses “the elements from which,” but also uses the preposition “in” for both, as is easy to see from the quotations from him we have arranged below. We have been careful, in all quotations from him, to assemble only uncontested texts, which not even crazy people will be able to misinterpret.

64. BY THE BLESSED CYRIL, BISHOP OF  
ALEXANDRIA, FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF HIS  
TREATISE ON THE HOLY TRINITY

Paul, who in our view is truly holy and most wise—or better, the whole chorus of the saints together—recognized and handed on to us a kind of double message concerning the Son, after his union with flesh: namely, he has come to be like us, with a complete likeness, apart from sin alone.

## [65] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Διττός οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπὶ Υἱῷ λόγος· ἀναθετόν δὴ οὖν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεῷ, καὶ ὡς καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονότι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, τουτέστι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

## [66] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΚΑΚΙΟΝ &lt;ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ&gt;

- 5 Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀδελφοὶ τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὧν νοεῖται Χριστὸς ὡς ἐν ψιλαῖς καὶ μόναις ἐννοίαις δεχόμενοι, φύσεων μὲν εἰρήκασι διαφορὰν—ὅτι μὴ ταῦτόν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν ποιότητι φυσικῇ θεότης τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότης—ἕνα γε μὴν Υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος ἀληθῶς ἐν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόσωπον εἶναι φασίν.

## 10 [67] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Β' ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ

- Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπον ὀνομάζων, οἶσθα καὶ Θεὸν ὄντα κατὰ φύσιν αὐτόν, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ πεπαύσομαι· εἰ δὲ μερίζων τὰς φύσεις οὐχὶ τῷ εἰδέναι μόνον τίς μὲν ἢ ἀνθρωπεία, τίς δὲ δὴ πάλιν ἢ θεία, διίστὰς δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς πρὸς ἐνότητα συνδρομῆς, ἀνθρωπολατρεῖς ὁμολογουμένως· καὶ σοι πρὸς ἡμῶν  
15 εἰρήσεται, “τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν σου φάγεσαι.”

## [67] 14 Ps. 127.2 (LXX)

[65] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *ibid.* (SC 231.166, ll. 26–8; PG 75, 681 C13–D1). Cf. etiam: Ephr Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 165, ll. 3–5); *Doctr. Patr.* 13, VIII (83, l. 19); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 47b (cum Test. 64 coniunctum)

[66] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Ep. 40, *Ad Acacium Melitenensem*, 15 (ACO I, 1, 4, 27, ll. 12–15 [Conc. Eph., *Coll. Vat.* 128]; PG 77, 191 D6–196 A3). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Chr. Gram.* III, 4 (38, ll. 18–24; tr. 27, ll. 11–17); *ibid.* (44, ll. 28–45, l. 5; tr. 31, l. 31–2, l. 1; ↓); *ibid.* III, 9 (170, l. 28–171, l. 6; tr. 119, ll. 19–24; ↓)

[67] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra Nestorium* II, 14, 2 (ACO I, 1, 6, 52, ll. 30–4 [Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Vat.* 166]; PG 76, 109 C10–D1). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 59; ll. 12–14 (εἰ δὲ ... ὁμολογουμένως); Pamph. XVII (260, ll. 169–72)

VOG [65] 1 ἐφ' Cyr., Ephr. Am., *Doctr. Patr.* ἀνάθετε Ο δὴ om. G 1–2 ὡς Θεῷ ante τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ transp. Cyr. (ὡς: πρὸς cod. M; om τοῦ cod. A), Ephr. Am 3 τὰ ... τουτέστι om. Ephr. Am.

[66] 4 ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ VO ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ om. VG; ΛΟΓΟΥ Ο 5 post δὲ add. γε Cyr. 6 ψιλαῖς καὶ μόναις om. Sev. Chr. Gram. III, 4 6 φύσεως Conc. Eph. cod. R μὲν om. Conc. Ephes. codd. RW 7 θεότης τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότης Conc. Eph. cod. R; τε om. codd. SD 8 Κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν Conc. Ephes. codd. SD 9 ante πρόσωπον add. τὸ Conc. Ephes. codd. VP

[67] 10 ΤΟΥ²: ΤΩΝ Ο 11 ἀνθρώπος Flor. Len. 131 post οἶσθα add. μετὰ τούτου Cyr. 12 ἔχει Flor. Len. 131 καὶ om. O ante φύσεις add. δύο Pamph. cd B τῷ: τὸ VO, Flor. Len. 131 13 post τίς μὲν add. ἐστὶν V δὴ om. OG, Flor. Len. 131 διίστὰς Ο δὲ om. G 14 ἐνότητα: νεότης Flor. Len. 131 ὁμολογούμενος Flor. Len. 131

## 65. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME WORK

Therefore the way we speak about the Son is twofold: we are to ascribe to him the things proper to God as to God, and the things proper to us—that is, human characteristics—as to one who has become like us.

## 66. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE LETTER TO ACACIUS

The brethren in Antioch interpret those elements from which Christ is recognized as if they were simply bare concepts, and speak of a difference in natures—that Godhead and humanity are not the same thing, as I have said, in their natural qualities—but they say that he is one Son and Christ and Lord, and that his persona is one, as belonging truly to a single individual.

## 67. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS SECOND BOOK AGAINST NESTORIUS

If, in calling him a human being, you realize that he is also God by nature, that is fine and I shall cease from criticizing; but if you divide the natures, not only in that you recognize what is the humanity and what is the divinity, but rather separate them from a convergence towards unity, you are admittedly worshipping a human being; and from our side someone will say to you, “You shall eat the work of your hands” (Ps. 127.2 LXX).

[68] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ  
ΣΟΥΚΕΝΣΟΝ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ Α'

Οὐκοῦν ὅσον μὲν ἦκεν εἰς ἔννοιαν, καὶ εἰς μόνον τὸ ὁρᾶν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς  
ὄμμασιν τίνα τρόπον ἐννηθρώπησεν ὁ Μονογενὴς, δύο τὰς φύσεις εἶναι  
5 φαμεν, ἓνα δὲ Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Κύριον τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον  
ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ σεσαρκωμένον. Καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, δεξώμεθα πρὸς  
παράδειγμα τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σύνθεσιν καθ' ἣν ἔσμεν ἄνθρωποι.  
συντεθείμεθα γὰρ ἕκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, καὶ ὁρώμεν δύο φύσεις, ἑτέραν  
μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς, ἑτέραν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ' εἰς ἕξ ἀμφοῖν ἄνθρωπος

[68] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Ep. 45, *Ad Succensum* I, 7 (ACO I, 1, 6, 153, l. 23–154, l. 11 [Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Vat.* 171]; PG 77, 232 D10–233 B1). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Phil.* (160, l. 16–161, l. 10; tr. 132, ll. 1–20; ↑); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XIX (16, l. 2; ↑); ll. 3–5 (οὐκοῦν ... φαμεν): *Anast. Sin., Hod.* X, l. 2.10–12 (146); *Flor. Len.* 131, Test. 28; ll. 3–5 (οὐκοῦν ... Κύριον): *Flor. Cyr., Test.* 42 (126, ll. 19–22); Sev., *Phil.* (28, ll. 12–16; tr. 22, ll. 20–4); ll. 3–6 (οὐκοῦν ... σεσαρκωμένον): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 13 (121, ll. 12–16; tr. 94, ll. 32–6); *ibid.* III, 13 (230, ll. 15–20; tr. 161, ll. 11–16); *Ephr. Am., Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 164, ll. 8–12); *Justn., Ctr. Mon., Test.* 17 (10, ll. 30–3); *Conf. Rect. Fid., Test.* 11 (78, ll. 20–2); *Syn. Hispal.* XIII, Test. 11 (567, A5–11); *Theor., Disp.* (149 C10–15); *Disp. II* (220 C4–9); Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 22 (186, ll. 1–5; tr. 145, ll. 15–20; ↑); *Joan. Dam., Ctr. Jac., Test.* 31 (152, no. 124; ↑); *Theor., Disp.* (140 B3–8; ↑); l. 3–p. 244, l. 4 (οὐκοῦν ... ἐνωσιν): Sev., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 16 (273, ll. 8–16; tr. 192, ll. 8–16); ll. 4–5 (δύο ... φαμεν): *Euth. Zig., Pan.* XVI (1080 D11–12);

VOG [68] 1 ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ G 2 Α' om. G 3 ἐννοίας Conc. Ephes. codd. FZ, *Flor. Cyr. cod.* C εἰς ... ὁρᾶν: εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μόνον ὁρᾶσθαι *Anast. Sin., Flor. Len.* 131 τὸ: τοῦ G 3–4 τοῖς ... ὄμμασιν: τοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὀφθαλμοῖς *Anast. Sin., Flor. Len.* 131 4 ἐννηθρώπησεν *Joan. Dam. Μονογενὴς: Ἐμμανουήλ Anast. Sin., Flor. Len.* 131 4–5 δύο ... φαμεν: δύο φαμεν εἶναι τὰς φύσεις V εἶναι om. ut lectio varia sec. Sev. *Phil.* 160–1 5 post φαμεν add. τὰς ἐνωθείσας Conc. Ephes. (txt. codd. ARWB), *Flor. Cyr., Sev., Euth. Zig., Theor. Disp.* II; Χριστὸν ... Κύριον: Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον καὶ Υἱὸν *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XIX, *Theor.* 140B, Sev. *Phil.* 160–1, *Ctr. Gram.*; Υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον Conc. Eph. codd. ARWF, *Flor. Cyr. cod.* C, Sev. *Phil.* 28, *Justn. Conf. Rect. Fid., Syn. Hispal., Joan. Dam.; Χριστὸν Υἱὸν Κύριον Doctr. Patr.* 24, XII; καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. *Theor. Disp.* II; καὶ Κύριον om. *Leont. Jer.* post Κύριον add. ὁμολογοῦμεν *Joan. Dam.* 6 δεξάμεθα O; δεξόμεθα Conc. Ephes. cod. F πρὸς: εἰς *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XIX πρὸς παράδειγμα om. VG 7 αὐτοῦ O, Conc. Ephes. cod. L, *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XIX 8 συντεθείμεθα VG, Conc. Ephes. cod. F, *Leont. Jer., Ephr. Am. Def. Cyr.* γὰρ: δὲ *Ephr. Am. Def. Cyr.* post φύσεις add. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ *Doctr. Patr.* codd. AEP; καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ *ibid., cod. C;* καὶ ἐφ' αὐτοὺς *ibid., cod. B* 8–9 ἑτέραν ... ψυχῆς: ἑτέραν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἑτέραν δὲ τοῦ σώματος *Just. Ctr. Mon.* Test. 50 9 μὲν τῆς ... δὲ τῆς om. *Ephr. Am., Def. Cyr.* τῆς σαρκὸς: τὴν τοῦ σώματος Conc. Ephes. (om. τὴν codd. ARWF), *Flor. Cyr., Leont. Jer.* (om. τὴν), *Doctr. Patr.* ante τῆς ψυχῆς add. τὴν Conc. Ephes. (txt. ARWF), *Flor. Cyr.* εἰς om. Conc. Ephes. codd. ARW, *Leont. Jer.* 8–p. 64, l. 2 ἀλλ'... ἐνωσιν om. *Justn. Ctr. Mon.* Test. 50

68. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
FIRST LETTER TO SUCCENSUS

Therefore, as far as it enters into our cognizance, and only as concerns what we can see with the eyes of our souls of how the Only-begotten has become human, we say that there are two natures, but one Christ and Son and Lord—the Word of God made human and made flesh. And if you like, let us accept as a model the convergence within us, by which we are human beings. For we are put together of soul and body, and we see [in ourselves] two natures, one flesh and the other soul; still, the human being is one from both



καθ' ἑνωσιν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὸ ἐκ δύο φύσεων συντεθεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπους δύο νοεῖσθαι τὸν ἕνα παρασκευάζει, ὡς ἔφην, τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνέλωμεν τὸ ὅτι ἐκ δύο καὶ διαφόρων φύσεων ὁ εἷς καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ Χριστὸς, ἀδιάσπαστος ὢν μετὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν, ἐροῦσιν οἱ τῇ ὀρθῇ δόξῃ  
5 μαχόμενοι, "Εἰ μία φύσις τὸ ὅλον, πῶς ἐνηνθρώπησεν καὶ ποίαν ἰδίαν τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐποίησατο σάρκα;"

[69] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ Ἐκ τοῦ Διαλογικοῦ  
ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ, ὍΤΙ Εἰς Ὁ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

Ἄρ' οὖν συγκέχυνται καὶ μία γεγόνασιν ἄμφω φύσεις; Εἴτα τίς οὗτος  
10 ἐμβρόντητος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εἶη ἂν, ὡς ἡ τὴν θείαν οἶεσθαι τοῦ Λόγου τετράφθαι φύσιν εἰς ὃπερ οὐκ ἦν, ἡ μεταχωρῆσαι τὴν σάρκα κατὰ γε τὸν

[68 cont.] p. 242, ll. 4–6 (δύο ... σεσαρκωμένον): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 61 (1833 B1–3); p. 242, l. 4–p. 244, l. 2 (δύο ... σώματος): Sev., *Phil.* (261, ll. 2–12; tr. 214, ll. 2–12); p. 242, ll. 6–9 (καὶ εἰ ... ψυχῆς): Flor. Cyr., Test. 41 (126, ll. 14–17); Sev., *Phil.* (28, ll. 8–11; tr. 22, ll. 15–19); Ephr. Am., *Def. Cyr.* (IV, 128, ll. 8–11); p. 242, l. 6–p. 244, l. 2 (καὶ εἰ ... σώματος): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 144 (1860, ll. 7–14; om. καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 50 (14, l. 39–15, l. 2); ll. 1–2 (καὶ οὐχὶ ... σώματος): Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 52 (15, ll. 17–18); ll. 2–5 (ἐὰν ... ἐνηνθρώπησεν): Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, Test. 1 (33, ll. 1–4); Eulog., *Or.* 3 (V, 26, ll. 21–5); ll. 2–6 (ἐὰν ... σάρκα): Sev., *Phil.* (262, ll. 14–20; tr. 215, ll. 5–10); *Ctr. Gram.* III, 14 (238, l. 30–239, l. 5; tr. 167, ll. 22–6); ll. 5–6 (εἰ ... σάρκα): Flor. Cyr., Test. 43 (126, ll. 24–5); Sev., *Phil.* (28, ll. 18–19; tr. 22, ll. 25–7)

[69] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Dialogus Quod Unus Sit Christus* (SC 97, 372, ll. 36–42; PG 75, 1289 C14–D5). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* II, Test. 49 (363, ll. 10–18); *Antirr.* IV, 66, 6 (483, ll. 9–11); Flor. BM

VOG [68] 1 καθ' ἑνωσιν ante ἀνθρωπος (p. 242, l. 9) transp. Conc. Ephes., Leont. Jer., *Doctr. Patr.* 1–2 καὶ οὐχὶ ... παρασκευάζει: καὶ οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ δύο συντέθεται φύσεων (ἐκ δύο φύσεων συντέθεται Leont. Jer.) ὁ ἀνθρωπος, δύο ἀνθρώπους (om. Conc. Ephes. codd. ARW, Leont. Jer.) τὸν ἕνα νομιστέον Conc. Ephes. (txt codd. BFEU), Justn., Leont. Jer., *Doctr. Patr.* codd. DV 1 συντεθεῖσθαι: συνημμένων Conc. Ephes. cod. B ante ἀνθρώπους add. καὶ V 1–2 ἀνθρώπους ... ἕνα: δύο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι Justn. 2 νοεῖσθαι post ἕνα transp. O; om. Conc. Ephes. codd. EU ὡς ἔφην: ἀλλ' ἕνα τὸν ἀνθρωπον (τὸν αὐτὸν Conc. Ephes. codd. VARWLZ, Leont. Jer.; om. Justn. *Ctr. Mon.* Test. 50) κατὰ σύνθεσιν (σύγκρασιν Conc. Ephes. cod. B), τὴν (τὸν Conc. Ephes. codd. VELUZ) ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος Conc. Ephes., Sev. *Phil.* 261, Leont. Jer., Justn. τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς: ψυχῆς δὴ λέγω *Doctr. Patr.* ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος: σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς Conc. Ephes. codd. ARW, Leont. Jer. ἐὰν: ἂν Conc. Ephes., Eulog., *Doctr. Patr.* 4 post ἐροῦσιν add. ἡμῶν Vat. Gr. 1431 ὀρθῇ δόξῃ: ὀρθοδοξία Conc. Ephes. codd. ARW 5 καὶ: ἡ Conc. Ephes., Flor. Cyr., *Doctr. Patr.* 5–6 καὶ ... σάρκα: ὁ Μονογενὴς Vat. Gr. 1431 τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν om. Conc. Ephes., Flor. Cyr., Sev., *Doctr. Patr.* 6 ἐποίησατο: ἔχειν ὁράτο Conc. Ephes. cod. B

[69] 7 ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ: ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΝ V 9 ἄρα OG, Leont. Jer., Niceph. συγκέχυνται G, Cyr. (txt. vers. Syr.) post συγκέχυνται add. ἄμφω φύσεις Sev. *Ctr. Gram.* III, 38 ante ἄμφω add. αἱ Flor. Len. 131 φύσις V, Cyr., Sev. *Ctr. Gram.*, Flor. Syr. 12154 et 14533; ante φύσεις add. αἱ G, Leont. Jer., Niceph. οὗτος O 10 post ἐμβρόντητος add. τε G, Cyr. 10 ἂν ante εἶη transp. Niceph. ὡς: ὅς O, Flor. Len. 131 10–11 φύσιν ante οἶεσθαι transp. Flor. Len. 131; ante τετράφθαι transp. G, Vat. Gr. 1431 ante φύσιν add. θείαν Sev. *Ad Neph.*

by union, and the fact that we are put together of two natures does not cause the one human—the one I say is of soul and body—to be understood as two people. For if we avoid affirming that the one and single Christ is of two different natures, even though he is inseparable after the union, those who fight against right belief will ask, "If the whole is one nature, how did he become human, and what kind of flesh from us did he make his own?"

69. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS DIALOGICAL  
COMPOSITION, "THAT CHRIST IS ONE"

Well, then, are both natures confused, and have they become one? But who would be so stupid, so ignorant as to think that the divine nature of the Word has been changed into what it was not, or that the flesh has changed places

τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως τρόπον εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου; Ἀμήχανον γάρ.

[70] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Καὶ οὐ δὴ φαμεν ἀνάχυσιν ὥσπερ τινὰ συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὡς  
5 μεταστῆναι μὲν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου φύσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τυχόν, ἀλλ'  
οὐδ' αὖ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ νοουμένης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ  
ὑπαρχούσης ἑκατέρας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ὄρω, πεπρᾶχθαί φαμεν τὴν  
ἐνωσιν ἐνοικήσαντος τοῦ Λόγου σωματικῶς τῷ ἐκ Παρθένου ναῶ.

[71] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΙΩΝ

10 Οὐ διοριστέον οὖν ἄρα τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς ἄνθρωπον

[69 cont.] Syr. Add. 12154, f. 26<sup>v</sup>; Flor. B. M. Syr. Add. 14533, f. 15<sup>v</sup>; Flor. Len. 131, Test. 67; Tim. Ael., Ref. Conc. Chalc., Test. 198 (107, l. 32–108, l. 10; ↓); Sev., Ad Neph. I (42, ll. 16–21; tr. 57, ll. 6–11; ↓); Phil. (141, ll. 21–7; tr. 172, ll. 2–7; ↓); Ctr. Gram. I, 6 (25, l. 28–26, l. 4; tr. 20, l. 32–21, l. 4; ↓); ibid. III, 8 (155, ll. 18–24; tr. 108, ll. 21–5; ↓); ibid. III, 38 (250, ll. 3–7; tr. 184, ll. 1–6; ↓); Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. I, Test. 20 (32; ↓); ll. 7–8 (ἄρ' οὖν ... εἴη); Leont. Jer., Ctr. Mon. Test. 106 (1940, B2–4); l. 1 – p. 246, l. 1 (εἴτα ... γάρ); Sev., Ctr. Gram. I, 6 (27, ll. 10–14; tr. 22, ll. 1–5); ibid. III, 14 (237, l. 29–238, l. 4; tr. 166, ll. 30–4; ↓); ibid. III, 41 (325, ll. 16–20; tr. 240, ll. 8–12; ↓)

[70] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, In Ep. ad Hebraeos II, frag. (ed. P. Pusey III, 421, ll. 15–21; PG 74, 1004 C6–1005 A6). Cf. etiam: Ephr. Am., Ad Or. Mon. (IV, 161, ll. 10–16); Doctr. Patr. 2, XXXII (20, ll. 9–14); Niceph., Antirr. III, Test. 55 (365, ll. 1–2); Antirr. IV, 61, 2 (479, ll. 26–8); Flor. Marc. 573, f. 36<sup>v</sup>; ll. 4–6 (καὶ οὐ ... [αὐτοῦ]); Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (1081 B12–C3); ll. 4–8 (καὶ οὐ ... ἐνωσιν); Justn., Ctr. Mon., Test. 146 (30, ll. 37–40); Anast. Sin., Hod. X, 2.6.48–52 (178); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 24; Leont. Jer., Ctr. Mon., Test. 145 (1856 B4–9; ↓). Periphrasim I, 4 (καὶ οὐ ... φύσεις) dedit etiam Anast. Sin., Hod. X, l. 2.29 f. (147)

VOG [69] 1 αὐτοῦ: ἀπὸ Niceph.; φύσιν Sev. (txt. Phil.) post γάρ add. ὡς τοῦτο ποιείσθαι δύναται Sev. Ctr. Gram.

[70] 3 ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ante ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ transp. G THE om. G 4 οὐ δὴ: οὐδέπου Leont. Jer. δὴ: δεῖ V; δέ G; δὴπου Cyr., Ephr. Am., Justn., Anast. Sin., Doctr. Patr., Niceph., Euth. Zig., Flor. Len. 131; δεῖ που Flor. Marc. 573 ὥσπερ ante ἀνάχυσιν transp. G 5 μεταστῆναι: στῆναι Ephr. Am. μὲν om. Leont. Jer., Ephr. Am. τοῦ om. Anast. Sin., Flor. Marc. 573, Flor. Len. 131 ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὖ: μεταποιηθῆναι δὲ Euth. Zig. 6 οὐδὲ V, Cyr., Leont. Jer., Doctr. Patr., Niceph. αὖ: αὐτὴν Niceph.; om. Doctr. Patr.; αὖ τὴν: αὐτὴν Anast. Sin. codd. lMX post αὖ add. πάλιν Ephr. Am., Anast. Sin. codd. D<sup>2</sup>K αὐτοῦ: τοῦ Λόγου Leont. Jer., Euth. Zig. post αὐτοῦ add. τοῦ Λόγου Cyr., Ephr. Am., Justn., Flor. Marc. 573 8 ante Παρθένου add. τῆς ἀγίας Ephr. Am.

[71] 10 οὐ om. Flor. Len. 131 διοριστέον: διαιρετέον Thdt., Leo, Flor. Cyr., Leont. Jer., Anast. Sin., Flor. Len. 131; διορίζομεν Justn. cod. X οὖν om. Ephr. Am., Doctr. Patr. ἄρα om. Anast. Sin., Doctr. Patr., Flor. Len. 131 οὖν ἄρα: ἄρ' οὖν Flor. Cyr. Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν: Χριστὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Anast. Sin.; Κύριον Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Flor. Len. 131 Κύριον καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν Leont. Jer. post Κύριον add. ἡμῶν Sev., Thdt. cod. J Χριστὸν om. G

with [the nature] of the Word by a process of alteration? That, of course, is impossible!

70. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

And surely we do not say that some sort of confusion has taken place with regard to the natures, so that the nature of the Word, let us say, has changed places with that of the human being, nor—even less—that the human nature has been changed into the Word's. Rather, we say that while each is understood and exists within the defined limits of its own nature, the union has taken place by the Word's dwelling bodily in the temple of the Virgin.

71. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SCHOLIA

The one Lord Jesus Christ is not to be divided, then, into a human being,

ἰδικῶς καὶ εἰς Θεὸν ἰδικῶς, ἀλλ' ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἶναι  
 φαμεν, τὴν τῶν φύσεων εἰδότες διαφορὰν καὶ ἀσυγχύτους ἀλλήλαις ἀεὶ  
 τηροῦντες αὐτάς.

[72] ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΜΙΣΗΣ.

5 ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΠ' ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ,  
 ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΗΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ

Εὐθέως ὁ κορυφαῖος, τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων, Πέτρος: "Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς,  
 ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος." "Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς," ἡ διττὴ φύσις, ὁ  
 ἐνανθρωπήσας: "σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς." Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν

[72] 7-8 Matt. 16.16

[71] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Scholia de Incarnatione Verbi* 13 (ed. P. Pusey, 528, ll. 14-18; ACO I, 5, 222, ll. 31-3; PG 75, 1385 C1-5). Cf. etiam: Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, Test. 14 (35); Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 91 (36, ll. 860-3); Sev., *Ad Neph.* II (23, ll. 10-14; tr. 18, ll. 1-4); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 57 (1829 C5-9); Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 166, ll. 38-41); Justn., *Conf. Rect. Fid.*, Test. 3 (80, ll. 8-12); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, l. 2.49-53 (148f.); *Doctr. Patr.* 7, XVII (53, ll. 6-9); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 32; Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 94 (183, ll. 13-17; †); Leo, *Tomus I*, Test. 17 (24, ll. 30-5; †); *Tomus II*, Test. 29 (131, ll. 6-9; †); Flor. Cyr., Test. 104 (157, ll. 16-19; †); Sev., *Phil.* (65, ll. 15-20; tr. 52, ll. 1-5; †); ll. 1-3 (ἓνα ... αὐτάς); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 112 (26, ll. 18-19)

[72] Paulus Emesenus, *Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Alexandriae I* (ACO I, 14, 11, ll. 7-10 [Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 125]; PG 77, 1437 A 9-1, 4). Cf. etiam: Ephr. Am., *Ad Domn. et Joan.* (IV, 148, ll. 14-18); Pamph. XII (225 f., ll. 256-62); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 85

VOG [71] 1 καὶ ... ἰδικῶς om. V, Thdt. cod. J, *Doctr. Patr.* codd. AB εἰς om. *Doctr. Patr.* codd. cett., Flor. Len. 131 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν: om. Cyr. vers. Syr.; Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Thdt., Leo, Anast. Sin.; Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν Leont. Jer.; Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Justn. *Conf. Rect. Fid.* om. Ἰησοῦν Thdt. cod. S, Flor. Len. 131 1-3 εἶναι ... αὐτάς: δεῖ φρονεῖν, τοῖς τῶν σεῶν φαμεν εἰδόσι τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἀλλήλαις τηροῦσιν αὐτάς Eph. Am. 2 ἀλλήλας Thdt. cod. S, *Doctr. Patr.* codd. CD, Flor. Len. 131 ἀεὶ Cyr., Thdt., Leo, Flor. Cyr., Leont. Jer., Justn., Anast. Sin., *Doctr. Patr.* Flor. Len. 131 3 διατηροῦντες Thdt. (txt. cod. J)

[72] 4 ΕΜΕΣΗΣ G 5 ΕΚ om. G 7 τὸ ... ἀποστόλων: τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στόμα Conc. Ephes. cod. P; τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ στόμα τῶν μαθητῶν ibid., codd. VA; τῶν ἀποστόλων ante τὸ στόμα transp. Pamph. Πέτρος om. Ephr. Am., Flor. Len. 131; ὁ Πέτρος Conc. Ephes. codd. HXE, Pamph. post Πέτρος add. φησιν Conc. Ephes. cod. W; εἶπε ibid., cod. P 8 post σὺ εἶ add. φησιν Pamph. ὁ om. Pamph. 9 ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας om. Ephr. Am. post ἐνανθρωπήσας add. Θεὸς Pamph.

on the one side, and God, on the other; but we say that there is one and the same Jesus Christ, recognizing the difference of the natures and always preserving them unconfused with each other.

72. BY THE BLESSED PAUL, BISHOP OF EMESA, FROM HIS  
 HOMILY IN THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, IN THE  
 PRESENCE AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF CYRIL

First of all there is Peter, the leader, the spokesman of the Apostles: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God!" "You are the Christ," the double nature, the one who has become human; "You are the Christ." And he does not say,

“Υἱοὶ,” ἀλλ’ “ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.” ἐπέγνω καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν πρόσωπον.

## [73] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ Β' ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ

- Ἡσαΐας οὖν κηρύσσει τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ, τουτέστι “Θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.”  
5 Πέτρος λέγει, “Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος”—τὴν διττὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν πρόσωπον τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης λέγει, “Καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν”—δύο φύσεις τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τὸ ἐν πρόσωπον· ἔμεινεν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἀπαθής.

## [74] ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ

- 10 Ἴδου τοίνυν ἡντλήσαμεν ὕδωρ ἐξ ἁγίας πηγῆς, τοῦ προλαβόντος φημὶ διδασκάλου, ὃς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος δαδουχαῖς λεαμπρυσμένος διεσάφησεν ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα καὶ σεπτὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος μυστήριον.

## [75] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Γ' ΤΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ

Οὐ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε καθ’ ἡμᾶς, τὸ εἶναι Θεὸς ἀπολέσει. Πόθεν; Οὕτε

“Sons,” but “the Son of the living God.” He recognized, then, the unique persona.

## 73. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS SECOND HOMILY

Isaiah, then, proclaims Emmanuel, which means “God become human.” Peter says, “You are the Christ, the Son of the living God”—the double nature and the unique persona of the Son. John the Theologian says, “And he dwelt amongst us”—two natures of the Only-begotten, and the one persona. But God the Word remained free from passibility.

## 74. CYRIL'S RESPONSE TO THIS

See, then—we have drawn water from the holy spring: I mean from the teacher who has just spoken, and who has made it clear to us—guided by the Spirit's radiant light—the great and august Mystery of our Savior.

75. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
THIRD BOOK AGAINST NESTORIUS

Just because he came to be like us, he did not lose his being as God. What, then?

[73] 4 Isa. 7.14 5 Matt. 16.16 6 Joan. 1.14

[73] Paulus Emesenus, *Sermo in Ecclesia Magna Alexandriae* II (ACO I, 1, 4, 13, ll. 17–21 [Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 125]; PG 77, 1441 B3–13). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 86; ll. 4–5 (Ἡσαΐας ... πρόσωπον); Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 165 (35, ll. 30–3)

[74] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Responsio ad Sermonem II Pauli Emeseni* (ACO I, 1, 4, 15, ll. 1–3 [Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 126]; PG 77, 989 C2–6). Cf. etiam: Pamp. XII (227, ll. 288–92); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 87; Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 166 (35, ll. 37–9; †); Fac. Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* I, 5, 40 (36, ll. 301–4; †)

[75] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra Nestorium* III, 2 (ACO I, 1, 6, 60, l. 39–61, l. 2 [Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 166]; PG 76, 129 D7–132 A2). Cf. etiam:

VOG [72] 1 ante Υἱοὶ add. οἱ Conc. Ephes. codd. VAE Υἱοὶ Υἱὸς Ephr. Am. ὁ om. Conc. Ephes. codd. SD, Pamp. ante ὁ Υἱὸς add. ὁ Χριστὸς Flor. Len. 131 ante ἐπέγνω add. ἐπέγνωσκε τὰς φύσεις Pamp. ἐπέγνω: ἐπέγνωκε Conc. Ephes. cod. E; ἐπέγνωκα ibid. cod. P ἐπέγνω καὶ: ἐπέγνωκε Flor. Len. 131 καὶ: γὰρ Conc. Ephes. cod. W post μοναδικὸν add. τοῦ Χριστοῦ Pamp.

[73] 3 ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ G\* 4 ante οὖν add. γ' Ὁ κηρύττει Justn. 5 post Πέτρος add. δὲ Conc. Ephes. codd. VPSDW τοῦ ζῶντος om. Justn., Flor. Len. 131 6 Υἱοῦ: Χριστοῦ O, Conc. Ephes. ante ὁ θεολόγος add. καὶ V 7 post φύσεις add. καὶ V, Conc. Eph. (sed om. cod E), Just. post Μονογενοῦς add. καὶ V τὸ om. Conc. Ephes. cod. V

[74] 9 ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ V 9 post ἡντλήσαμεν add. ὑμῖν Conc. Ephes. (txt. codd. AHXE et vers. Lat.) post ὕδωρ add. ζωῆς Flor. Len. 131 post πηγῆς add. τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου Flor. Len. 131 10–11 τοῦ ... διδασκάλου om. Flor. Len. 131 προλαβόντος: παρόντος G 11 καὶ om. Justn. ante τοῦ Πνεύματος add. διὰ Conc. Ephes. (txt. codd. AE; ταῖς διὰ τοῦ: διὰ τῆς cod. P), Justn. λαμπρυνόμενος G; λεαμπρυσμένως Pamp.

[75] 13 post ΤΟΜΟΥ add. ΤΩΝ Ο 14 πόθεν: ποτέ O, Justn.

μήν ὅτι Θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμοίωσιν ἀπαράδεκτον ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι παραιτήσεται· μεμένηκε γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι Θεός, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ὑπεροχῇ θεότητος ὢν, ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἡττόν ἐστιν· ἄμφω δὲ οὖν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰς ὁμοῦ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ

5 Ἐμμανουήλ.

[76] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΛΕΥΙΤΙΚΟΥ, ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ Δ'

Ὅλον δὲ πάλιν ἐν τούτοις περιθρεῖ σαφῶς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τὸ μυστήριον καὶ τὸν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος καθαρισμόν. Δύο μὲν γὰρ

10 ὀρνίθια κελεύει ληφθῆναι ζῶντα καὶ καθαρὰ, ἵνα νοήσης διὰ τῶν πετεινῶν τὸν οὐράνιον ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ καὶ Θεὸν εἰς δύο φύσεις, ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν ἑκάστη πρέποντα λόγον, διαιρούμενον (Λόγος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς ἀναλάμψας ἐν σαρκὶ τῇ ἐκ γυναικὸς), πλὴν οὐ μεριζόμενον. εἰς γὰρ ἐξ ἁμφοῖν ὁ Χριστός. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὡς δύο ὀρνίθια λαμβάνεται, καὶ νοεῖται

15 πάλιν ἁμφοτέρα ὡς ἐν, πλὴν ζῶντα καὶ καθαρὰ.

[76] 9–10 Lev. 14.4

[75 cont.] Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 6 (8, ll. 36–9); Ps.-Joan. Mar., Test. 19 (198); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 6 (484, ll. 35–6); Flor. Len. 131, test. 98; ll. 4–5 (ἄμφω ... Ἐμμανουήλ): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 12 (1820 B6–7)

[76] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Glaphyra in Leviticum* 4 (PG 69, 576 B1–12). Cf. etiam: Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, Test. 56 (45, ll. 17; ↓); ll. 8–12 (ὅλον ... διαιρούμενον): Syn. Hispal. XIII, Test. 13 (567 B8–14); ll. 8–14. (ὅλον ... Χριστός): Justn., *Conf. Rect. Fid.* (84, ll. 18–23); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XXXI (20, l. 6); ll. 8–16 (ὅλον ... ἐν): Theor., *Disp.* (140 B12–C7); ll. 7–8 (δύο ... φύσεις): Conc. Chalc., *Coll. Sangerm.* 14, Test. 5 (148, ll. 2–3); ll. 7–10 (δύο ... γυναικὸς): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 17 (1820 D 5–10); ll. 9–14 (δύο ... Χριστός): Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 29 (1500 A12–B3); ll. 10–12 (ἵνα ... διαιρούμενον): *Ctr. Cal.*, in *Doctr. Patr.* 30, III (220, ll. 4–7); ll. 13–14 (εἰς ... καθαρὰ): Conc. Chalc., *Coll. Sangerm.* 14, Test. 6 (148, ll. 5–6); 14–15 (διὰ τοῦτο ... καθαρὰ): Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 164, ll. 30–2; ↓)

VOG [75] 1 μὴν ὅτι: ἡμῖν ὁ Flor. Len. 131 τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς om. Conc. Ephes. cod. V  
2 εἶναι ante ἄνθρωπος transp. Flor. Len. 131 παραιτήσεται Ὁ γὰρ: δὲ Conc. Ephes.,  
Justn. 3 ἐν om. G post ἐν add. φύσει τε καὶ Conc. Ephes., Justn., Niceph.  
post ἄνθρωπος add. καὶ Θεός G 4 ἐστιν om. Flor. Len. 131 δὲ: δὲ Leont. Jer. αὐτῶ:  
ταύτῃ Conc. Ephes., Leo. Jer., Justn. καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. Leont. Jer. ὁμοῦ Θεός: Θεός τε ὁμοῦ Leont.  
Jer., Justn.

[76] 6–7 ΤΟΥ ΛΕΥΙΤΙΚΟΥ, ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ Δ': ΤΟΥ Δ' ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΥΙΤΙΚΟΥ  
OG 8 δὲ: δὲ Cyr., Vat. Gr. 1431, Justn., *Doctr. Patr.* cod. A, Theor. σαφῶς om. Ὁ ἡμῖν  
Cyr., *Doctr. Patr.* 9 ἁγίου om. *Doctr. Patr.* 10 ληφθῆναι ante κελεύει transp. Cyr.,  
Vat. Gr. 1431, Justn. *Doctr. Patr.*, Joan. Dam. τῶν om. Leont. Jer. 11 post ἄνθρωπον add.  
τε Vat. Gr. 1431, Leont. Jer., Justn., *Doctr. Patr.* codd. ACE, Theor. 11–12 εἰς ... διαιρούμενον:  
ὡς ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων τὸν ἕνα Vat. Gr. 1431 post δύο add. μὲν Cyr., Joan. Dam.,  
Theor. 12 Πατρὸς om. Theor. 13 ante ἐν σαρκὶ add. ὁ V τῇ ἐκ: τῆς Leont. Jer.,  
Theor. 13 μεριζόμενος G, Cyr., Vat. Gr. 1431, Justn. cod. X, *Doctr. Patr.*

VOG [76] 14 καὶ ante διὰ τοῦτο transp. Cyr. ὀρνίθια λαμβάνεται: λαμβάνεται τὰ  
ὀρνίθια Cyr., Vat. Gr. 1431, Ephr. Am., Theor. post ὀρνίθια add. ἐν δύο φύσεσι Conc. Chalc.  
15 ὡς ἐν ante ἁμφοτέρα (l. 2) transp. Cyr., Vat. Gr. 1431, Ephr. Am., Theor. ἐν: ἐν Conc. Chalc.

The fact that he is God by nature also does not make his likeness to us unacceptable, or make void his becoming human. For just as he remains God in a human nature, so, too, while he exists in the superabundance of the Godhead, he is none the less human. Both realities, then are surely in him, and Emmanuel is at the same time one individual—God and a human being.

76. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
INTERPRETATION OF LEVITICUS, CHAPTER 4

Consider carefully and clearly, once again, the whole Mystery of our Savior, and the purification that is ours through holy baptism. He commands two birds to be taken, which are "living and pure," that you might recognize through these winged creatures the "heavenly man" (1 Cor. 15.47–8) and God in two natures, as far as that can be expressed in language appropriate to each: distinguished (for the Word who shone forth from God the Father was in flesh taken from a woman), but not divided; for Christ is one from both. For that reason he is understood as two birds, and both are understood as one—but also living and pure!



[77] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Α' ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ἘΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ, ΤΟΜΟΥ Β'

Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς νόμου καὶ προφητῶν δεσπότης τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα θεσμοθετεῖ,  
καὶ μεσίτης ἦν, συνθεούσης ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς ἐν ὥσπερ ἰούσης θεότητός τε καὶ  
5 ἀνθρωπότητος· ἅμφω γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ νοεῖται Χριστός.

[78] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ἙΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ἙΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Ὅρα τοίνυν καὶ ἐν δυσὶ τοῖς χιμάροις τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν, τουτέστι Θεὸν  
ἐννθρωπηκότα καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντα μὲν σαρκικῶς ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας, ἵνα τῷ  
15 ῥαντισμῷ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος ὅλην ἀγιάσῃ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μεμενηκότα δὲ  
πάλιν ἀπαθῇ θεϊκῶς.

[79] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ Εἰς ΤΟ "ΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΟΙ  
ΠΑΡΕΔΟΘΗ ὙΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΜΟΥ"

Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀνθρωποπρεπεῖς ἀφίησι φωνὰς, ποτὲ δὲ δεικνύει  
15 πράγματα θεότητι μόνῃ χρεωστούμενα, ἵνα νοῆται τὸ συναμφότερον.

[80] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Β' ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ἘΝ  
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ, ΛΟΓΟΥ Θ'

Χρυσῇ τῷ στύλῳ κεφαλῇ, καὶ μὴν καὶ σῶμα χρυσοῦν· φύσεως γὰρ τῆς  
ἀνωτάτῳ καταπλουτεῖ τὸν ἐναυλισμὸν ὁ ἐκ Παρθένου ναὸς· σύμβολον δὲ

[78] 8 χιμάροις: Lev. 16.5—cf. Hebr. 9.12–13; 10.4  
26.32

[80] 18 χρυσῇ... χρυσοῦν: Exod.

[77] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate* II (PG 68, 213 B14–C2). Cf. etiam:  
Flor. Marc. 573. f. 37<sup>r</sup>

[78] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, Frag. hic primo inventum. (ed. P. Pusey III,  
422, ll. 1–6; PG 74, 1005 A12–B1)

[79] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Thesaurus de Sancta et Consubstantiali Trinitate*, 24 (PG 75, 393 C1–3).  
Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 99; Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 45 (†)

[80] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate* IX (PG 68, 637 A7–B2). Cf. etiam.  
Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Frag. Syr. 59 (25, ll. 563–71);

[77] 2 ΤΟΜΟΥ (ΤΟΜΟΣ G) Β' ante ΤΗΣ transp. OG 4 τε om. O 5 ἅμα  
om. O καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ om. Cyr. ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ G

[78] 8 τοῖς om. O χιμάροις O, χειμάρροις G Θεὸν om. G 9 ἁμαρτιῶν G

[79] 13 ΜΟΥ om. O 14 γὰρ om. Cyr. ἀνθρωποπρεπεῖς: ἀνθρώπων πρεπούσας  
Cyr. δείκνυσσι V 15 νοεῖται V\*, Flor. Len. 131

[80] 16 Β' om. G ΤΗΣ: ΤΟΥ G 18 τῷ στύλῳ: τῷ ξύτῳ Cyr.; τοῦ στύλου De  
Sect. γὰρ: γε μὴν Cyr. 19 τῷ ἐναυλισμῷ De Sect.

77. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE FIRST  
BOOK OF "ADORATION IN SPIRIT," CHAPTER 2

Christ, as "Lord of the Law and the Prophets," lays down the law as seems right  
to him; he is also the Mediator, since Godhead and humanity run together and  
become one, we might say, in him. For Christ is understood as both together  
and in the same individual.

78. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS INTERPRETATION  
OF THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

See, then, the one Christ also in the two he-goats: God made human, that is, and  
dying in the flesh because of sin, so that by the sprinkling of his own blood he  
might sanctify the whole Church, while remaining still divinely free from  
suffering.

79. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON THE TEXT, "ALL  
THINGS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO ME BY MY FATHER"

At some points he utters human-sounding words, and others he reveals deeds  
that can be attributed only to the Godhead, so that both may be recognized.

80. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SECOND  
BOOK OF "ADORATION IN SPIRIT," CHAPTER 9

The head of each pole is gold, and the body gold as well: for the Temple from the  
Virgin is made rich by the indwelling of a nature from above. Gold is the symbol

θεότητος ὁ χρυσὸς, ὑπεροχὴν ἔχων τὴν κατὰ πάντων. Ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ τυχὸν τῇ  
 τοιάδε λέγω, ἐξ ἀργύρου δὲ καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν ἢ βάσις· λαμπρὸς γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ  
 διαφανὴς ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ γε τὸ “Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν,” καὶ  
 οἶονεῖ διφυᾶ τὴν γνώσιν ἔχων· νοεῖται γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος.  
 5 τουτὶ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ διπλὴν ἔχειν καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου τὴν βάσιν.

[81] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ

Εἰ γὰρ κέκρανται αἱ δύο φύσεις εἰς μίξιν μίαν, ἑτεροούσιοι τυγχάνουσαι,  
 οὐδ’ ὁποτέρᾳ σῶζεται, ἀλλ’ ἀμφοτέρᾳ συγχυθεῖσαι ἠφανίσθησαν.

10

[82] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Καὶ λέλυται ὁ ναὸς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τριημέρου ταφῆς, βουλομένου αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ πάλιν ἀνέστησεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἠνώθη αὐτῷ ἀρρήτῳ καὶ ἀφράστῳ λόγῳ,

[80] 2-3 ἐξ ἀργύρου ... ἢ βάσις: Exod. 26.32, cf. 26.19, 21 3-4 Ps. 117.27

[80 cont.] *De Sect.* IX; Flor. Cyr., *Test.* 237 (212, l. 20-213, l. 9; ↑); Sev., *Phil.* (126, ll. 4-15; tr. 102, ll. 13-25; ↑); ll. 2-3 (ἐξ ἀργύρου ... ἢ μίξιν): Sev., *Chr. Gram.* III, 24 (28, ll. 16-18; tr. 20, ll. 14-16); ll. 2-5 (ἐξ ἀργύρου ... βάσιν); Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 165, ll. 9-14); ll. 3-4 (λαμπρὸς ... ἄνθρωπος): Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, *Test.* 107 (1840 B6-9)

[81] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Sermo de Fide*, Frag. (ed. P. Pusey III, 538, l. 20-539, l. 2: a Leontio Hierosolymitano derivatum). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XXIV (18, ll. 5-7); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 65, *Test.* 2 (479, ll. 24-5); Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, *Test.* 24 (149, no. 114; ↑); Leont. Jer., *Chr. Mon.*, *Test.* 66 (1832 B13-C1; ↑, cum *Test.* 82 coniunctum); l. 7 (εἰ γὰρ ... τυγχάνουσαι): Rust. Diac., *Syn.*, *Text.* 308b (240, ll. 25-6)

[82] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *ibid.* (ed. P. Pusey III, 539, ll. 15-25). Cf. etiam: Ephr. Am., *Ad Or. Mon.* (IV, 160, ll. 19-24); Anast. Sin. *Hom.* X, 1. 2.165-70 (158); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XXXIV (21, ll. 1-6); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, *Test.* 56 (365, ll. 5-6); *Antirr.* IV, 65, 2 (479, ll. 22-3); Joan. Dam., *Chr. Jac.*, *Text.* 25 (ed. Kotter 149 f; ↓);

VOG [80] 1 ante θεότητος add. τῆς V, *De Sect.* ἔχων om. O 1-2 Ὡς ... λέγω: “aurum dico secundum talem materiam” Joan. Caes. ὕλη ... τῇ τοιάδε λέγω: ὕλης ... τῆς τοιάδε λόγῳ Cyr. 2 τοιάδε: τοία O; τοιαύτη δὲ G δυοῖν: δύο ἢν G λαμπρὸς ... διαφανὴς: λαμπρὸς δὲ καὶ διαφανὴς ἐν γῇ Cyr., Flor. Cyr. ante γῇ add. τῇ V ἐν γῇ: ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ναὸς *De Sect.* 3 γε: τε *De Sect.* Κύριος καὶ om. *De Sect.* καὶ om. *De Sect.* 4 διφυᾶ ... ἔχων: διφυῆς ἢ γνώσις αὐτοῦ Joan. Caes. γνώσιν: γνώμην Ephr. Am. ἔχει Cyr., Flor. Cyr. γὰρ om. *De Sect.* ταύτῳ: τῷ G; αὐτῷ Cyr. post Θεὸς add. τε Cyr.; add. τε ὁμοῦ *De Sect.* 5 post οἶμαι add. ἐστὶ Cyr., Ephr. Am. τὸ: τὴν *De Sect.* post διπλὴν add. ὥσπερ Cyr. καὶ om. Ephr. Am. ἔχειν post βάσιν transp. Ephr. Am.

[81] 7 post ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ add. ἩΓΟΥΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΟΥ V 8 ἑτεροούσιοι G τυγχάσαι G

[82] 11 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. Ephr. Am. λύεται Leont. Jer., Joan. Dam. post [λέλυται] add. μὲν Leont. Jer., Ephr. Am., Joan. Dam. ante ναὸς add. τοῦ σώματος Anast. Sin. ἐν ... ταφῆς: κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τριημέρῳ ταφῇ Anast. Sin. 12 αὐτόν om. Ephr. Am. post ἀρρήτῳ add. τινὶ *Doctr. Patr.* καὶ ἀφράστῳ: καὶ εὐφράστῳ G; om. Ephr. Am., Rust. Diac.

of the Godhead, since it is superior in every respect. But the fact that I say this occurs in matter such as ours is perhaps clear from that fact that the pedestal [of the ark] is silver, and in two parts. For Christ was radiant and shining while on earth, according to the text, “The Lord is God and has shone among us” (Ps. 117.27 LXX), and this contains, it seems, a double meaning. For God is recognized at once also as a human being; that, I think, is the meaning of its having a pedestal that is double, and made of silver.

81. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE  
 ADDRESS TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

If the two natures are mingled into a single mixture, while they are of different substances, neither of them will be preserved, but both will be confused and disappear.

82. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME WORK

And the Temple was destroyed during the time of his three-day burial, which he willingly underwent; and he raised it up again, and was united with it in an unspeakable, indescribable way

οὐ κεκραμένος ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀποσεσαρκωμένος, ἀλλ' ἀποσφύζων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν δύο φύσεων τῶν ἑτεροουσίων ἀσύγχυτον τὴν ἰδιότητα.

[83] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Β' ΤΟΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

5 Ἀποδιῶσάντες γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰς δύο φύσεις καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἡμῖν ἑκατέραν ἀσυναφή θατέρα δεικνύντες, ἐν μόνοις προσώποις φασὶ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ ὡς ἐν γε ψιλῇ συναινέσει καὶ ταυτοβουλίᾳ καὶ θελημάτων ῥοπαῖς, κατ' ἐκεῖνό που τὸ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων γεγραμμένον. "τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν ἡ καρδιά καὶ ἡ φυχή μία."

10 [84] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ Εἰς ΤΟΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΝ  
ἸΩΑΝΝΗΝ, ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ Α'

Ἐπεξεργάζεται δὲ χρησίμως τὸ εἰρημένον ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, καὶ εἰς ἐμφανεστέραν ἄγει διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ θεωρήματος δύναμιν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔφη σάρκα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, ἵνα μή τις ἐκ πολλῆς ἀμαθίας τῆς  
15 μὲν ἰδίας αὐτὸν ὑπολάβοι φύσεως ἐκδραμεῖν, μεταπεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτως εἰς

[84] Scholion ad 14, σάρκα ... Λόγον: τὸ "ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο" V (Σ') G

[83] 9 Acta 4.32 [84] 14 Joan. 1.14

[82 cont.] Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 66 (1832 C8-13; †, cum Test. 81 coniunctum); Rust. Diac., *Syn.*, Test. 308c (240, ll. 28-31; †)

[83] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, Frag. (ed. P. Pusey III, 420, l. 9-421, l. 2; PG 74, 1004 A13-B4; a Leontio Hierosolymitano derivatum). Cf. etiam: Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 143 (1853 D7-1856 A1; †); ll. 5-7 (ἀποδιῶσάντες ... ῥοπαῖς): Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 53 (15, ll. 30-2; †); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XXXIII (20, ll. 16-20; †)

[84] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Joannis Evangelium* I, 9 (ed. P. Pusey I, 140, l. 19-141, l. 4; PG 73, 161 A15-C1). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test 70; l. 12-p. 260, l. 7 (ἐπεξεργάζεται ... ναῶ): Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 140 (29, ll. 26-33); p. 260, ll. 3-7 (καλῶς ... ναῶ): *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVIII (15, l. 23); *ibid.* 5, IV (34, ll. 4-5); p. 260, ll. 4-5 (δύο ... σκῆνωσις): *Ctr. Cal.*, in *Doctr. Patr.* 30, III (220, ll. 1-2)

VOG [82] 1 post λόγῳ add. τῇ τριημέρῳ Ephr. Am., Rust. Diac. ἀλλὰ V, Ephr. Am. ἀποσφύζων: σφύζων Ephr. Am. 2 τῶν: τὸν G δύο om. Leont. Jer. ἀσυχύτους τὰς ἰδιότηας Leont. Jer., Joan. Dam.

[83] 4 ΤΗΣ om. OG ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ om. O 5 καὶ om. *Doctr. Patr.* 6 ἀσυναφή θατέρα: τῇ θατέρᾳ ἀσυναφή (sic) O θατέραν Leont. Jer., Justn.; θατέρας *Doctr. Patr.* δεικνύοντες Leont. Jer. 7 ὡς om. *Doctr. Patr.* (καὶ ὡς om. cod. C) γε om. O συναινέσει: συνέσει OG 8 post που add. τάχα Leont. Jer. 9 πιστευόντων O

[84] 11 ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ: ΛΟΓΟΥ G 12 δὲ om. Cyr., Justn. 13 ἄγει διάνοιαν: ἔννοιαν ἄγει V 14 σάρκα: τινὰ V τοῦ Θεοῦ: Θεὸν V μή τις: μὴ τῆς G<sup>c</sup>, Flor. Len. 131 post ἀμαθίας add. τὸν Λόγον O 15 μὲν om. O αὐτὸν: αὐτοῦ O φύσεως ante ὑπολάβοι transp. O οὕτως: ὄντως Cyr., Justn.

—not mingled into it or deprived of his flesh, but preserving in himself the unmingled propriety of the two natures, each of which had a different substance.

83. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SECOND BOOK OF  
HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

Separating the two natures from each other and showing that each is unconnected with the other, as is the case with us, they say that union has taken place only of the two personas, as if it were a matter merely of agreement, of willing the same thing and of common inclinations of the will—something like what we find written in the Acts of the Holy Apostles: "and of the number of believers there was one heart and one soul" (Acts 4.32).

84. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON  
THE EVANGELIST JOHN, BOOK 1

The Evangelist develops what he says further, in a useful way, and brings the meaning of the scene to a more obvious clarity of understanding. For after he has said that the Word of God became flesh, so that no one, in great folly, might suppose that he has left his own nature behind or that he has in this way been made over into

σάρκα καὶ παθεῖν (ὅπερ ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἀλλοιώσεως γὰρ ἀπάσης, καὶ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἐφ' ἑτέρον τι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πῶς εἶναι λόγον, τὸ θεῖον ἀπώκισται), καλῶς γε σφόδρα ποιῶν ὁ Θεολόγος ἐπήνεγκεν εὐθὺς τὸ "καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν", ἵνα δύο νοήσας τὰ σημαινόμενα, τὸν τε σκηνοῦντα καὶ τὸ ἐν ᾧ ἡ σκηνώσις, μὴ εἰς σάρκα τετράφθαι νομίσης αὐτὸν, ἐσκηνωκέναι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν σαρκὶ ὡς ἰδίῳ προσχρησάμενον σώματι, τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου ναῶ· "ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ κατώκηκε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς," ὡς ὁ Παῦλος φησιν.

[85] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ  
ΤΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΙΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

10

Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν κατὰ φύσιν ὁ Λόγος, "ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων" γέγονεν· εὗρέθη δὲ καὶ σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα ὑπάρχων εἰς, ἐν ταύτῳ νοῆται τὸ συναμφοτέρον· οὔτε ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οὔτε μὴν ἀνθρωπότητος δίχα καὶ σαρκὸς ὁ Λόγος.

15 [86] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὁμολογουμένως τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σὰρξ ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ

flesh and become passible (which would be impossible; for the Divine is far removed from all change, and from transformation into something else in the structure of its existence), the Theologian does a very beautiful thing, adding immediately, "And dwelt among us" (John 1.14), so that in recognizing two subjects of attribution here, the one who dwells and that in which his dwelling takes place, you might recognize that he is not turned into flesh, but rather has come to dwell in flesh by taking it on to use as his own body—the Temple from the holy Virgin. "For in him all the fullness of the Godhead has dwelt in a bodily way" (Col. 2.9), as Paul says.

85. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SUMMARY  
IN CHAPTERS OF THE SCHOLIA

Being God by nature, the Word came to be "in the likeness of human beings" (Phil. 2.7). And he was found "in human form" (ibid.), so that existing as one, both might be understood in the same individual. He was not a mere human being, nor was the Word separate from humanity and flesh.

86. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM  
HIS LETTER TO VALERIAN

It is agreed, then, that what comes from flesh is flesh, but what comes from

[84] 4 Joan. 1.14      7-8 Col. 2.9      [85] 11 Phil. 2.7      [86] 16 cf. Joan. 3.6

[85] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Scholia de Incarnatione Verbi* 33: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. (ACO I, 5, 230, ll. 24-7; PG 75, 1404 C1-5; Latine: Coll. Palat., ACO I, 5, 208, ll. 30-2; Armenice: F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter* (London, 1907), 204.) Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, 6 (484. l. 37-485, l. 3)

[86] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Ep. 50, *Ad Valerianum*, 2 (ACO I, 1, 3, 91, l. 31-92, l. 1 [Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 119]; PG 77, 257 B11-15). Cf. etiam: Sev., *Phil.* (41, ll. 16-21; tr. 32, ll.); Eulog., *Def.* in *Doctr. Patr.* 29, XV (212, ll. 24-7); Or. 3 (V, 29, l. 5-30, l. 8); *De Sect.* IX; Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, 6 (485, ll. 5-6); Flor. Cyr., *Test.* 74 (137, ll. 24-7; ↓); Sev., *Phil.* (41, ll. 16-21; tr. 32, ll.

VOG [84] 1 ἦν ante ἀδύνατον transp. Cyr. ἀπάσης: ἀγάπης Flor. Len. 131  
2 ἑτερον: ἐτέρων V<sup>ac</sup> τὸν: τὴν G, Flor. Len. 131      3 γε: δὲ V, *Doctr. Patr.* 5, IV cod.  
P; τε G ποιῶν ante σφόδρα transp. O εὐθὺς ante ἐπήνεγκεν transp. *Doctr. Patr.* 5, IV;  
εὐθέως V τὸ: ὅτι Cyr., Justn.; om. *Doctr. Patr.* 5, IV      5 καὶ om. O, Cyr. cod. B τὸ: τὸν  
V<sup>ac</sup> G, Flor. Len. 131; om. O παρατετράφθαι G, Cyr., Justn., *Doctr. Patr.* 2, XVIII, Flor.  
Len. 131      6 ἐσκηνωκέναι: σκηνώσαι Cyr., Justn. ἐν om. G ἰδίως Flor. Len. 131  
7 κατώκησε O, Cyr; κατοικεῖ Col. 2.9, Flor. Len. 131      8 ὁ om. Flor. Len. 131

[85] 11 γὰρ om. Niceph.      12 εὗρέθη δὲ καὶ σχήματι: καὶ σχήματι εὗρέθη Niceph.  
ἰν' O      12 ὑπάρχων εἰς om. Coll. Palat.      εἰς ἐν ταύτῳ: ἐν ταυτότητι Vers. Armen.

[86] 15 ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ G; ΒΑΛΕΡΙΟΝ O      16 οὐκοῦν om. Flor.  
Cyr. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς Flor. Cyr., Sev., Eulog. *Def.* cod. A, Eulog. Or. 4 cod. A τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
σαρκὸς: τὸ τε ἀπὸ σαρκὸς O, μὲν om. G; ante τὸ transp. Conc. Ephes., Flor. Cyr., Eulog. (μὲν, φησὶ,  
τὸ Eulog. Or. 4)      ἐκ: ἀπὸ O

Θεοῦ Θεός· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτὸν ἀμφοτέρα Χριστὸς, εἷς ὢν Υἱὸς καὶ Κύριος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός.

[87] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ  
ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

- 5 Τὰς δὲ εὐαγγελικὰς καὶ ἀποστολικὰς περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὰς ἴσμεν τοὺς θεολόγους ἄνδρας τὰς μὲν κοινοποιούντας ὡς ἐφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου, τὰς δὲ διαιρούντας ὡς ἐπὶ δύο φύσεων, καὶ τὰς μὲν θεοπρεπεῖς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ ταπεινὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα παραδίδοντας.  
ΣΧΟΛΙΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· Τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιδείξεως τὰ ῥήματα  
10 τῆς παρουσίας χρήσεως· τέθεικεν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔχουσιν ὁ μακάριος Κύριλλος ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐπιστολῇ.

[88] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΙΩΝ

Ὅτι δὲ ἀσύγχυτοι μεμενήκασι αἱ φύσεις ἡγουν ὑποστάσεις ἐντεῦθεν

[86 cont.] 22–6; ↓); *ibid.* (304, ll. 3–8; tr. 248, ll. 20–5; ↓); p. 260, l. 16–p. 262, l. 1 (οὐκοῦν ... Χριστὸς): *Eulog.*, Or. 4 (V, 35, ll. 9–11); 1 (ἔστι ... Χριστὸς): *Ctr. Cal.*, in *Doctr. Patr.* 30, III (219, l. 28)

[87] *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, Ep. 39, *Ad Joannem Antiochenum*, 5 (ACO I, 1, 4, 17, ll. 17–20 [*Conc. Ephes.*, *Coll. Vat.* 127]; cf. etiam ACO II, 1, 1, 109, ll. 6–9 [*Conc. Chalc.*]; PG 77, 177 A13–B3). Cf. etiam: *Rust. Diac.*, *Syn.*, Test. 209 (153, ll. 12–14); *Eulog.*, Or. 3 (V, 16, l. 4–17, l. 9); *De Sect. IX*; *Joan. Dam.*, *Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 27 (Kotter 150, no. 118); *Theor.*, *Disp. II* (241 D6–11); *Flor. Len.* 131, Test. 27; *Flor. Cyr.*, Test. 8 (114, ll. 13–18; ↓); *Sev.*, *Phil.* (14, ll. 8–13; tr. 11, l. 29–12, l. 2; ↓); *ibid.* (197, ll. 16–21; tr. 162, ll. 16–22; ↓); *Justn.*, *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 163 (35, ll. 9–12; ↓); ll. 5–7 (τὰς δὲ ... φύσεων): *Anast. Sin.*, *Hod.* X, l. 2.2–5 (145); *Euth. Zig.*, *Pan.* II (120 D7–10)

VOG [86] 1 δὲ om. *Conc. Ephes. codd.* AD, *Eulog.* Or. 3 ante κατὰ add. καὶ *De Sect.* κατὰ ταῦτον; κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ *De Sect.*; κατ' αὐτὸν *Conc. Ephes. codd.* VR<sup>4</sup>, *Eulog. Def. cod.* C, *Eulog.* Or. 4 cod. M ante Χριστὸς add. ὁ *Eulog. Def. cod.* B, *Eulog.* Or. 4 cod. M ὢν ante εἰς transp. *Flor. Cyr.* Υἱὸς om. *De Sect.* καὶ om. *Eulog.* Or. 3 ante Κύριος add. εἰς *Conc. Ephes. codd.* WR, *Flor. Cyr.*, *Sev.*, *Eulog. Def.* (Hoc testimonium post Test. 88 transp. G)

[87] 5 δὲ μὲν *De Sect.*; om. *Euth. Zig.*, *Flor. Len.* 131 εὐαγγελικὰς ... Κυρίου om. *Rust. Diac.* καὶ ἀποστολικὰς om. *De Sect.*, *Theor.* περὶ om. OG φωνὰς ante περὶ transp. *Euth. Zig.* 6 θεολόγους; θεηγόρους *Conc. Ephes. codd.* DB, *Justn.* 8 post ἀνθρωπότητα add. αὐτοῦ *Conc. Ephes. codd.* HSW, *Syr.*, *Conc. Chalc.*, *Theor.* παραδίδοντας; παραδιδόντας V, *Conc. Ephes. cod.* B; παραδίδονται *Flor. Cyr. cod.* M; om. *Joan. Dam.*

G Scholion Leontii 9 ἐπιδείξεως correxi; ἐπὶ λέξεως G

VOG [88] 13–p. 264, l. 6 ὅτι ... εἰσόμεθα; μεμενήκασι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔνωσιν αἱ φύσεις ἀσύγχυτοι, καὶ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἰδιοτήτων *Euth. Zig.* 13 σύγχυτοι *Flor. Len.* 131 ἡγουν; εἴτ' οὖν *Leont. Jer.* ἡγουν ὑποστάσεις om. *Flor. Len.* 131 αἱ ante ὑποστάσεις add. *Anast. Sin.* X, l. 2

God is God. But Christ is both at once, being one Son and Lord, along with his own proper flesh.

87. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
LETTER TO THOSE IN THE EAST

We know that those who speak of God take some of the sayings about the Lord in the Gospels and the Apostolic writings to refer commonly to one persona, and divide others as referring to two natures, and assign the ones that seem appropriate to God to the divinity of Christ, and the lowly ones to his humanity.

*Comment of Leontius:* The words of this present passage belong to the Easterners' exposition; but the blessed Cyril quotes them himself, in his own letter, just as they are.

88. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SCHOLIA

That the natures or hypostases remain unconfused we realize from this:



εἰσόμεθα· τὸ γάρ τοι χρυσίον ἐπαλλημιμένον τῷ ξύλῳ μεμένηκεν ὅπερ ἦν, καὶ καταπλουτεῖ μέν τὸ ξύλον τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν δόξαν, πλὴν οὐκ ἀπέστη τοῦ εἶναι ξύλον.

the gold overlaid on the wood remained, indeed, what it was; and the wood became rich with the splendor of gold, yet did not cease from being wood.

[88] 2-3 cf. Exod. 25.11

[88] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Scholia de Incarnatione Verbi* 11 (ACO I, 5, 227, ll. 11-14; ed. P. Pusey 520, ll. 3-7; PG 75, 1381 A15-B4; Latine: ACO I, 5, 190, ll. 27-30 [Coll. Palat.]; Armenice: F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version* ..., 178). Cf. etiam: Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, 2.3.116-20 (168); *Doctr. Patr.* 20, XI (129, ll. 7-10); Euth. Zig., *Pan.* VII (256 B14-C4); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 69; Flor. Cyr., Test. 102 (156, ll. 5-9; †); Sev., *Phil.* (63, ll. 22-7; tr. 50, ll. 20-4; †); Sev., *Chr. Gram.* II, 23 (189, ll. 18-22, tr. 148, ll. 8-11; †); Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, Test. 67 (49; †); p. 262, l. 13 (ὅτι ... ὑποστάσεις); Leont. Jer., Test. 35 (1824 D15-1825 A1); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X (152 D11-153 A1); p. 262, l. 13-p. 264, l. 1 (ὅτι ... εἰσόμεθα); Sev., *Ad Neph.* II (23, ll. 9-10; tr. 17, ll. 34-5); Ephr. Am., *Ad Domn. et Joan.* (IV, 156, ll. 32-3); Pamph. XI (209 f., ll. 224-6)

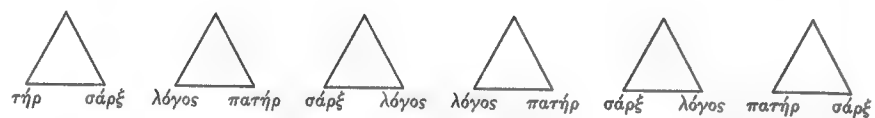
VOG [88] 1 εἰσόμεθα: ἐστάμεθα Anast. Sin. 168 D χρυσίῳ Anast. Sin. 168D ἐπαλλημιμένον: ἐπαλλημιμένον O; ἐπαλειμιμένον V<sup>ac</sup>; ἐπαλλημένον Flor. Len. 131; ἐπηλειμιμένον Anast. Sin. 168 D codd. VΞΨ τὸ ξύλον Anast. Sin. 2 καταπλουτεῖ: κατεπλούτει Cyr., Anast. Sin. (txt/ cood. M) καταπλουτεῖ μέν: καταπλουτοῦμεν Flor. Len. 131 ξύλῳ Flor. Len. 131 ante τοῦ χρυσοῦ add. ἕως G πλὴν οὐκ ἀπέστη: οὐκ ἀπέστη δὲ Euth. Zig. 3 post ξύλον add. οὐδὲ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως Euth. Zig.

Post hoc testimonium add. Τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα ἐναντίας δοκήσεως Νεστορίου καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς ἑλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπή VG

## Appendix I

Diagrammata in calcebus codicum constructa, ut scholia ad p. 154, ll. 15–18, κείσθω ... πλευρῶ

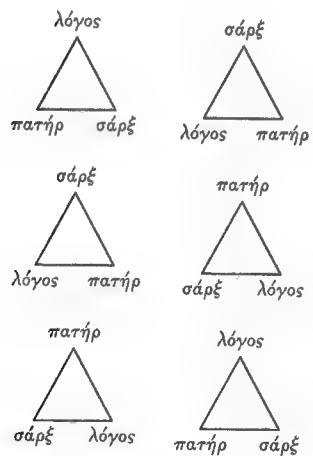
V, f. 18:



O, f. 23<sup>r</sup>:

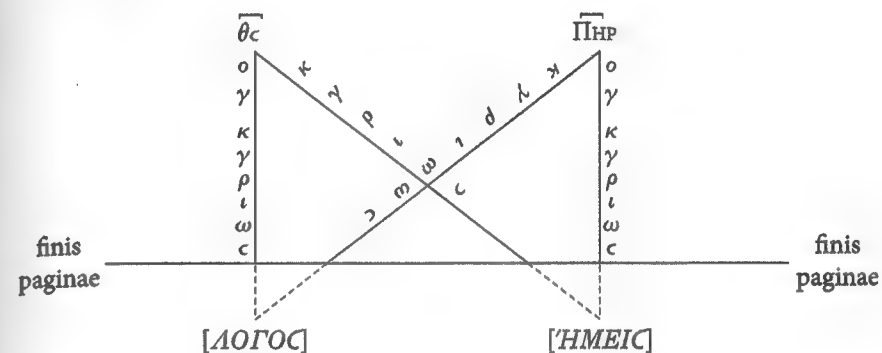


G, f. 337<sup>r</sup>:



## Appendix II

Diagramma in calce O, f. 48<sup>v</sup>, constructum, ut scholion ad Test. 25 (p. 202, l. 9–p. 204, l. 2).



ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ  
ἘΠΙΛΥΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ὑΠΟ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΥ  
ΠΡΟΒΕΒΛΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ

By the Same Leontius:  
Solutions to the Arguments  
Proposed by Severus (*Epilyseis*)

[1916 C] "Ἔστι μὲν τὰ πρῶν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων Πατέρων συνειλεγμένα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Νεστορίου τε καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς ἱκανὰ, Θεοῦ χάριτι, πρὸς τελείαν ἀνατροπὴν τῶν ματαίων λογισμῶν "τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως." Ἐπειδὴ δὲ—"ἐφευρεταὶ κακῶν", κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, ὄντες— "ἐξέλιπον ἐξερευνῶντες ἐξερευνήσεις", ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς νομίζεσθαι ξένοις τισὶ <λογισμοῖς> καὶ οὐκ ἐμπεριεχομένοις ταῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη γεγεννημέναις ἡμῶν ἀντιρρήσεσι τὰ νῦν αὐτοὺς κεκρήσθαι, ἀναγκαίως, κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγαπώντων προτροπὴν, τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν περιεχόμενα, οὐκ εἰς λεπτόν δὲ ἐξητασμένα, νυνὶ ὑπηγορεύσαμεν, ἵνα ἔχοντες πρὸς ἐκείνοις καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ "τῆς [D] ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως" οὐκ ἀγεννῆ, οἶμαι, ἐπιχειρήματα, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνισταῖσθε. Ἄρξομαι δὲ τῶν ἐπιλύσεων κατὰ τάξιν ὡς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀπορημάτων περιέχει διασκευή, διαλογικώτερον αὐτὰ μεθοδεύων καὶ διευθύνων.

15 [1] ἈΝΤΙΘΕΣΙΣ ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΥ. Φύσιν ὁ Λόγος ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρωπίνην, τὴν ἐν [1917 A] τῷ εἶδει θεωρουμένην ἢ τὴν ἐν ἀτόμῳ ἀνέλαβεν; ἈΠΑΝΤΗΣΙΣ ὉΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ. Τί γάρ; Ἐτερον οἶε ταύτην εἶναι παρ' ἐκείνην;

ἈΚΕΦ. Ναί, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν ἐν πλήθει θεωρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἐν ἐνὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ.

20 ὉΡΘ. Ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ὃ ἡρώτησα ἀπεκρίθης. Οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἐν πλήθει καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ θεωρεῖται αὕτη τὸ ζητούμενόν ἐστιν—τοῦτο γὰρ ὡμολόγηται—ἀλλ' εἰ αὕτη ἐκείνη, καὶ ἐκείνη αὕτη, ἢ ἑτέρα οὐσα τυγχάνει. Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ ἢ ἐν πλείοσι ταύτην θεωρεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐν οἷς ἔστι πολλά ἢ ἐν θεωρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἢ πολλά φαίνεσθαι παρασκευάζει. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ἐπὶ τε 25 λευκοῦ ἔχει καὶ τοῦ λευκασμένου, εἴτε ἐν εἴτε πλείονα ὡς τὰ ἐν [B] οἷς ἢ λευκότης θεωρεῖται. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ὁ τῆς

What we gathered from the holy Fathers in our recent work, by way of true doctrine, against the followers of Nestorius and Eutyches, should be enough, by God's grace, to defeat completely the vain reasonings of spurious insight. But since they are what the divine Apostle would call "inventors of evil" (Rom. 1.30), "they have given up investigating the investigations" (cf. Ps. 63.7 [LXX]), so that they seem to many people to be using some fresh [arguments], not contained in our previous reply to them, we now have been forced by your inquiring—you who are friends according to God's love—to answer with arguments contained in that work but not worked out in great detail, so that you might have in addition to that work these refutations—which I hope are not inconsiderable—of their spurious insight, and that you might stand by the truth. I shall begin with these solutions in the order in which the objections have been raised, taking them up and settling them in a more-or-less dialogue form.

1. Objection of the Acephalus: "When the Logos assumed human nature, did he assume it as understood generically, or as in an individual?"

Reply of the Orthodox: "Why do you ask? Do you think the one is different from the other?"

A: "Surely, since the one is found in a multitude of subjects, the other in a numerically single one."

O: "But you're not answering my question. For the question is not whether [his humanity] is found in a multitude or in one subject—we agree on that—but whether the latter is the same as the former and the former as the latter, or whether they are different. For finding a nature in one subject or in many makes the subjects in which it exists be considered many or one, but doesn't cause the nature to appear as one or many: as is the case, surely, with 'the [color] white' and a white object, whether the objects in which whiteness is found be one or many. That this is so is clear from the fact

3-4 et 10-11 τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως: 1 Tim. 6.20 4 ἐφευρεταὶ κακῶν: Rom. 1.30 5 ἐξέλιπον ἐξερευνῶντες ἐξερευνήσεις: Ps. 63.7 (LXX), v.1

VO2 τε om. O 4 θεῖον om. O 5 ὄντες ἐξέλιπον om. O ante ἐξέλιπον conj. 'οὐκ' Loofs (34) 6 'λογισμοῖς' supplevi 8 ante Θεὸν add. τὸν O 9 ἐν om. O 10 ἢ O 12 συνίστασθε V; συνίστασθαι O 13 ἀπορημάτων V<sup>ac</sup> 14 διευθύνων: εὐθύνων O 16 ἀνέλαβεν post θεωρουμένην transp. O 17 ἑτέραν O οἷ O<sup>ac</sup> 21 εἰ: ἡ V 22 ἐν om. OV αὕτη... αὕτη: αὕτη... αὕτη O 26 ταῦτα: τοῦθ' O

φύσεως λόγος ἐπὶ τε πλήθους καὶ ἑνὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀποδίδεται· ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἀποδῶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀπλῶς φύσεως, οὗτός σοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τινι θεωρουμένης ἀποδοθήσεται, καὶ οὔτε πολλὰς ποιεῖ φύσεις τὴν μίαν τὸ πολλοὺς ταύτης μετέχειν, οὔτε μίαν τὰς πολλὰς, κἂν εἰς τούτων μετέχοι,  
5 ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ταύτης μετέχων ἐκ διαφόρων συγκείμενος.

ΑΚΕΦ. Τὴν τινὰ οὖν ἀνέλαβε φύσιν;

ὍΡΘ. Ναὶ· ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῷ εἶδει.

ΑΚΕΦ. Τί δὲ παρὰ ταύτην ἡ ὑπόστασις;

ὍΡΘ. Ὅτι τὸ μετέχειν αὐτῆς ἄλλον ποιεῖ, οὐκ ἄλλοιον.

10 ΑΚΕΦ. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν ἄλλος ἀπὸ ἄλλου;

[C] ὍΡΘ. Οὐ πάντως, ἕως ἂν μήτε ὁμοούσιος μήτε κεχωρισμένος ᾗ τοῦ συνυφεστῶτος καὶ συγκειμένου· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ τὰς ὑποστάσεις.

ΑΚΕΦ. Οὐκ ἦν οὖν τοῖς ἀφοριστικοῖς ιδιώμασιν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρωπότης τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ χωρίζουσα;

15 ὍΡΘ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν Λόγον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξ ὧν σωματικῶς συνέστηκεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος τοῖς ἀφοριστικοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς θεότητος ιδιώμασιν, ὡς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, κεχωρισμένος, οὐ τούτοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος κεχώριται, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος,  
20 ἐκείνοις [D] δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κεχωρισμένος, τοῖς τῶν ἄκρων ἀφοριστικοῖς ιδιώμασι τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κοινωνίαν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν καταδέχεται, ὁμοουσιότητι μὲν τῶν ἄκρων, ἑτεροουσιότητι δὲ τῶν μερῶν ἐνούμενός τε καὶ διαιρούμενος, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἐναντίως τοῖς ἄκροις ποιούμενος—εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτων μὲν τὸ ταῦτὸν τῆς οὐσίας  
25 συνάπτει, τὸ ἑτεροῖον τῆς ὑποστάσεως διαιρεῖ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ἑτεροῖον τῆς οὐσίας χωρίζει, τὸ ταῦτὸν συνάπτει τῆς ὑποστάσεως.

[2] ΑΚΕΦ. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὡς ἡ μὲν ὑπόστασις τὸ διηρημένον [920 A] καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπάρχον δηλοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς δυάδος, ἄλλο τι παρὰ τοῦτο σημαίνει; Πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐν ποσότητι,  
30 μονὰς δὲ μόνῃ ἄποσον· εἰ δὲ τῆς μονάδος τὸ ἄποσον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄτομον, δυάδος ἄρα καὶ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὸ ποσὸν καὶ διηρημένον.

VO 2 ἐπὶ: περὶ O 3 φύσεις ante ποιεῖ transp. O 4 ταύτην O 6 φύσιν  
om. O 9 μετέχων O ἄλλοιον: ἄλλο ὃν O 10 ἀπ' O 14 αὐτοῦ  
om. O 15 τοῦτον V<sup>ac</sup> 16 ὁ ante αὐτὸς transp. O 21 ἑαυτὸν:  
αὐτὸν O 25 συνάπτων V 26 χωρίζων V 29 δυάδος: Τριάδος O ἄλλο  
τὸ: ἀλλ' ὅτι O 30 εἰ δὲ ... ἄποσον om. O<sup>ac</sup>; additur in marg. manu recentiore

that the same definition of nature is given, both for many subjects and for one: for the definition you give for a nature by itself you will also give for a nature considered in a subject, and the fact that many individuals share in it does not make the one nature into many; nor does it make the many into one if one shares in many, [that is,] if the subject which shares in it is in fact composed of different [natures].”

A: “Did he assume an individual nature, then?”

O: “Certainly, but one which is the same as the species.”

A: “And what is the hypostasis besides this?”

O: “Sharing in it makes [the subject] distinct (*allon*), not different (*alloion*).”

A: “Is it [i.e. the individual nature] not, then, numerically distinct (*allos apo allou*)?”

O: “Not completely, as long as it is neither of one essence with what coexists with it and is combined with it, nor is separate from it; for that is what produces hypostases.”

A: “Did not the humanity of Christ distinguish what was peculiar in him from what was common, by its distinguishing characteristics?”

O: “Of course, but this did not happen with regard to the Logos, but with regard to the class of *human beings*, from which he took his physical origin, since the Logos himself, separated as Son and Logos by distinguishing characteristics from the common substance of Godhead, is not separated by the same marks from the humanity he shares in, but being distinguished by one set from the Father and the Spirit, and by another set from his Mother and from humans, he receives through these distinguishing characteristics of the ‘extremes’ his coherence and unity with himself, united and divided by the essential likeness of the ‘extremes’ and the essential difference of the ‘parts,’ and realizing the difference in a way opposite to [the way] the ‘extremes’ [do]—if indeed in their case, the sameness of essence unites and the difference of hypostasis divides, while here the difference of essence divides and the sameness of hypostasis unites.”

2. A: “But wouldn’t you say that the hypostasis signifies that which is distinct and exists by itself, while number—especially duality—means something else? For every number consists in quantity; only the monad, taken by itself, is without quantity. But if lack of quantity, and therefore lack of divisibility, belongs to the monad, surely quantity and divisibility are part of the dyad and every number.”



ὍΡΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωμάτων ἐμνήσθης, ἀναγκαῖον ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀριθμὸς διττὸς λέγεται, ὁ μὲν τις ἀπλῶς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὁ δὲ ἐν σχέσει καὶ πράγμασι θεωρούμενος, ὥσπερ λευκὸν ἢ τε λευκότης καὶ τὸ λελευκασμένον. Αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ φύσις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔτε συνάπτει οὔτε διαιρεῖ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει ὑποκείμενα 5 πράγματα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω πρὸς τὴν σχέσιν [B] λέγεται τοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἢ καταβαίνοντος, αὐτὸ δὲ ἀπολύτως λεγόμενον οὐδ' ὁποτέρῳ ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω δέχεται, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ κάτω, κάτω δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἄνω λέγεται, ἀφορίζεται δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἀνιόντος καὶ 10 κατερχομένου σχέσει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὔτε διαιρεῖ οὔτε συνάπτει, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω δέχεται τῇ ποιᾷ σχέσει, οἷον ἡ δυὰς, ἡ τετράς, καὶ ἑξῆς. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς μονάδας αὐτὰς θεωρεῖς ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, εἰς ταύτας διαιρεῖται· εἰ δὲ τὴν ὁμάδα τούτων σκοπεῖς, ἐκ τούτων συνάπτεται. Δύο γὰρ καὶ δύο, εἰ τύχοι, εἰς τέσσαρα συντίθεται, τὰ δὲ 15 τέσσαρα εἰς δύο καὶ δύο διαιρεῖται· ὥστε παντὸς ἀληθέστερον τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μηδὲν ἀφωρισμένον ἔχειν, μήτε τὸ διηρημένον μήτε τὸ ἡνωμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιπλοκῇ καὶ συνθέσει τοῦτο ὑφίστασθαι.

[C] Ἀπαίδευτον οὖν τὸ τῇ φύσει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀναγκαίως τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔπεσθαι νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων 20 ἡνωμένων τε ἢ διηρημένων φύσει τὸν ἀριθμὸν σημεῖον ποιεῖσθαι δηλωτικὸν τοῦ ποσοῦ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, ἄλλου λόγου καὶ οὐ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ταῦτα διαιροῦντός τε καὶ συνάπτοντος· ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ φύσιν πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγοντες, τοῦ ποσοῦ φασὶ τὸ μὲν εἶναι συνεχές, τὸ δὲ διηρημένον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐχόντων θέσιν, 25 τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐχόντων· δέκα γὰρ πῆχεις λέγομεν τοῦ συνεχούς, εἰ τύχοι, ξύλου, οὐ συνδιαιροῦντες τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ τὴν ἐνότητά τὴν ἐν τῷ δεκαπῆχει ξύλῳ· καὶ πάλιν δέκα μοδίους λέγοντες, ἐν διαιρέσει τούτους [D] ἐπιστάμεθα· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτέρων ἔχει πραγμάτων. Εἰ μὲν ἀριθμὸς φύσει ἐπιφημισθῇ, οὐ τὸ ποσὸν αὐτῶν προηγουμένως, ἀλλὰ τὸ 30 ἑτερογενὲς παρίστησιν. Ἰππου γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοὸς τρεῖς λέγοντες

O: "Well, since you bring up number and its characteristics, we must say this: that number is understood in two ways, one as taken simply and in itself, the other as considered in relationship and in things, as 'white' is understood to mean both whiteness and that which is made white. Now the nature of number, by itself, neither joins nor divides, nor does it have concrete subjects; but as 'up' and 'down' are said of the relationship of what goes up or down—but the thing itself, considered absolutely, is neither, because it admits of both, and it is said to be up with respect to what is down and down with respect to what is up, and is distinguished by the relationship of 'going above' or 'coming below'—so number, too, taken by itself, neither divides nor unites, but admits of both in a specified kind of relationship, as in the case of the dyad, the triad, and so on. For if you consider the units themselves of which they are composed, it is divided into those units; but if you look at the whole they comprise, then it is joined together from them. Two and two, for instance, are joined together into four, but four is divided up into two and two. So that the truest position is to say that the nature of number has nothing definite about it, neither division nor unity, but that this consists in the interweaving and combination of things.

"It is a sign of ignorance, therefore, to insist that the division of concrete things necessarily follows from the nature of number, rather than to let number be a sign indicating the quantity of subjects, based on the nature of the things united or divided, with some other factor—not number—dividing and uniting them. And I shall not even add that those experts who reduce the very nature of number to quantity say that quantity includes both the continuous and the discrete, both in things which have location and in things which do not. For we predicate ten cubits, for example, of a continuous piece of wood, and do not divide the unity in the ten-cubit piece of wood along with the number. Again, when we speak of ten bushels (*modii*), we understand these to consist of discrete objects. And so it is with other things. Now if number is ascribed to natures, it does not primarily signify their quantity, but their diversity. For when we say that the natures of horse, man, and ox are three,

2-p. 276, l. 14 (ἀριθμὸς ... ἔχειν ὡμολόγηται: cf. periphrasim apud Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.* 50 (4.124 f.). 10-11 (ὁ ἀριθμὸς ... δέχεται): citat Pamphilus VI (161, ll. 118-19). 28-p. 276, l. 4 (εἰ μὲν ... παρίστωμεν) cf. periphrasim apud Pamph. VI (163, ll. 149-57)

VO 1 αὐτῶν V<sup>sc</sup> 2 ἐμνήσθην O ante ἀριθμὸς add. ὁ V 3 πράγματι O  
4 αὕτη O 6 λέγεται: λέλεκται V 11 ante ἡ τετράς add. καὶ O 12 γὰρ  
om. O 18 τὸ om. O 21 ἄλλου: ἀλλ' οὐ V<sup>sc</sup> (corr. Torres) 25 οὐκ ἐξ  
ἐχόντων: fort. ἐκ μὴ ἐχόντων 29 ante ἀριθμὸς add. ὁ V 30 post ἑτερογενὲς add.  
αὐτῶν O παρίστησιν: συνίστησιν V

φύσεις, οὐ τὸ διηρημένον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ποσόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον κατὰ τὸ εἶδος σημαίνουμεν· τρεῖς δὲ ἄνθρωποι, εἰ τύχοι, Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον καὶ Ἰωάννην, τὸ διηρημένον αὐτῶν μᾶλλον καὶ ὅτι τοσοῦτοι οὗτοι παριστῶμεν. οἶδε ὡς περ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τρεῖς μὲν ὑποστάσεις 5 ὁμολογοῦμεν, μίαν δὲ τούτων φύσιν καὶ οὐσίαν καταγγέλλομεν, οὐδ' ὁποτέραν μὲν τούτων ἀνούσιον γινώσκοντες, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀριθμὸν [1921 A] ἀφοριστικὸν ποσότητος οὐσιῶν ἐπιφημίζοντες, εὖ εἰδότες τὸ ἑτεροοῦσιον ταύτῃ συνάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ συναισθόμενοι, ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, ἐνουσίοις οὖσαις, τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεφήμιζον, ταύτῃ τὸ ἑτεροοῦσιον 10 συμπλέκοντες. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας δύο λέγοντες τὰς φύσεις, τὸ ἑτεροειδὲς αὐτῶν, οὐ τὸ κεχωρισμένον, δηλοῦμεν. ἐκβάλλοντες αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἶεν ἀνυπόστατοι, τὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμὸν, ὥς περ ἐκεῖ τὸν τῶν οὐσιῶν—κἂν μὴδ' ὁποτέρα ὑπόστασις τὸ ἀνούσιον, ὥς περ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀνυπόστατον, ἔχειν ὁμολόγηται· εὖ μάλᾳ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ 15 τῶν ὑποστάσει καὶ οὐσίᾳ κεχωρισμένων—οἷον τοῦδε τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ βοῦς καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—ἡ φύσις τὸ διηρημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ διάφορον, ὥς περ καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις τὸ διηρημένον, ἀλλ' [B] οὐ τὸ τί τοῦ ὑποκειμένου, κυρίως ἐμφαίνει, εἴ ποὺ γε ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐμφαινόμενων ἀλλ' ἅμα τε καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὄντων τε καὶ γινομένων ἡ 20 φύσις οὐ τὸ κεχωρισμένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ διάφορον δηλώσει, εἴτε ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας, εἴτε ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, εἴτε ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος.

[3] ἈΚΕΦ. Ὁμολογουμένως μὲν ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ ἡ οὐσία ἦτοι φύσις ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτόν· ἐπὶ μέντοι τῆς οἰκονομίας ταῦτόν ἀλλήλοις εἰσίν. Εἰ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις ἐκαινοτόμησεν τὸ καινοπρεπὲς τοῦ 25 μυστηρίου, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Γρηγόριον, καινοτομήσει οἶμαι καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφαρμόζειν τὸν θατέρου λόγον τε καὶ ὄρον.

[C] ὍΡΘ. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ποίαν ἀνοίας ὑπερβολὴν οὐχ ὑπεραίρει. Οἱ γὰρ ὄροι τῶν πραγμάτων συνωνύμως κατηγοροῦνται κατὰ τε τῶν 30 ὁμογενῶν κατὰ τε τῶν ὁμοειδῶν, ὡς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινοὶ ἀποδεικνύουσιν. Εἰ γὰρ οὐσίαν ἀπλῶς ὀρίζόμενοι, εἴπομεν τὴν τινος ὑπαρξίν δηλοῦν, πᾶν

24–5 εἰ γὰρ ... μυστηρίου: cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* 3 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 313, ll. 13–17; PG 45, 468 B13–C3); *Contra Eunomium* III, 3 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 131, ll. 19–22; PG 45, 705 D11–708A2)

|                            |                          |   |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| VO 2–3 Παῦλον καὶ Πέτρον O | 7 εὖ om. V               | 8 ταύτης V <sup>sc</sup> συνεσθόμενοι O |
| 9 οὖσαις: οἷσι O           | 10 δὴ om. O              | 14 οὐδ' O                               |
| οὐ V                       | 17 καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις om. O | 16 ante τὸ διηρημένον add.              |
| 26–7 ὄρον τε καὶ λόγον O   | 20 εἴτ' O                | 21 εἴτ' ... εἴτ' O                      |

we mean not that they are quantitatively distinct, so much as that they are different in form; but if we speak of three men—Peter, Paul, and John, let us say—we signify rather their distinctness, and mean that these particular individuals are so many in number.

“So in the holy Trinity we confess three hypostases, but proclaim one nature and substance of them, not considering any of them to be insubstantial, nor indeed predicating a number that distinguishes a quantity of substances, since we are well aware that in this way diversity of substance would be introduced. The Arians recognized this too, and used the term ‘substance’ for substantial hypostases, thus implying difference in substance. So, too, in the Incarnation we speak of two natures, and signify thereby that they are formally different, not separate; we do not, in their case, speak of a number of hypostases, even though the natures are not anhypostatic, just as in the case of the Trinity [we exclude] number of substances: no hypostasis there is confessed to be insubstantial, just as here neither [substance] is anhypostatic. We are fully aware that not even in the case of individuals which are separate in both hypostasis and nature—such as: this particular horse, this particular ox, and this particular man—does *nature* signify separateness, but always difference, just as *hypostasis* signifies the separateness of the subject, but not *what* the subject is. The point is, in things which are not referred to by themselves, but which exist and grow along with and in each other, nature does not indicate that which is distinct, but that which is different, whether in the case of the Trinity, or the Incarnation, or anything at all.”

3. A: “Admittedly hypostasis and essence or nature are not the same thing in reference to the Trinity; but in reference to the Incarnation they *are* the same as each other. For if the new aspect of the mystery has made the natures into something new, as the holy Gregory says, I think it will make new nomenclature for them as well, so that according to him the name and definition of each will fit both.”

O: “I can’t think of any excess of ignorance which that will not outdo! For the definition of things is predicated in the same way of what belongs to the same genus or the same species, as experts in such things can show. For if, in defining simply the word ‘substance,’ we should say it signifies the [actual] existence of a thing, everything

τὸ κοινωνοῦν τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τοῦ ὅρου κοινωνήσει, καὶ  
 μυρίος ἢ τῶν οὐσιῶν διαφορὰ· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ φαμεν οὐσίαν καὶ Θεὸν καὶ  
 ἄγγελον καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ζῶον καὶ φυτὸν, καὶ κοινῶς ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ τῆς  
 οὐσίας ἀποδίδεται λόγος, τὸ ὑπάρχειν τούτων δηλῶν, οὐ τὸ τί αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ  
 5 πῶς· ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἴδιοι ἐκάστου πράγματος ὅροι συνεμφαίνουσιν. Ὅτι δὲ  
 τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, δηλοῦσιν αἱ κατηγορίαι, κατὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἄλληλα  
 τεταγμένων γενῶν συνωνύμως κατηγορούμεναι. Κατηγοροῦνται δὲ καὶ  
 τὰ γένη [D] καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀτόμων· ὁμοίως  
 γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας μετέχουσι καὶ τοῦ ζώου, τοῦ τε ἐνσωμάτου καὶ τοῦ  
 10 ἄσωμάτου, τοῦ τε λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου, τοῦ τε αἰσθητοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 νοητοῦ, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦ μὲν μᾶλλον, τοῦ δὲ ἥττον, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ κοινῶς καὶ  
 τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ὀριστικῶς. Καὶ ἄλλως διαβέβληται παρὰ τοῖς ἀποδεικτικοῖς  
 λόγοις ἢ διάλληλος καλουμένη ἀπόδειξις· ὅμοιον γὰρ τι ποιεῖ τῷ  
 ἀποφαινομένῳ, εἴτα μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν προῖσχομένῳ, καὶ  
 15 τὸ ἀξίόπιστον ὅτι "αὐτὸς ἔφα" ἔχειν κελεύοντι.

[1924 A] Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ ἐκ τῶν καθολικῶν λόγων καὶ ὅρων τῆς οὐσίας τε  
 καὶ ὑποστάσεως, ἤγουν προσώπου καὶ φύσεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς ζωοποιου  
 καὶ ἁγίας Τριάδος καὶ περὶ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς  
 Τριάδος, οἰκονομίας, αἱ ἀποδείξεις τοῖς τε Πατράσι προῆλθον καὶ νῦν  
 20 προέρχονται, ἀποκληρωτικὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀποδεικτικὸς ἔσται ὁ λόγος. Ἐπεὶ  
 λεγέτω τις τὸν λόγον, καθ' ὃν ὑπόστασις μὲν καὶ οὐσία, ἤγουν φύσις καὶ  
 πρόσωπον, ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας τὸ κοινὸν ἢ τὸ ἴδιον ὀρίζουσί τε καὶ  
 ἐμφαίνουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἔχειν ἀρμόζει. Τὸ γὰρ  
 25 ἐτέρως δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ταῦτα ὀρίζεται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοούντων  
 ἔστιν, [B] ὅτι τὸ πάντων μυστηρίων μυστηριωδέστατον αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ  
 Θεός, ὃς α' "καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις Σεραφίμ συγκαλύπτεται, πρὸς δὲ", ὡς ὁ μέγας  
 ἔφη Γρηγόριος, "καὶ τὰ τῇδε ὀρᾷ μυστήρια". περὶ οὗ δικαίως ἂν σιγήσει  
 μὲν πᾶς λόγος, πᾶσα δὲ νοερά κίνησις παύσεται, εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ  
 30 νοῦν χωροῦσα. Τὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ κρυφίων ἐμφανὲς μυστήριον, τοσοῦτον  
 παρ' ἐκείνῳ

27 καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις Σεραφίμ συγκαλύπτεται· cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 45.4 (PG 36.628D)

VO 1 καὶ O 2 ἢ: εἰ O ante διαφορὰ add. ἢ O 4 αὐτῶν om. O  
 6 τοῦτο: ταῦθ' O ἄλληλα: ἀλλήλων (?) V<sup>ac</sup> 9-10 τοῦ ἄσωμάτου: τοῦ om. O  
 10-11 τοῦ νόητου: τοῦ om. O 11 οὐχὶ: οὐ O 14 ἐαυτῷ O 18-19 Λόγου  
 ... Τριάδος om. O 20 ἀποκληρωτικῶς O ἀποδεικτικῶς O 23 ἀρμόζει:  
 νομίζοι O 24 ἐπὶ om. O 25 ἐπὶ: εἰ O δ' O 27 ὃς: ὁ O 28 σιγήσει  
 O; σηγήσει V<sup>ac</sup> 30 τοσοῦτο O

which shares in the name of substance will also share in this definition, even if there is an enormous difference between the substances themselves. For we say God, angels, man, animal, and vegetable exist as substances, and the term 'substance' is applied commonly to all, but the 'existence' of these things signifies not the nature of them or the manner [of their existence]; for the particular definitions of each thing go on to indicate those aspects. The categories, which are predicated in the same sense of the genera subordinated to each other, make it clear that this is so. Both genera and differences, too, are predicated of species and of individuals; for they are applied in the same way to substance and to living beings, both corporeal and incorporeal, rational and non-rational, perceptible and intelligible, and not more to one and less to the other, but in the same way, equally, and—to put it in a word—by definition. Circular definition, as it is called, is refuted by the manuals of logical demonstration as another instance of this; for it operates like someone who declares something, then puts himself forth as witness for his own argument, and insists that it is credible because he said it!

"If, then, the proofs about both the life-giving and holy Trinity and about the great Incarnation of God the Word, one of the Trinity, were not produced by the Fathers—and are not still produced—from universal terms and definitions of substance and hypostasis, or person and nature, then our discussion is a reduction to absurdity rather than a demonstration. For let someone explain why hypostasis and substance, or nature and person, when used to refer to the Trinity, define and explain what is common and what is proper, while this is not equally appropriate in the case of the Incarnation.

"For to say that because of the newness of the mystery these things are defined one way for the Trinity and another way for the Incarnation sounds, first of all, as if one is unaware that God himself is the most mysterious of all mysteries, concealed even from the holy seraphim; and it is towards him, as the great Gregory said, that the mysteries we share in here are pointed. All language ought in justice to be silent in his regard, all intellectual movement ought to cease, as it passes over to that which is above language and thought. And the mystery of the secrets of God, which has been revealed, is as much clearer

ἐστιν ἐμφανέστερον, καθ' ὅσον ἂν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς τῆς φύσεως τὸ ὑπὲρ φύσιν πρόεισιν. Ἄρα δὲ μόνος ὁ τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας ὅρος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας καινοτομεῖται, ἢ καὶ πᾶσα φωνὴ καὶ πᾶν ὄνομά τε καὶ ῥῆμα; Καὶ τίς ἢ ἀποκλήρωσις τούτου, καὶ μὴ πάντων; “Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχον  
5 φύσιν τοῦτό γε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ λόγον,” ὡς ὁ μέγας ἔφη Βασίλειος.

[C] ἈΚΕΦ. Ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς θεολογίας πάντες συμφώνως οἱ Πατέρες σαφῶς ὑπόστασιν οὐσίας διαφέρειν, ἡγουν πρόσωπον φύσεως, τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἀπεφῆναντο ὧ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ κοινου διενήνοχεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ὁ κανὼν οὗτος πεφύλακται, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις πολλάκις  
10 ἀντὶ τῶν φύσεων, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὰς φύσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ὑποστάσεων παραλαμβάνουσιν, ὡς ταύτῃ τὸ ταῦτὸν ἀμφοτέρων παρίστασθαι. Ὁ τε γὰρ μακάριος Κύριλλος “Εἴ τις,” φησὶ, “διαίρει τὰς ὑποστάσεις· καὶ πάλιν· “Ἀσύγχυτοι μεμενήκασιν αἱ φύσεις, ἡγουν ὑποστάσεις.” Ὁ τε μέγας καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἐπώνυμος καὶ πρόσωπα ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δύο εἶναι διίσχυρίζεται.  
15 Οὐκ ἂν δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πατέρες ἔπραττον, εἰ μὴ καινοτομεῖσθαι [D] τοὺς ὅρους τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐγίνωσκον.

ὉΡΘ. Ἄλλ' οὐ καινοτομεῖσθαι φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ὀνομάτων, συγκεκρῆσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις, εἵπομι' ἂν, κατὰ τῶν διαφορῶν πραγμάτων. Ἄλλο γάρ ἐστι σύγχρησις ὀνομάτων, κατὰ πολλοὺς γινομένην τοὺς τρόπους, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ κυρίως καὶ ὀριστικῶς  
20 ἐξ αὐτῶν σημαίνον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μεταφορὰν καὶ ὁμωνυμίαν καὶ ἀντιστροφὴν καὶ ἑτέρους τρόπους αἷ τε θεῖαι Γραφαὶ, οἷ τε ἅγιοι Πατέρες, καὶ ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ ὀνόματα μεταχειρίζονται, οὐ μὴν κοινὸν ὅρον τούτων [1925 A] ἀποδιδόασιν. Ἀμέλει ὁ μέγας Ἀπόστολος ἀνθρώπους οἶδεν καλεῖν τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέρη, τὸν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπον·  
25 οὕτως ἰλέγων οὐ μὴν τὸν τοῦ ὅλου ἀνθρώπου ὅρον κατὰ τοῦ μέρους τιθεῖς, ἐκάτερον δὲ

than that of the Trinity as the supernatural lies beyond the clarity of nature. Is it only the definition of hypostasis and substance, after all, which is given new meaning in the Incarnation? Is it not every word and every name and every expression? Why is there absurdity here and not everywhere? ‘But that is naturally impossible,’ as the great Basil said, ‘and therefore it is also unreasonable.’”

A: “As far as the Trinity is concerned, all the Fathers unanimously have declared that hypostasis clearly differs from substance, or person from nature, in the same way that the particular differs from the general; but in the case of the Incarnation this rule is not observed by them, but they often speak of hypostases instead of natures, and conversely of natures instead of hypostases, as if in this way to present the equivalence of both. The blessed Cyril, after all, says: ‘If anyone divide the hypostases ...’, and later: ‘The natures, or hypostases, remain unmixed.’ And the great man whose very name means Immortal [Athanasius] asserts confidently that there are two persons in Christ. The Fathers would not have done this unless they knew that the definitions of these terms had been newly formed in the Incarnation.”

O: “I would not say, myself, that the definitions of these terms had been changed, but rather that they used these terms, in my opinion, for different things. For the use of terms, which happens in many stylistic ways, is one thing, and what is signified by them principally and by definition is another; after all, the holy Scriptures, the holy Fathers and customary speech handle words by metaphor and ambiguity and inversion and other rhetorical figures, but don’t give a common definition of these words when they do this. Surely the great Apostle can call the parts of the human being ‘men’—the ‘outer’ and the ‘inner man’—but in speaking this way he is surely not predicating the terms for the whole man of the part, but rather is referring to each part

4-5 ἄλλ' οὐκ ... λόγον: Basilius, *Adv. Eunomium* I, 6 (PG 29, 521 C2-3) 12 εἴ τις ... ὑποστάσεις: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Ep. 3 ad Nestorium*, Anathema 3 (ACO I, 1, 40, 1.28; PG 77, 120 C6-10) 13 ἀσύγχυτοι ... ὑποστάσεις: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Scholion* 11 (ed. P. Pusey, 520, ll. 3-4; PG 75, 1381 A15-B1) 14 πρόσωπα ... διίσχυρίζεται: cf. Ps.-Athanasius, *Contra Apollinarem* II, 2 (PG 26, 1133 C6-7); *ibid.* II, 10 (1148 C11-13)

VO 1 ἐκφανέστερον O 3 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. O 4-5 φύσιν ante ἔχον transp. O  
12 μακάριος: μέγας O 14 δύο εἶναι ante ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ transp. O  
22 μεταχειρίζονται: χειρίζονται O 23 τούτον O μέγας: θεῖος O

μέρος τῇ τοῦ ὅλου προσηγορίᾳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν τὸ ὅλον τῷ μέρει  
καλεῖν αὐτῷ φίλον. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις θείαις Γραφαῖς, ὡς πᾶσιν  
εὐδὴλον. Κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐκάστην φύσιν ὑπόστασιν ἢ πρόσωπον καλεῖν  
τοῖς Πατράσιν, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας,  
5 σύνηθες, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ δύο ὑποστάσεως τινος αὐτῶν  
εἰρηκέναι, οὐ μὴν κοινωνεῖν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὅρου τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἢ τοῦ  
προσώπου λέγειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμεθα· ἐξ ὧν πάντες ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Κύριον  
εἶναι ὀριζόμενοι, τὸ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον, ὃ τῆς κυρίως [B] λεγομένης  
ὑποστάσεως ἴδιον, κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέφησαν, τοῦ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὀνόματος,  
10 οὐ μὴν τοῦ ὅρου, κοινωνοῦσαν τὴν φύσιν λαμβάνοντες. Ὅταν τοίνυν ἀπλῶς  
καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὁ λόγος διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρόεισιν, οὐδὲν τὸ κωλύον  
ἐνδιαφορεῖν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ὅταν δὲ δόγματός ἐστιν γυμνασία καὶ ζήτησις,  
τότε τὰς ὁμωνυμίας κατασιγήσαντες, τὰς κυρίας σημασίας ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν  
ὄρων λαμβάνειν ἀναγκαζόμεθα, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μηδὲν παραβλάπτεσθαι τῇ  
15 τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀδιαφορίᾳ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκρίβειαν.

[4] ΑΚΕΦ. Τὰ ἀπλᾶ οὐ σύνθετα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τῆς ἀπλότητος ὅρον  
ἢ τοῦ συνθέτου φύσις οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπηρεάζειν ἔστι τοῖς  
λέγουσι μίαν φύσιν Χριστοῦ σύνθετον, τὸ ὡς ἀπλὴν αὐτὴν λέγεσθαι παρ'  
20 αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσύνθετον νομίζειν τινάς.

[C] ὍΡΘ. Ἡ φύσις τοῦ συνθέτου οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ τῶν συντεθειμένων  
φύσει. Ὡς γὰρ ἡ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φύσις οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔστι τῇ φύσει τῶν  
δεσμουμένων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἡ τοῦ δεσμοῦ, εἰ τύχοι θήλεια ἢ ἄρρεν  
καλουμένη, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν δεσμουμένων ξύλων, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἢ σκευῶν, ἃ  
25 τῷ δεσμῷ ὑποβάλλεται, οὕτως οὐ ταῦτόν ἢ τοῦ συνθέτου φύσις καὶ τῆς  
ἐνώσεως τῇ φύσει τῶν συντεθειμένων καὶ ἡνωμένων. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ σύνθεσις  
τε καὶ ἐνωσις ἢ σχετικὴ ἔστιν ἢ οὐσιώδης, καὶ ἢ κατὰ παράθεσιν ἢ μίξιν  
ἢ σωρείαν ἢ ἁρμονίαν ἢ κόλλησιν ἢ σύγχυσιν ἢ φύρσιν, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ἄστινας  
ἑτέρας γίνεσθαι λέγεται ἐνώσεων φύσεις διαφόρους εἰσάγει, ὑφ' ἐν  
30 εἶδος—τὴν ἐνωσιν—ἀναφερομένας· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἡνωμένων ἢ συντεθειμένων  
ἢ ὅπως ποτὲ τὸ σὺν ἀλλήλοις εἶναι καταδεχομένων φύσις ἄλλον  
ἐπιδέχεται [D] ὅρον—τὸν τῶν πραγμάτων—καὶ τοῦτο ἴδιον ἐκάστου τῶν  
ἡνωμένων, εἰ μὴ που σύγχυσις περὶ τὰ ἐνωθέντα συμβέβηκεν.

VO 2 θείαις om. O 6 ἢ τοῦ: ἡτοῦν V 12 γυμνασία: συγγυμνασία O  
17 ἐπιδέχεται O 21 συντεθειμένων O 22 οὐχ ἢ: οὐχὶ O 23 ἀλλ' O  
24 εἰπεῖν om. O 26 συντεθειμένων O 27 καὶ om. O ἢ: ἢ VO 28 οἶδα O  
29 λέγετε O φύσει O εἰσάγειν O 30 ἐνωμένων O 31 τὸ om. V φύσεις  
V<sup>ac</sup> Oac 32 τοῦτον O

by the title of the whole, just as he likes, conversely, to call the whole by [the  
name of] the part. And it is the same in the other holy Scriptures, as everybody  
knows. So we know that in the same way it was customary for the Fathers to call  
each nature a hypostasis or a persona, not only with regard to the Incarnation  
but also with regard to the Trinity, just as some of them said that the human  
person himself is composed from two hypostases; but we know they do not say  
that nature shares in the definition of hypostasis or person. And since all of  
them define the Lord as 'one and the same,' they deny that there are two  
individuals ['one and another'] in him; that is proper to the hypostasis, strictly  
speaking. They are taking nature here as sharing the name but not the definition  
of hypostasis. When, then, our language proceeds through names [like these]  
simply and freely, nothing prevents it from using the names without precise  
distinctions; but when there is a struggle and a discussion about doctrine, then  
we must refrain from using verbal ambiguities, and take the proper meanings  
from the definitions themselves, so that the precision of the things themselves  
may not be damaged by the imprecision of words."

4. A: "Simple things are not composite, and therefore the nature of a  
composite being does not admit of the definition of simplicity. If this is so, it is  
an impertinence against those who speak of 'one composite nature' of Christ  
to think, as some do, that they mean it is simple and non-composite."

O: "The nature of the composite being is not the same as the nature of what  
is compounded. Just as the nature of a bond is not the same as the nature of the  
things bound together, but the nature of the bond is one thing—called a 'male'  
or 'female' connection, for instance—while the nature of the bound pieces of  
wood, let us say, or of the vessels, which are tied together by the bond, is  
something else, so the nature of the composite and of union is not the same as  
the nature of what is compounded and united. For composition and union are  
either relational or essential, and [union] by juxtaposition or mixture or  
accumulation or harmony or adhesion or confusion or blending or whatever  
other different types of union there are said to be, present to us different natures  
that are being referred to by the one specific term: union. But the nature of the  
things that are united or compounded, or that allow themselves to exist along  
with each other in whatever way, also admits of another definition—that of the  
things themselves; and this is peculiar to each of the united objects, unless they  
have undergone confusion.



Πῶς τοίνυν μίαν Χριστοῦ φύσιν, καὶ ταύτην σύνθετον, λέγεις; Ἡ γὰρ τῆς συνθέσεως, ἢ τῶν συντεθειμένων, ἢ τοῦ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀποτελέσματος. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἡ σύνθεσις αὕτη μία σοι φύσις Χριστοῦ λέγεται, τὸν τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀποδώσεις λόγον, οὐ τὸν τῶν ἐνωθέντων. Εἰ δὲ τῶν συντεθειμένων  
 5 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁλότητα, δύο ἔσονται αὐταὶ καὶ οὐ μία, εἴπερ μὴδ' ὁποτέρᾳ ἀντιμετέστη εἰς τὴν τοῦ συγκειμένου [1928A] καὶ μετακεχώρηκε φύσιν καὶ ιδιότητα, ἀλλὰ σώζει καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει τὸ διάφορον τούτων. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, οὐ Χριστοῦ φύσιν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπόστασιν τοῦτο εἶναί τε καὶ καλεῖν πρεπωδέστατον, εἴπερ ἡ Χριστοῦ φύσις οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ  
 10 φύσει τοῦ Πατρὸς, καθ' ὃ τῇ φύσει τῆς μητρὸς, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ φύσει τῆς μητρὸς, καθ' ὃ τῇ φύσει τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοφυῆς εἶναι δύναται. Πῶς οὖν μίαν Χριστοῦ φύσιν καλεῖς, καὶ ταύτην σύνθετον, τῆς "Χριστοῦ" προσηγορίας οὐ φύσιν ἀλλ' ὑπόστασιν σημαινουούσης περὶ ἣν αἱ φύσεις ὁρῶνται, καὶ ἐν αἷς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀφορίζεται; Κακέينو δὲ πῶς  
 15 παραδράμωμεν, τῆς νέας σοφίας τὸ καινὸν ὄντως ἀποκύημα;

[B] [5] ἈΚΕΦ. Πάντα, φησὶ, τὰ μοναδικὰ, τὴν ὥς τινος φύσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ φύσις μία λέγεται, οἷον ἡλῖος εἷς, καὶ οὐρανὸς εἷς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μία  
 20 φύσις ἡλίου καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

ὍΡΘ. Ἀλλ' ἡγνόησας, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου φύσις ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ τῶν ἄστρον; Καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐρανοῖς; Ὡς αὐγὴ τε καὶ ἀήρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ τούτων συγκρίματα τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ φύσει ἔχουσι, τὸ δ' εἶναι τόνδε ἢ τόνδε ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ ἀφωρισμένῳ τῆς  
 25 ὑποστάσεως ὁρῶ σημαίνεται. Εἴτε γὰρ οὕτως ὀρίσει οὐρανὸν εἶναι τὴν ἔξω τοῦ παντὸς περιφέρειαν ἢ τὸν κοινὸν ὅρον νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ ὑπόστασιν ἐδήλωσας· εἴτε ἡλῖον ἄστρον ἡμεροφαῆς ἢ ἄστρον [C] τὴν μέσην ἔχον τῶν πλανητῶν χώραν, πάλιν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἐδήλωσας. Ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἐκάστης  
 30 ὑποστάσεως κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν ἀποδίδοσθαι ὅρον λαμβάνεται, οἷον ὅτι πύριον ἢ ἀέριον ἢ χερσαῖον ἢ ἔνυδρον ἢ λογικὸν ἢ ἄλογον ἢ ζῶν ἢ ἄζῶν ἢ αἰσθητὸν ἢ νοητόν. Αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ οὐσιοποιοὶ ιδιότητες τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου δηλοῦσιν, αἷς προστιθέμενον τὸ ἰδίως ἀφοριστικὸν ἐκάστου τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ τινος χαρακτηρίζει. Ψευδὴς οὖν ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἡ ἕκαστον

"What, then, do you mean by saying, 'one nature of Christ, and that a composite one'? It must mean either [the nature] of the composition, or of the objects compounded, or of the product of both. But if the *composition* is what you mean by this 'one nature of Christ,' you will be giving the definition of union, not of what is united. And if [you mean the nature] of the *objects compounded* into the whole Christ, there will be two of those, not one, since neither of them changes and is transformed to the nature and peculiar quality of what is joined to it, but preserves, even in union, the difference between them. And if [you mean] the *product* it is most appropriate that this be—and that you call it—the hypostasis rather than the nature of Christ, since the nature of Christ cannot be of one nature with the nature of the Father in the same way as it is one with the nature of his mother, nor in the same way [one] with the nature of his mother as it is with the nature of the Father. How then do you speak of 'one nature of Christ, and that a composite one,' if the term 'Christ' does not signify a nature, but a hypostasis, in association with (*peri*) which the natures are observed, and in which the persona is defined? How shall we get around this—the really novel product of this newfangled wisdom?"

5. A: "All unique objects, we say, which have an identifiable nature, are also said to be 'one nature': as the sun is one, and heaven one, and therefore there is one nature of the sun and the heaven, and so forth."

O: "But don't you know, my friend, that the nature of the sun is the same as that of the stars? And that heaven is the same as the other heavens? Light and air and water, and mixtures of them, have their common element in such and such a nature, but their being this or that individual is signified by the particular, determined definition of the hypostasis. For if you define heaven as the rounded outer surface of all things, or the common limit of intelligible and perceptible things, you have not expressed its essence, but its hypostasis; and if [you say that] the sun is a star that shines by day, or the star that holds the middle position among the planets, again you have expressed the hypostasis of the sun, but not its nature. For the nature of every hypostasis is understood to be given in the common definition, such as its being fiery, or airy, or earthy or watery, or rational, or non-rational, or living, or non-living, or perceptible, or intelligible. These essential qualities express the *nature* of the subject; the added note, which marks off each thing individually, characterizes the *hypostasis* of a thing. It is false, then, to suppose that each single object

VO 2 συντεθειμένων O 4 τὸν τῶν ἐνωθέντων: τὸν ἐνωθέντων V; τῶν ἐνωθέντων O  
 5 αὐταὶ om. O 7 σώζοι VO 9 οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό: οὐκ αὐτό O 12 φύσιν  
 ante Χριστοῦ transp. O 14 ἐν αἷς: εἶναι O κακέينو: ἐκείνο O  
 15 παραδράμοιμεν V 20 οὐρανοῦ: ἀνθρώπου O 22 ἀστέρων O ó om. O  
 ὡς om. O 24 δ': δὲ O 28 ἡμεροφανές O 31 ζῶιον O ἄζωιον O

τῶν μοναδικῶν καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν μοναδικὴν τιθεμένη· τὸ γὰρ ἐναντίον, φύσιν μὲν ἔχει τὴν κοινὴν κατὰ τὸ ὁμοειδὲς, ὑπόστασιν δὲ ἰδίαν, ἣ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ χωρίζει τοῖς ἀφοριστικοῖς σημείοις τε καὶ ἰδιώμασιν. Ὡς γὰρ Παῦλός τε καὶ Πέτρος οὐ φύσεως ὀνόματα ἀλλὰ  
 5 ὑποστάσεως, οὕτως ἡλῖος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἑωσφόρος καὶ οὐρανός, [D] καὶ τότε τι τὸ πτηνόν, τό τε χερσαῖον καὶ τὸ ἔνυδρον, ὥς ἰδίως ποῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἰδιότητι διαιρεῖται καὶ ἀφορίζεται.

[6] ἈΚΕΦ. Πολλοὺς ἴσμεν τῶν θεηγόρων, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου καὶ μετὰ ταύτην, ἐνίαις τῶν προλαβόντων ἀγίων Πατέρων  
 10 φωναῖς ἀντιταξαμένους, τῶν αἰρέσεων κακούργως χρησαμένων τισὶν αὐτῶν σημασίαις καὶ λέξεσιν· ἐξ οὗ οἴομεθα καὶ τὸν μακάριον Κύριλλον ἐνίαις τῶν πατρικῶν [1929 A] φωνῶν μὴ συγχρῆσασθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τῶν δύο φύσεων, Νεστορίου ἄνω καὶ κάτω ταύτας ἐπὶ διαιρέσει λαμβάνοντος, καὶ κακῶς τῇ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξουσίᾳ καταχρωμένον. Ὅ καὶ  
 15 νῦν ἡμεῖς εὐλαβούμενοι ἐκ φύσεων μὲν δύο, οὐ μὴν ἐν δυσὶ φύσεσιν ὑπάρχειν τὸν Χριστὸν ὀριζόμεθα.

ὉΡΘ. Οὐ καλὴ αὕτη οὐδ' εὐάφορμος ἀπολογία, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὄντως ἀνευλαβὴς εὐλάβεια οὕσα τυγχάνει, διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν κακούργως κεχρημένων ταῖς τῶν θεολόγων φωναῖς αὐτὰς παραιτεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν  
 20 θεηγόρων φωνάς. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ταῖς πατρικαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς γραφικαῖς οἱ αἰρετικοὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν συναποκέχρηται· καὶ δεῖ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ὑμέτερον τὴν Μαρκίωνος τόλμαν ζηλοῦν, καὶ διαγράφεσθαι πολλὰ [B] τῶν ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς κειμένων. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων Πατέρων τοῦτο ποιεῖν θεμιτὸν, ἀλλ' ἔχεσθαι μὲν,  
 25 ὥσπερ τῆς διανοίας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν φωνῶν πρεπωδέστατον, ἀνακαθαίρειν δὲ τὰς τῶν αἰρετικῶν παρεξηγήσεις καὶ δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς σημασίας ἄλλως μὲν τοὺς Πατέρας, ἄλλως δὲ τοὺς αἰρετικούς μεταχειρίζεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ δέχεται πᾶσα φωνὴ τὰς εἰς τοῦναντίον τροπὰς τε καὶ παρεξηγήσεις· οὕτω γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον  
 30 ὑπεραπολογούμενον Διονυσίου, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν μακάριον Κύριλλον οὐ καθάπαξ παραιτούμενον τὰς φωνάς, ἀλλὰ “κατὰ τὸ Νεστορίῳ δοκοῦν” προστιθέντα, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τὰς δύο φύσεις [C] ὁμολογοῦντα. Εἰ δὲ ὅλως τοῦτο κρατεῖ τὸ τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους ἐνίας

29 Ἀθανάσιον ὑπεραπολογούμενον Διονυσίου: *De sententia Dionysii* (PG 25.480–521), praesertim cc. 11–26 (ibid. 496B–520C). 30 Κυρίλλου: e.g. Ep. 40 (*Ad Acacium, Melitenensem*, 1) (ACO 1.1.4.25, l. 25–9, l. 15)

VO 1 τῷ γὰρ ἐναντίῳ ΟΥ<sup>a</sup> 4 τε om. O ἀλλ' O 6 ἰδίως ποῖον: ἰδιοποιόν V; ἰδιοποιούν conj. Lampe s.v. 9 μετὰ ταύτην: μετ' αὐτὴν O 13 δύο om. O 14 καταχρωμένον: χρωμένου O 15 ἡμεῖς om. O ante φύσεσιν add. ταῖς O 18 ἀνευλαβὴς ante ὄντως transp. V 19 κεχρημένων: χρωμένων O 21 δεῖ: δὴ VO 24 οὐδὲ: οὐδ' O ἀλλὰ O

also has a singular nature; on the contrary, it has a common nature, according to its common species, and a proper hypostasis, which distinguishes what is proper in it from what is common by defining marks and characteristics. For just as 'Paul' and 'Peter' are not names of a nature but of a hypostasis, so 'sun' and 'moon' and 'morning star' and 'heaven' and [the name of] this particular bird or earthly or watery thing, distinguish and separate [each of them] as a particular such-and-such from the common substance by the individual note of the hypostasis.”

6. A: “We know that many people have rejected certain sayings of the previous inspired Fathers, both those before the Council of Nicaea and those after it, because heresies have misused some of their ideas and phrases. For this reason, we know that the blessed Cyril did not use some patristic expressions, especially that of ‘two natures,’ since Nestorius took them in a topsy-turvy way to express division, and abused the authority of the ancients. So we too now, out of caution, define Christ as existing *from* two natures, but not *in* two natures.”

O: “This is neither an honest nor an opportune excuse, but your scruple is really wholly unscrupulous, if because of the monstrous fact that people have misused the phrases of the theologians you reject the expression of these inspired men. For heretics misuse not only the writings of the Fathers, but those of the Scriptures, too, as it pleases them. Indeed, according to your rule, we would have to imitate Marcion's daring and cross out many expressions in the Scriptures. But it is not legitimate to do this, either with the holy Scripture, or with the glorious Fathers, but one must hold on to what is most appropriate both in their thoughts and in their sacred words, and purge away the misinterpretations of heretics, and show that the Fathers have taken certain ideas one way, and heretics the same ideas in another. After all, every expression admits of opposite turns and misinterpretations. So we find even the great Athanasius making excuses for Dionysius [of Alexandria], and the blessed Cyril himself not simply rejecting phrases out of hand, but adding ‘as it seems to Nestorius’—and not only this, but in many, nay, in all his works, also confessing the two natures. And if this always holds good: that subsequent generations

τῶν προλαμφάντων φωνὰς παραιτεῖσθαι, ἐξέστω καὶ ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ  
 Εὐτυχὴς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἐχρήσαντο τῇ μιᾷ σεσαρκωμένῃ,  
 ταύτην παραιτεῖσθαι· ἢ μὴ παραιτουμένοις, καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐν δύο φύσεσι  
 5 συγκαταδέχεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου ἔστη τὰ τῶν  
 αἰρέσεων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ πᾶν αὐτῶν ἐπιβώμενος αἰρετικὸς πεφώραται  
 Εὐτυχὴς, τάχα ἂν ἦν τοῦτο ὑμῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονάσιν αἰρετικοί,  
 ἔστω ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων καὶ τὰ τισιν, ὥς φατε, μὴ  
 δόξαντα λέγεσθαι πάλαι, διὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῶν αἵρεσιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν αὐθις  
 λέγειν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὰν συνόδοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρίζηται. Λύσις [D] γὰρ  
 10 πάσης ἀπορίας κατὰ κανόνας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, τῶν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς  
 μέρεσιν ἀμφισβητουμένων, ἢ τῶν συνόδων ἐπὶ κρίσις· καὶ ὁ πρὸς ταύτας  
 ἀπομαχόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἑνιαπρόσωπα, πρὸς ὅλον δὲ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν  
 στασιάζων εὐρίσκεται· ὁ μὴ πάθοιμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλήθειαν φιλονεικίας  
 προασπασάμενοι.

15 [7] ἈΚΕΦ. Τὰς φύσεις μόνῃ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ ἡμεῖς θεωροῦμεν·  
 ἐνώσαντες μὲν οὖν ταύτας, λοιπὸν μίαν ἁμφω φύσιν καὶ ταύτην σύνθετον  
 εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι φαμεν. Ὡς γὰρ λόγῳ ὑμεῖς τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῇ  
 ἐπινοίᾳ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ ταύτας ἐνώσαντες εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτὰς  
 συντίθετε, τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἡμῖν αἱ φύσεις, εἰς μίαν φύσιν συντιθέμεναι,  
 20 οὐ συγχρόμεναι, καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ τὴν ἑνωσιν γνωρίζουσιν.  
 Εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς σύγχυσιν ἐγκαλούμεθα διὰ τῆς συνθέτου φύσεως, καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 [1932 A] ταύτην οὐκ ἀποφεύξεσθε διὰ τῆς οὐχ ἀπλῆς ὑποστάσεως. Οἷς  
 γὰρ ἂν λόγοις τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἰς ὑπόστασιν συναγαγόντες, ἀτρέπτους  
 ταύτας ἀποδείξετε, τούτοις καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀρκοῦμεθα εἰς τὸ τὰς φύσεις εἰς  
 25 φύσιν συντιθέμεναι καὶ ἄτρεπτα ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ συνθέσει τὰ ἐνωθέντα  
 φυλάττειν.

ὉΡΘ. Τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οἱ Πατέρες καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διττὴν ἀπεφάναντο  
 εἶναι. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ οἶον ἐπέννοιά τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπενθύμησις, τὴν

may reject some of the expressions of the great men before them, then we too  
 may reject that of 'one nature made flesh,' since Eutyches and his followers  
 misused it. But if we do not reject it, then they should accept the formula 'in two  
 natures.' For if the business of heresy stopped at the time of blessed Cyril, and  
 that most notorious of all heretics, Eutyches, had not been found out, then  
 perhaps you would be right; but if there have been heretics after him, too, then  
 let it be in the authority of later generations to say again, because of heresy on  
 the subject, what some of our ancestors, as you point out, did not feel compelled  
 to say, and especially to do this when these phrases have been defined by synods.  
 For the solution of every difficulty which is disputed between two parties is,  
 according to the Church's canon, the judgment of a synod. He who fights against  
 these decisions is thereby stirring up resistance not simply to certain persons,  
 but to all of Christendom. We cannot be accused of that, since we love the truth  
 above contentiousness."

7. A: "We, too, recognize [two] natures on the purely conceptual level; but  
 once we unite them, then we say that from then on both are, and should be  
 called, one nature, and that a composite one. For by the same argument with  
 which you accept [separate] hypostases on the conceptual level, and then, when  
 you unite them, compound them into one hypostasis, so for us when the natures  
 are compounded—without confusion—into one nature, they avoid division  
 and display union. But if we are accused of confusion because of the compound  
 nature, then you, too, do not escape this accusation, because of the hypostasis  
 which is not simple. For by the same arguments with which you bring the  
 hypostases into one hypostasis, yet show them to be unchanged, we are able to  
 compound the natures into [one] nature, and still to preserve what has been  
 united unchanged in this kind of synthesis."

O: "The Fathers and true reasoning have shown that there are two kinds of  
 conception: one is a sort of additional thought or reflection,

p. 288, l. 27–p. 290, l. 10 (τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ... ἀνειδωλοποίησε): *Doctrina Patrum* 28, I (198–9):  
 Titulus: ἐκ τῶν Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ (ἐκ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Λεοντίου cod. C) τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ὅτι  
 διττὴ ἡ ἐπίνοια; Joan. Dam., *Dialectica* (= Πηγὴ Γνώσεως I) 65 (Kotter 1.135, ll. 84–97; PG 94,  
 660 B4–C6); cf. etiam Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jacobitas* 29.1–9 (Kotter 4.129; PG 94, 1452 A1–11)

VO 1 παραιτεῖσθαι: παραιτήσασθαι O 3 παραιτουμένους O  
 4 συγκαταδέχεσθαι: καταδέχεσθαι V 9 ὀρίζεται V 16 μὲν οὖν: γε μὴν O  
 ἁμφω ante μίαν transp. O 22 ἀποφεύξεσθε O 27 οἱ Πατέρες καὶ om. Joan.  
 Dam. εἶναι ante ἀπεφάναντο transp. *Doctr. Patr.*; om. Joan. Dam. 27–8 ἀποφαίνεται  
 Joan. Dam. 28 οἶον om. O; οἶονεἰ *Doctr. Patr.* ἐπίνοια O, *Doctr. Patr.* ἐστὶ post  
 ἐπενθύμησις transp. Joan. Dam., *Doctr. Patr.*

όλοσχερῇ καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξαπλοῦσά τε καὶ  
 διασαφύσασθαι θεωρίαν καὶ γνῶσιν, ὡς τὸ τῇ αἰσθήσει δόξαν εἶναι ἀπλοῦν,  
 τῇ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τοῦ νοῦ πολυμερές τε καὶ ποικίλον ἀναφαίνεσθαι· ἡ  
 δὲ ἀνάπλασμα διανοίας τυγχάνει, κατὰ συμπλοκὴν αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ  
 5 φαντασίας ἐκ τῶν [B] ὄντων τὰ μηδαμῶς ὄντα συντιθεῖσα καὶ εἶναι  
 δοξάζουσα· τοιοῦτή δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἵπποκενταύρων καὶ Σειρήνων καὶ τῶν  
 τοιούτων μυθοπλαστί· τῶν γὰρ ὅλων τὰ μέρη λαμβάνουσα καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 μερῶν ἄλλο τι συντιθεῖσα, κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τε καὶ εὐκολίαν, τὰ  
 μηδαμῶς ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ οὐσίᾳ θεωρούμενα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς  
 10 λόγοις ἀνέπλασεν, εἰτα καὶ ταῖς ὕλαις διαμορφουμένη ἀνειδωλοποίησε.

Κατὰ ποίαν τοίνυν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τῶν ἐπινοιῶν τούτων θεωρίαν τὰς δύο  
 φύσεις λαμβάνεις; Εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην, θεωρημάτων ἄθροισμα  
 ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεων σύνοδον τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ὀρίσῃ· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ φύσις [C]  
 τῶν ἐπινόια μόνῃ θεωρητῶν· εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν, οὔτε πραγμάτων  
 15 οὔτε θεωρημάτων, ψευδῶν τε καὶ διακένων ἀναπλασμάτων τὴν σαντοῦ  
 διάνοιαν πλήρη πεποίηκας, καὶ ὄντως εἰδωλολατρίας οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον τὸ  
 τοιοῦτο διοίσει· ὅποτε οἱ θεσπέσιοι ἡμῶν Πατέρες οὐ τὰς φύσεις τῇ ἐπινόια  
 εἶναι ὥρισαντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν τούτων κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπινόιαν  
 ἐξειλήφασιν. Ἦνίκα γὰρ, φασίν, αἱ φύσεις διίστανται ταῖς ἐπινόιας,  
 20 συνδιαίρεται καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ὡς εἶναι τὸ τῇ ἐπινόια λεγόμενον πρὸς  
 ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαιρέσεως· ἦν ὡς πορρωτάτω  
 ἀποπεμφάμενοι, τῇ μὲν ἐνεργείᾳ τὰς φύσεις εἶναί τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι  
 ἀπεφάνησαν, τὴν δὲ τούτων διαίρεσιν κατ' ἐπινόιαν ἔλαβον, τὰ μὴ διηρημένα  
 τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς διηρημένα τῷ λόγῳ ὑποτιθέμενοι, διὰ τὴν [D] ἄτρεπτον  
 25 τῶν ἐνωθέντων, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, διαφορὰν τε καὶ ιδιότητα.

Πῶς τοίνυν ἐπινόια μόνῃ γνωρίζεις τὰς φύσεις, καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τούτων  
 γνωριζομένων; Πῶς δὲ καὶ ταύτας τῇ ἐπινόια λαβὼν, οὐδὲ ταύτη  
 φυλάττεις, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν φύσιν αὐτὰς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῇ ἐπινόια ἢ τῇ

VO 1 τῶν πραγμάτων ante καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον transp. Joan. Dam., Doctr. Patr. τε om.  
 Joan. Dam. 3 τῇ om. Joan. Dam., Doctr. Patr. τοῦ νοῦ om. Joan. Dam. ἀναφαίνεται  
 Joan. Dam. post [ἀναφαίνεσθαι] add. ὅλον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπλοῦς φαινόμενος, τῇ ἐπινόια  
 διπλοῦς κατανοεῖται, ἐκ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος συγκείμενος Joan. Dam.; add. in marg. αὕτη  
 ἡ λεγομένη ψιλὴ ἐπινόια Doctr. Patr. codd. ACD (cp. infra ad. 1. 10) 4 ἀνάπλασμα  
 διανοίας τυγχάνει om. Doctr. Patr. cod. B τε om. O 5 εἶναι om. Joan. Dam.  
 6 δόξαντα V 6-7 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων om. Doctr. Patr.; καὶ τραγελάφων Joan.  
 Dam. 7 ὅλων ante γὰρ transp. Joan. Dam. καὶ om. O τῶν om. V, Doctr. Patr. 8 τι  
 ante ἄλλο transp. V 9 post ὑποστάσει add. τε O, Joan. Dam. 9-10 ante τοῖς  
 λόγοις add. ἐν V λόγοις: λογισμοῖς V διαμορφουμένη: διατυπουμένη Joan. Dam. (txt.  
 codd. fam b) 10 ἂν εἰδωλοποίησε O post ἀνειδωλοποίησε add. αὕτη δὲ λέγεται  
 ψιλὴ ἐπινόια Joan. Dam. 15 θεωρημάτων V σαντοῦ: αὐτοῦ O 17 τοιοῦτον O  
 19 φασίν: φησὶν VO 26 τὰς φύσεις om. O 27 ταύτη: ταύτην O 28 οἶδ'  
 ὅπως: οἶδα πῶς V

which explains [unfolds] and clarifies the general, unarticulated insight and  
 knowledge, as when one shows, by the busy work of the mind, that what  
 seems to our perception to be simple is manifold and full of variety; the  
 other is the creation of thought, which weaves together perception and  
 imagination to produce, from real beings, what has never been and suppose  
 them to exist—such is the fabrication of hippocentaurs and sirens and such  
 things. For it takes the parts of whole beings, and from the parts puts together  
 something else; with much freedom and facility it molds in thought and words  
 what is never seen in hypostasis and essence, and then combines them with  
 material form in a mental image.

“By which consideration, then, my friend, of these kinds of conception do  
 you understand the two natures? If by the first, then you will be defining Christ  
 as a collection of propositions rather than a convergence of natures; for this is  
 the kind of nature possessed by objects of purely conceptual contemplation.  
 But if you understand them in the second way, you have filled your reasoning  
 with neither things nor propositions, but with false and empty fiction, and such  
 thinking differs not at all, really, from idolatry. After all, our inspired Fathers did  
 not define the natures to exist only on the conceptual level, but understood the  
 division between them according to the first kind of conceptualization. For  
 when natures, they say, differ in conception, the names also are distinguished,  
 so that what is said to be [different] on the conceptual level is called this, in  
 distinction to actual division. Rejecting this completely, they showed that the  
 natures exist in actuality and are called such, but the division between them  
 they understood as purely conceptual, understanding that things which are not  
 separate actually can be separate rationally, because of the unchangeable  
 difference and peculiarity of what is united, even after the union.

“How then, can you recognize the [two] natures ‘purely on the conceptual  
 level,’ when they are recognized also in actuality? How, too, can you accept them  
 conceptually yet not preserve them in concept, but rather blend and confuse  
 them in some way or other—conceptually or

- ἐνεργεία, φύρεις τε καὶ συγχεῖς, καίπερ τῆς ἐπινοίας, ἐπὶ τε τῶν  
 ὑφ' ἐστῶτων ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἀνυπάρχτων, μετὰ τὴν τούτων συμπλοκὴν καὶ  
 ἔνωσιν, ταῦτα γνωρίζουσι τε καὶ ὁμολογούσης; Ὅποτε καὶ ἡ σύγχυσις  
 5 περὶ αὐτὰς συμβέβηκεν, οἶδεν ἡ ἐπινοία τὰ ἐξ ὧν γνωρίζειν τε καὶ  
 ἀνύπαρκτον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνούσιον, ἢ τὸ συγκεχυμένον καὶ ἡφανισμένον  
 κατασκευάζει. τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, μὴδὲ τοῦτο αὐταῖς διδόναι  
 [1933 A] καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων αὐτῶν ἀνοουσιωτέρας, καὶ τῶν  
 10 συγκεχυμένων μᾶλλον ἐφθαρμένας αὐτὰς ἀποφαίνει.
- Πόθεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τίνος σοι τὸ ἐξ ὑποστάσεων τὸν Χριστὸν συντιθέναι,  
 τῶν ὑποστάσεων τὸ διηρημένον, ὡς ἤδη πρότερον εἵπομεν, καὶ τὸ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὸ ὑφ' ἐστῶτος δηλουσῶν; Πότε γὰρ διηρημένας τὰς φύσεις καὶ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὰς ὑποστάσας ἔγνω, ἵνα ταύτας συνάψας ἐξ ὑποστάσεων αὐτὸν  
 15 εἶναι δογματίσης; Οὔτε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως τοῦτο λέγειν θεμιτὸν, εἴπερ  
 μὴ προδιαπεπλάσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἴθ' ὑποδεδικέναι Θεὸν λέγειν  
 τολμᾶς. Οὔτε δὲ τὸ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ διαιρετὸν εἰς ταῦτὸν τῷ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ φέρειν  
 εὐσεβές. [B] οὐ γὰρ ὅσα κατὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς ἐπινοίας κατηγορεῖται,  
 ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταῦτα  
 20 κατηγορηθήσεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαιρέσεως τὰς  
 ὑποστάσεις ἐχούσης τε καὶ τιθεμένης, ἢ κατ' ἐπινοίαν διαίρεσις τὸν τῶν  
 ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμὸν οὐ παραδέχεται. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἐπινοίαν μείζον ἐπὶ  
 τε Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, τῇ τοῦ αἰτίου λεγόμενον φύσει, τὸ τῇ φύσει μείζον οὐ  
 συνεισάγει, οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐπινοίαν διαιρετὸν τὸ κατ' ἐνέργειαν οὐ  
 25 συνεισάξει ποτέ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποστάσεις.
- Τίς δὲ τῶν ἄγαν σεμνῶν, καὶ γελῶντων τὸ γελᾶν, οὐ πλατὺν ὕμῶν  
 καταχέει γέλωτα, ἢ μᾶλλον οὐ στυγνὸν πένθος περιβαλεῖται καὶ νύκτα  
 βαθεῖαν, πρὸς τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀλογίαν ὕμῶν ἐννοῶν; Τῶν γὰρ  
 ἅμα [C] κατὰ γε φύσιν καὶ χρόνον τὸ πρὸ καὶ μετὰ μὴ καταδεχομένων,  
 30 τοῦτο λέγειν οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἅμα ἢ ἔνωσις καὶ τὰ ἐνωθέντα,  
 ὅταν μὴ ὡς πράγματα ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνωθέντα πράγματα λαμβάνηται; Πού δὲ  
 καὶ ἡ θατέρου ὑπαρξίς πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως—τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, φημί—

actually—into one nature, even though our way of conceiving both of things which exist and of non-existent things, recognizes and acknowledges these things [as distinct] after their connection and union? Even when a confusion has taken place between them, the conceptual process can recognize and distinguish the elements from which it comes. But to recognize the natures 'purely on the conceptual level' is to make them non-existent and non-essential, or else confused and obliterated; and to fail to attribute this [distinction] to them even after the union, shows them to be even less substantial than the ideas of them, and more corrupted than things which have been confused.

"But where and from whom do you have the idea of compounding Christ from [two] hypostases, since—as we have said before—hypostases signify what is separate and exists by itself? When did you recognize the natures as separate and existing by themselves, so that when you joined them you could offer the opinion that he exists 'from [two] hypostases'? For it is not right to say this before the union, if you do not dare to say that the man was created first, and then put on God. Nor is it reverent to identify what is conceptually different with what is actually different; for not all that is predicated of the concept as concept can automatically be predicated of the real things (*pragmata*) that underlie concepts. And therefore while actual distinction contains and posits hypostases, conceptual distinction does not admit of a number of hypostases. For just as what is said to be conceptually 'greater' in the case of the Father and the Son, by the nature of cause, does not imply that one is greater than the other by nature, so what is conceptually distinguishable will never imply actual distinguishability, and therefore does not imply hypostases.

"What very solemn person, who holds laughter in ridicule, will not burst out in broad laughter at you—or rather will not wrap himself in gloomy grief and deep night—when he thinks of such illogicality as yours, over and above your impiety? For what exists together in nature and time does not admit of 'before' and 'after'; and if the blessed Cyril does not speak of 'after the union' in this sense, are you not ashamed to say such a thing? Do not union and the united belong to things that exist together, when they [= the things] are understood not just as objects, but as united objects? And where does that one element—I mean, the humanity—

Scholion ad 30, ἡ: ὥς ἐστι V (Σ<sup>4</sup>)

|                 |                              |                                      |                     |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| VO 4 αὐτὰ V     | 11 εἴπαμεν O                 | 14 εἶναι om. O                       | 15 προδιαπεπλάσθαι: |
| διαπεπλάσθαι O  | εἴτα O                       | ὑποδεδικέναι O                       | 16 τῷ: τὸ O         |
| ἐπινοίας om. V  | 22 τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ O | τῇ om. O                             | 17 ὡς               |
| om. O           | καταδεχομένων: δεχομένων V   | 30 ἡ: εἰ O <sup>schol</sup> (Torres) | 28 γε: τε O         |
| 31 λαμβάνεται O |                              |                                      | μετὰ                |



ἵνα τὸ μετὰ ταύτην ὑμῖν δογματίζεται; Πότε δὲ ἡ ἔνωσις γενομένη πέπνυται, ἵνα ἄλλο τι τὸ ταύτης ἀποτέλεσμα, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν, ὑποπτεύεται; Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἔνωσις ὡς ἡ τῶν γενομένων καὶ μηκέτι ὄντων φύσις, ὅποιαν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ χρόνου  
 5 φασί. Τίς δὲ γενομένην ἔπαυσε; Καὶ διὰ τί; Ἴνα τὸ [D] μετὰ τοῦτο σκοπῇται, εἰ μή που ἄρα ἀπὸ μὲν ἐνώσεως ἤρξατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν μεταβέβηκεν. ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον λέγειν θέλοντες, ὠδίνετε μὲν, ἀπορρήξαι δὲ τὸν φόρτον τῆς διανοίας οὐχ ὑπομένετε, οὐκ οἶδα πότερον διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀφόρητον ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀπαραίτητον. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· ὁ μὲν ἀσεβὲς λέγειν,  
 10 καὶ ἐννοεῖν δηλονότι, ὁ δὲ λέγειν θεμιτὸν, καὶ ἐννοεῖν ὁσιον· μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐννοεῖν τὸ εὐσεβὲς δίκαιον, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν σωτήριον, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Απόστολον.

Ἡμῶν τοίνυν οὐχ ὑποστάσεων ἔνωσιν ἀλλὰ φύσεων πρεσβευόντων, πῶς ὑμεῖς τὸ μὴ δεδομένον ὡς δεδομένον συνάγετε; Πόση δὲ ἡ ἐξουσία  
 15 [1936 A] τοῦ λόγου, τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ τὸ ἀσύγχυτον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἀποτέλεσμα φάσκειν! Εἰ γὰρ φύσιν μίαν τὰς δύο ποιεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀσύγχυτον, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ σύγχυσις ποιεῖν ἐπίσταται, λεγέτωσαν τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ τοῦ ἀσυγχύτου. Ὅμοιον γάρ τι ποιῶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Νεστορίου προσώποις καὶ ὑποστάσεσι· καὶ διαιρουμένας  
 20 τιθέασιν αὐτάς, εἰτα μὴ διαιρεῖν φάσκουσι. Τί γὰρ ἂν ἕτερον ὁ ἐνεργεῖα διαιρῶν ποιήσοι ποτέ; Εἰ δὲ μήτε τὴν διαίρεσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις κατ' ἐκείνους, μήτε τὴν σύγχυσιν ἡ μία φύσις κατὰ τούτους εἰσάγει, λεγέτω τις ὅποιόν τι ἕτερον εἶναι βούλεται τὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως ἢ συγχύσεως ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ὅπερ ὁ συνάπτων μὲν, μὴ συγχέων δὲ, ἢ ὁ τὴν θατέρας  
 25 ιδιότητα φυλάττων, μὴ διαιρῶν δὲ, ἀποδώσειεν εὐσεβῶν. Πῶς δὲ τὰς δύο φύσεις παραιτούμενοι, ὡς πάντως τῆς δυνάδος κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν διαίρεσιν [B] εἰσαγούσης, δύο ιδιότηας λέγειν οὐ παραιτοῦνται; Ἡ τίς ὁ λόγος—μηδέποτε συναληθευούσης τῆς ἀντιφάσεως, κατὰ λογικὴν ἀπόδειξιν—αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἄλλο τι ἢ καὶ ἐναντίον λέγοντας, τὴν μίαν σεσαρκωμένην κατὰ  
 30 τῶν δύο τὰς φύσεις λεγόντων προΐσχεσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ταυτὸν ἔστι ταῖς δύο, καὶ μάταιος ὑμῖν ὁ πρὸς ταύτας πόλεμος, ἢ οὐ

4–5 ὅποιαν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ χρόνου φασί: vide Aristoteles *Phys.* 4.10 (217b–218a) 11 τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν σωτήριον: cf. Rom. 10.10

16–18 εἰ γὰρ ... ἀσυγχύτου: cp. Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jacobitas* 47 (ed. Kotter 4.124)

VO 1 μετ' αὐτὴν O ἡμῖν V 3 τὰ: τὸ V 6 μεταβέβηκεν: διαβέβηκεν V  
 8 τὸ post ἐλέγχων transp. O 11 καὶ om. V 19 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. O  
 διαιρουμέναις O 20 τιθεῖσιν O 26 κατ' αὐτοὺς om. O 29 ἢ om. V  
 καὶ om. O 30 προΐσχεσθε VO

exist before the union, so that you can speculate about what happens after it? And when does the union which has come into being cease, so that the product of it can be supposed to exist as something else, not *in* it, but *after* it and alongside the elements *from* which it exists? For union is not like the nature of things that were and are no longer, as they say time is. Who has brought it [union] to an end? And why? This word 'after' ought to be examined, to see if it doesn't begin from union and pass over into confusion! This is what you really want to say, and are in labor [to say it], but you cannot endure giving birth to the burden of your minds—I don't know whether this is because of its unbearable impiety or the inescapable prospect of refutation. For it is true that what it is impious to say, is also impious to think, but what is right to say, is also holy to think; or rather, to think reverent thoughts is justifying, but to proclaim them is saying, according to the divine Apostle [Rom. 10.10].

"Since we, however, advocate a union not of hypostases but of natures, how can you infer something we do not concede, as if we conceded it? What freedom of speech you have, saying that confusion and the absence of confusion lead to the same final product! For if, according to them, the absence of confusion still makes two natures one, and confusion manages to do the same thing, let them explain what the difference is between confusion and the unconfused. They are doing something similar to Nestorius's 'persons' and 'hypostases': they suppose them to be divided, and then claim they are not dividing them. For what else would one do who divides in actuality? If the [two] hypostases do not introduce division, according to the Nestorians, nor the one nature confusion, according to our friends here, then let someone explain what the difference is between the product of division or confusion, and what the person who joins without confusing and preserves the identity of each side without dividing would reverently conclude. How can they reject the two natures—since any duality, in their eyes, brings in division—and yet not refuse to speak of two peculiarities (*idiotētas*)? And why do they propose the 'one nature made flesh' formula *against* those who speak of two natures, as if they were saying something different, even opposite—since, according to logical necessity, both sides of a contradiction can never be true at the same time? Either this means the same as 'two [natures]', and your whole campaign against this language is a waste of time,

ταῦτόν ἀλλ' ὡς μίαν κατὰ τῶν δύο ἀντιφατικῶς παραλαμβάνετε, καὶ εἰκὴ  
παρέρριπται τὸ "σεσαρκωμένην". Εἰ δὲ μήτε μίαν ἀπλῶς μήτε δύο  
ἡνωμένας τοῦτο δηλοῖ, μεταξὺ δὲ μιᾶς καὶ δύο οὐδὲν τὸ μέσον, τὸ  
λειπόμενον αὐτοὶ σκοπήσατε· πάντως γὰρ τὸ διμοῖρον, ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ, ἢ τὸ  
5 τρίτον, ἢ ὁ τί ποτε ἐπιμόριον μεταξὺ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τῶν δύο παραλήφθη, [C]  
τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἢ τῆς σεσαρκωμένης προσθήκη δηλώσει φωνῆς· πάντως δὲ  
καὶ ὑμῖν ἢ διαίρεσις ἔψεται, πρὸς τῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο τι ταύτη  
συμπαραλαμβάνουσιν.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανά. Πῶς δὲ καὶ τίνα τρόπον, τοῦ τε Θεοῦ Λόγου καὶ  
10 τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος τελείως καὶ ἀνελλειπῶς ἔχόντων, οὐχ  
ὑποστάσεις ἀλλ' οὐσίας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐνωθέντων συνδρομὴν οἱ Πατέρες  
παραλαμβάνουσιν, οὐδ' ὁποτέρας οὐσης ἀνυποστάτου, ἐν τε τῷ πρώτῳ  
κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἀρτίως ἡπορημένων καὶ ἐξῆς, καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δὲ λόγῳ  
τῆς πραγματείας τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν κατὰ τῶν Ἐναντιοδοκητῶν,  
15 πληρέστατα, σὺν Θεῷ φάναι, ἀποδέδοται· παλλογενεῖν γέ τοι διὰ τοῦτο,  
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλοῦν, παρητήμεθα.

[D] [8] ἈΚΕΦ. Τῆς τῶν ὄντων συστάσεως, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν,  
ἐκ κοινῶν καὶ ἰδίων συνεστώσης, ὡς πᾶσιν εὐδελον—καὶ γὰρ πάντες καὶ  
τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς οὐσίας μετέχομεν, καὶ τῷ ἰδιάζοντι τῆς ὑποστάσεως λόγῳ  
20 ἐσμέν τοῦθ' ὅπερ λεγόμεθα—τί τῶν κοινῶν ἢ τῶν ἰδίων θατέρᾳ φύσει τῶν  
εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ παραλαμβανομένων ἔνωσιν λείπει; Εἰ γὰρ μὴ λείποι  
μηδὲν, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον φύσεων ἢ ὑποστάσεων ἔνωσιν λέγειν ἀληθές. Ἐξ  
οὐ τί ἀκολουθεῖ; Ἡ δύο λέγοντας φύσεις μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, δύο λέγειν καὶ  
τὰς ὑποστάσεις, ἢ παραιτουμένους τὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμὸν, κατὰ  
25 τὸν ἴσον τῆς ἀντιδόσεως τρόπον, παραχωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ φύσεων λέγουσι  
μίαν φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν γεγονέναι. Εἰ δὲ σύγχυσιν οἱ τοῦτο λέγοντες  
ἐγκαλοῦνται, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἐκ τῶν [1937 A] ὑποστάσεων  
λέγοντες συγχεῖν τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἐν δίκῃ νομισθήσονται;

30 ὍΡΘ. Ἀλλ' ἡγνοήκατε, ὦ σοφοί, ὅτι ἄλλος μὲν ὅρος φύσεως, ἄλλος δὲ  
λόγος οἰκονομίας· ὅθεν πῃ μὲν ὡς περὶ πάντη διαιρετῶν ποιείσθε τοὺς  
λόγους, ὑποστάσεις τὰς φύσεις χωρίζοντες, πῃ δὲ ὡς ἐξ ὅλων συγκεχυμένων  
μίαν φύσιν σαρκὸς καὶ θεότητος δογματίζοντες γεγονέναι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν "ἦν  
ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" ταῦτα ἡνωμένα, σκοπεῖτω τις αὐτὰ οὕτως, ὡς

12–13 cf. supra, pp. 270–2      13–15 cf. CNE I (supra, pp. 130–4)      33–4 (ἦν ποτε  
... ἦν) cf. Arius Alexandrinus, Ep. Ad Eusebium Nicomediensem (ed. H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius  
Werke* III/1, Urk. 1, p. 3)

VO 1 παραλαμβάνεται O      2 παρέρριπται τὸ: ταρέρριπτετο O      σεσαρκωμένη O  
4 ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ om. O      4–5 ἢ τὸ τρίτον: τὸ om. O      5 παρελήφθη V  
6 φωνῇ V      13 καὶ<sup>2</sup> omittre prop. Rees (JTS 19 [1968], 229)      16 ἀνακυκλεῖν O  
17 καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς: καὶ διττῆς V      18 post καὶ γὰρ add. καὶ O      20 τοῦτο V  
τί: τῇ V<sup>ac</sup>      22 μηδὲν om. O      οὐδὲν τι om. V      22 λέγειν ante ἔνωσιν transp. O  
25 καὶ om. O      30 μὲν om. O

or else it is not the same, but you understand 'one' here as contradicting 'two'—  
and then the term 'made flesh' is added without meaning. Or if this means it is  
neither one simply nor two united, yet there is nothing midway between one  
and two, then consider what is left: surely two-thirds, or a half, or a third, or  
whatever other fractional number between one and two is supposed, is for you  
what the additional word 'made flesh' means; and surely division will follow, if  
in addition to the one [nature] you suppose something else along with it.

"But enough of this. How and by what means the Fathers understood  
that the Word of God and his humanity remained perfect and undiminished,  
their essences but not their hypostases converged in unity, though neither  
was non-hypostatic, has already been demonstrated fully, with God's help, in  
the first chapter of our above discussion and in what follows it, and also in  
the first section of our former work *Against the Opposed Docetists* [= CNE].  
We refuse to argue through this again, and to roll out the same points over  
and over."

8. A: "Since the composition of all beings, even of ourselves, consists of the  
common and the particular, as is obvious to everyone—for we all share in the  
common element of essence, and by the particular note of the hypostasis we are  
what we are said to be—what is missing from the common or particular  
elements in each nature which are understood to be united in Christ? If nothing  
is lacking, it is no more true to speak of a union of natures than of a union of  
hypostases. What follows from this? We must either speak of two natures and  
two hypostases after the union, or else, rejecting the number of hypostases, we  
must, by the equality of a fair exchange, also yield to those who say that one  
nature has come from the natures because of the union. And if those who say  
this are accused of confusing [the natures], why shouldn't those who speak of  
one hypostasis from the [two] hypostases also be justly accused of confusing  
the hypostases?"

O: "You fail to realize, my wise friends, that the definition of nature is one  
thing, and the structure of the Incarnation another. Therefore you make  
speeches, on the one side, about things that are completely divisible, separating  
natures with hypostases, and on the other side you teach that one nature of flesh  
and divinity has grown out of [two] confused wholes. Now if there was 'a time  
when these were not' united, one might regard them in this way

πάντη κεχωρισμένα· εἰ δὲ σύνδρομον τῇ ὑπάρξει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ Λόγου ἴσμεν τὴν ἔνωσιν, πῶς τὰ μηδέποτε ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα  
 τὸν τῶν πάντη διαιρετῶν ὑποδέχεται λόγον; Ἐπινοία μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ  
 λόγῳ ἂν τις διέλοι, οὐ μὴν αἰσθήσει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ [B] τὴν  
 5 ἔνωσιν καὶ οὐτι γὰρ πρὶν συναφθῆναι. Καθόλου γὰρ λαμβάνειν διαίρεσιν  
 πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἄτοπον, ἢ πού γε πρὸ τῆς θατέρου ὑπάρξεως οὐ θεμιτὸν,  
 ἐπεὶ μηδὲ στέρησιν πρὸ τῆς ἕξεως, καὶ πολὺ γε πλεόν [ἢ] τὴν ἕξιν πρὸ τῶν  
 ἐν οἷς αὕτη θεωρεῖται. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
 τι, καὶ ποτε, καὶ πῶς· οἷον πρῶτον ὅτι ὑπάρχει τὸ πεφυκὸς δέχεσθαι τὴν  
 10 στέρησιν, ἔπειτα εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὴν στέρησιν πέπονθεν ἐν ᾧ ἔχειν  
 ἡδύνατο, εἶτα εἰ ἐν ᾧ πέφυκε τόπῳ, καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν· οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις τι μὴ  
 ἔχοι, τούτου πάντως καὶ τὴν στέρησιν πέπονθεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πεφυκὸς εἰ  
 τύχοι ἵπτασθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ (οὐ γὰρ πρὶν τῆς τῶν πτερῶν  
 περιβολῆς), καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν (οὐ γὰρ χωρὶς ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ), καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ  
 15 τόπῳ (ἐν ἀέρι γὰρ [C] καὶ οὐχ ὕδασι ἵπτασθαι πέφυκεν). Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως. Οὐ γὰρ προεπινοεῖται τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς  
 θεωρεῖται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐνώσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετὰ  
 τὴν τούτων ἔνωσιν καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν—τουτέστιν ἐπινοία ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνεργεία·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐνεργεία ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος ἐνωθεῖσα χωρίζεται. Τῇ  
 20 δὲ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διαιρέσει, οὐ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων οὔση οὐδὲ πρὸ τῆς  
 τούτων ἐνώσεως ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεωρουμένη διὰ τὸ ἄτρεπτον, καὶ  
 οὐδαμῶς ἔψεται τὰ τῇ κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαιρέσει ἐπόμενα (ἐπεὶ τοί γε  
 ταῦτόν ἐσται τὸ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διαιρετὸν τῷ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον).  
 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐσται ἡ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διάρσις, μὴ ἐνεργεία ὄντων τῶν  
 25 καθ' ὧν ἡ ἐπίνοια, εἰ καὶ ὁμοῦ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ εἶεν.

[D] Εἴ τις τοίνυν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνώσεως τὰ ἐνωθέντα ὑποβάλῃ, ὄψεται  
 ὅτι ὅσα τέλεια ὄντα εἰς τινος σύστασιν παρείληπται, ταῦτα τέλεια  
 μένοντα μέρη γίνεται τοῦ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν ὅλου, ὡς προεπινοεῖσθαι  
 τὰ πράγματα, εἶτα τὴν τούτων σύνοδον, εἶτα τὴν κατὰ θεωρίαν διάκρισιν·  
 30 τοῦ νοῦ γὰρ ἅμα τὰ τρία θεωρεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντος, ἐν μέρει τῶν ἅμα

as wholly separate; but if we know that the unity with God the Word is  
 simultaneous with the very existence of his humanity, how can what never have  
 been separated from each other receive the label of 'wholly separable'? One  
 might divide them conceptually and verbally, but not empirically or in actuality,  
 and [one could do] this after the union, not before they were joined. For in  
 general it is illegitimate to understand division before union, indeed before  
 the existence of either element it is impossible, since one cannot speak of  
 deprivation before possession, or—even less—of possession before [the  
 existence of] the objects in which it is encountered. For these things are not  
 asserted simply, but in relationships and with a temporal and circumstantial  
 context: first [one recognizes] that something exists which can admit of  
 deprivation, then [one sees] whether it has experienced the deprivation at a  
 time when it could have had [the thing], then whether [it has experienced this]  
 in the place and in the way in which it would normally have had it; for one has  
 not suffered deprivation simply through not having something, but only if one,  
 let us say, is naturally suited to fly, at this particular time (for one cannot fly  
 before one is fitted out with wings) and in the normal way (for one cannot do it  
 without the necessary requirements) and in this particular place (for one  
 normally flies in the air, not in water). It is the same, then, with division. It is not  
 conceived prior to the objects in which it is observed, nor prior to union itself,  
 but when the objects [exist] and after their union and in the proper way—that  
 is, conceptually, not actually; for the humanity [of Christ] is not divided in  
 actuality from the divinity to which it has been joined. And division on the  
 conceptual level, which is not prior to the objects or to their union but is  
 observed in them because something remains unchanged, never has the same  
 consequences as division on the actual level (since in that case the conceptually  
 divisible would be the same as the actually divisible, which is nonsense). But  
 conceptual division would not be possible at all, if the objects being conceived  
 did not exist in actuality, albeit together and in the same subject.

"If, then, one looks at the objects united in the category of union, one will see  
 that the complete elements which are assumed for the constitution of a thing  
 remain complete, and become the parts of the whole which these parts produce,  
 so that first one conceives of the things, then of their conjunction, and then of  
 their conceptual distinction. For since the mind cannot perceive all three  
 together, it apprehends as parts

VO 2 Θεοῦ om. O 6 ἄτοπον om. O ἢ: εἰ O πρὸ om. O 7 ἢ seclusi  
 πρὸ τῶν om. O 9 ὅτι ante πρῶτον transp. O 13 πρὶν: πρὸ V 14 ἐν<sup>1</sup> om. O  
 15 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. O 21 καὶ om. O 25 εἰ om. O 30 θεωρεῖν:  
 νοεῖν O

τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιεῖται. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἐνώσεως, ἀλλ' [1940 A] οὐκ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, ἀληθῆ θεωροῦμεν τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον· οὐχ ὅτι ἐναντία ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν, τουτέστιν ἡ φύσις τῇ ἐνώσει, ἀλλ' ὅτι διάφορα, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ ταυτὸν οὐδὲ κοινὸς 5 τούτων ὁ λόγος. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνομολογοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ μία κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ δύο φύσεως διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν μία λέγεται, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῇ σύγχυσιν οὐ συνιᾷσιν.

Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μεγαλείου τῆς θείας φύσεως ἀκοινώνητον τὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως καὶ αὐτοὶ δώσουσιν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσται φιλανθρωπίας 10 συγκατάβασις, ἀλλὰ φυσικὴ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν ἢ συνάφεια. Καὶ τίς οὕτω τοῦ θείου ὕψους ἀνεπαίσθητος, ἢ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ταπεινότητος [B] ἀνεπίσκεπτος, ὥς νομίσαι ταῦτα φυσικῇ τῇ προσάλληλα ὀλκῇ δέχεσθαι τὴν τῶν ὄντως ἀμίκτων κοινωνίαν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν; Ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον δέω εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ τῆς φύσεως τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἔχειν τὴν 15 πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔνωσιν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς σῶμα συνάφειαν φυσικῶς πάσχειν ἄνευ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως λέγειν ἀνέξομαι· καὶ τί λέγω τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς; Ὅποτε οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων μίξιν καὶ κράσιν ἀπλῶς οὕτως καὶ μόνῃ τῇ φύσει γίνεσθαι εἶπομι' ἂν, λόγῳ δὲ μᾶλλον θείῳ καὶ τῆς φύσεως κρείττονι εἰς τάξιν ταῦτα 20 καὶ ἁρμονίαν ἄγεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁ λόγος τῆς φύσεως, "τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας περιέχει μυστήριον," ἀφόμενοι τοῦ περὶ [C] τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἐνωθέντων καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὰς τελείου σκοπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος ἐστὶ ταῦτα προβλήματος. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ θεολογίας, τὸ δὲ φυσικῆς ἐστὶ θεωρίας· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρειανούς οἰκειότερον 25 σκεφθήσεται, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πάντες τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως τὴν πρόσληψιν ἁρνούμενους· καὶ τὸ μὲν πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα παρίστησι, τὸ δὲ πῶς τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δηλοῖ, ἀλλ' οὐτι γὰρ πῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ μέρη. Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐνώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποτελέσματος ἐξετάσωμεν.

Scholion ad 1-2 (διὰ τοι τοῦτο ... λόγον): οὐ κατὰ φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης λόγον, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίας μόνῃς τὸν τῆς ἐνώσεως τρόπον λέγοντες ἀληθεύομεν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 13-20 (ἐγὼ γὰρ ... ἄγεσθαι): ἀπὸ τοῦ περιόντος ἡ ἐπιχείρησις V (Σ<sup>1</sup>); ad 15-16 (τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ... συνάφειαν): οἱ]δαμεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔξω τῶν σωμάτων ὑπῆρχον αἱ ψυχαὶ, οὐκ ἂν τῆς ἀλλήλων ἐδεήθημεν φωνῆς O (Σ<sup>2</sup>)

21 (τὸ μέγα ... μυστήριον): 1 Tim. 3.16

VO 4 μὲν om. O 12 ταύτας V 13 ὄντως: οὕτως V ἔνωσιν: εὐρεσιν O  
14 τοσοῦτω O 18 κράσιν: πράξιν V 19 θείῳ ante μᾶλλον transp. O  
21 post εὐσεβείας add. ἡμῶν O 25 post σκεφθήσεται add. δὲ O 27 αὐτὸ V

what exists as one. Therefore we consider our argument to hold true in the manner of union, but not in the structure of nature: not because these two—namely, nature and union—are opposites, but because they are different yet concerned with the same individual and belonging to the same individual, yet not identical, nor having a common significance. They [i.e., the opponents of two-nature language] agree about this themselves: for their 'one nature from two' is said to be one because of union, even if they do not understand the confusion that follows on it.

"They themselves admit that there is something incommunicable in the union, which lies in the structure of the greatness of the divine nature, since [otherwise] there would be no condescension of divine love for man, but the joining of the highest being with what is lowly would simply be natural. And who is so imperceptive of the divine majesty, or so unaware of human lowliness, as to think that these things, by a natural attraction for each other, admit of a mutual sharing and union when in their reality they are unmixed? I am so far from saying that God the Word is united to our [manhood] by the law of nature, that I am not even prepared to say that the union of the human soul with its own body is experienced naturally, apart from the divine power. And why do I speak of the soul of man? Since I would not say that even the mixing and blending of the elements happens simply this way, purely by nature, but these things are brought to order and harmony by the divine Word, which is stronger than nature. Since, then, the mode of union rather than the structure of nature contains the great mystery of religion, we are free from having to investigate the nature of what is united and what is fully realized in them—for that is not part of the present question: the former belongs to our understanding of God, the latter to the contemplation of nature; the former is more properly investigated in controversy with the Arians, the latter against those who completely deny that he assumed our nature; the former explains how he is related to the Father, the latter how what is ours in him is related to us; but neither explains how his parts are related to him. So let us investigate the mode of union and the product of it.

"Τρεῖς τοίνυν αἱ ἀνωτάτω δόξαι" περὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ φύσεων κατεβλήθησαν· διαιρετική, συγχυτική, καὶ ἡ κυρίως ἐνωτική λεγομένη. "Αἱ μὲν οὖν δύο παισὶν" αἰρετικῶν "ἐπαίχθησαν—καὶ παιζέσθωσαν!" [D] Καλῶς γὰρ προλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐστηλίτευσεν. Ἡ τε γὰρ διαιρετική, σχετική τις οὖσα καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰς φύσεις συνάπτουσα, κεχωρισμένα ἀλλήλων καταλείπει τὰ πράγματα, μὴδ' ὅσα κοινὰ, μὴδ' ὅσα ἴδια τοῦτοις διδοῦσα ἢ ἀντιδιδούσα, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν δύο εἶδη πάντα καὶ χωριστὰ ἀλλήλων ὀρίζεσθαι, πλὴν ὅσον ἀξία καὶ γνώμη καὶ ταυτοβουλία τὸν τῶν φύσεων χωρισμὸν ἐπισκιάζουσα, φευακίζει τοὺς ἄφρονας. Ἡ δὲ κατὰ διάμετρον ταύτης καὶ συγχυτική, πάντα ἀφανίζουσα καὶ συγχέουσα, ἐν τι πᾶγμα νόθον ἀναπλάττει τε καὶ φαντάζεται, ἐν [1941 A] οὐδ' ὁποτέρῳ τῶν ἡνωμένων καθαρῶς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποσφύζουσα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνο καὶ ἐκεῖνο τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο εἶναι συγχωροῦσα· νόθον γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ἐκ τῆς συγχύσεως ἀναφαίνεται, οὐδὲν ἔχον καθαρὸν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ μονίμῳ ἰδρυμένον ἑαυτοῦ ιδιότητα. Ἡ δὲ τούτων μέση, ἡ ἀσύγχυτός τε καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ἔνωσις, οἶδεν μὲν τὰ ἐνωθέντα ἀνελλιπῶς ἔχοντα κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ιδιότητα διὰ τὸ ἄτρεπτον· κοινὰ δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐνὸς εἶναι ποιεῖ δι' αὐτὴν γε τὴν οὐσιώδη ἔνωσιν· ὥς εἶναι τὰ μὲν κυρίως ἴδια θατέρου κοινὰ τοῦ ὅλου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου κοινὰ θατέρου, διὰ

Scholion ad 2 ff: μὴ παραδράμης τὸ χρήσιμον V (Σ')

1-4 (τρεῖς ... παιζέσθωσαν): Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 29.2 (SC 250.178)

VOT 1 τοίνυν: τοιγαροῦν T ἐν om. V ante φύσεων add. δύο T 3 λεγομένη om. T ante αἱ add. ἀλλ' T 4 παιζέσθωσαν: πεφεύσθαι T 4-5 καλῶς ... ἐστηλίτευσεν: παρὰ μέρος ἀν' εἴη (?) γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου καὶ θεολόγου χρήσασθαι T 5 ἢ τε γὰρ διαιρετική om. O καὶ om. T ἀλλήλων: πρὸς ἄλληλα (?) T 6 καταλείπη O 7-10 μὴδ' ὅσα κοινὰ ... ἄφρονας: ἦν ἐδόξατε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνενόησεν ὁ ματαιόφρων Νεστόριος, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ δύο Υἱοὺς εἰσάγειν καὶ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποφαίνειν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεόν, καὶ μηδὲ θεοτόκον ἀξιούν ἀποκαλεῖν τὴν πανάχραντον ἀληθῶς καὶ θεοτόκον Μαρίαν καὶ μητέρα τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ χριστοτόκον· ὃν ἡ ἁγία ἐν Ἐφέσῳ σύνοδος ἀξίως καθεῖλε καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παρεπέμψατο T 7 τοῦτοις ante ἴδια transp. O 10 ταῦτα T καὶ συγχυτική: συγχυτῶς πλείστον T 10-11 πάντα ἀφανίζουσα καὶ συγχέουσα: τὰ μέρη συγχέουσα τε καὶ ἀφανίζουσα T 11 ἀναπλάττει: ἀλλὰ πλάττει T 12 τῶν ἡνωμένων ... ἀποσφύζουσα: μέρος (?) τὸ ἴδιον καθαρῶς ἀποσφύζουσα T 13 εἶναι om. T 14-16 οὐδὲν ... ἔνωσις: ἦν ἐδόξαsen ὁ δυσσεβὴς Διόσκορος καὶ Εὐτυχὴς καὶ Σευήρος, οὓς καθεῖλε καὶ ἀπεκήρυξεν εὐλόγως καὶ δικαίως ἡ ἁγία τετάρτη σύνοδος· ἡ δὲ μέση τούτων, ἀληθῶς ἐνωτική, ἦν ἐκήρυξε καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν ἡ αὐτὴ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἀσύγχυτως καὶ ἀδιαίρετως διδάξασα τῶν συνελθούσων δύο φύσεων ἐν μία ὑποστάσει τὴν ἔνωσιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν T 15 ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτοῦ O ἢ<sup>2</sup> om. O 17 ἔχοντα κατὰ: φυλάττοντα T τὸ: τοῦτο O post ἄτρεπτον add. καὶ ἀσύγχυτον T κοινὰ δὲ ταῦτα om. T καὶ ἐνὸς: ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν δηλαδὴ τὰ μέρη T 18 δι' αὐτὴν γε τὴν: διὰ τὴν T οὐσιώδα T post [οὐσιώδη] add. καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν (?) T post εἶναι add. λοιπὸν T 19 κοινὰ τοῦ ὅλου ... θατέρου om. O post θατέρου add. ἴδια T

"Three overarching ways' have been established of looking at the unity of natures in Christ: the way of division, the way of confusion, and the way properly called unitive. 'The [first] two have been the games of heretics—let them play with them!' So St Gregory before us (Or. 29.2) showed them up well for what they are. For the way of division is a theory of unity by relation, which does not join the natures together from the start but leaves the [two] realities separate from each other, nor does it ascribe to them, or allow them to exchange, any common or particular qualities; in consequence, it defines [here] two species completely separate from each other, except insofar as it tries to cover up the separateness of the natures with [talk of] honor and intention and sameness of will, and so dupes the ignorant. The diametric opposite to this, the way of confusion, obliterates and confuses everything, and makes in its imagination a single, bastard thing, not preserving purely in either of the united elements what is proper to it, but allowing this to become that and that this, so that it is neither this nor that. For anything which comes from confusion is obviously a bastard, having no element that remains pure and established in its own stable peculiarity. The middle way between these, unconfused and inseparable union, recognizes that the things united remain undiminished in their own individual characters, because they are unchangeable; but it holds them to be common, and to belong to one subject, because of that same union of essences. So that what is properly characteristic of each is common to the whole, and what belongs to the whole is common to each,



τὴν ἐν θατέρῳ τοῦ ταύτου ἀσύγχυτον ἰδιότητα· οὐ γὰρ ἀντίδοσις ἂν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ ἔμεινε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει, ἢ ἰδιότης ἀκίνητος.

- [B] Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνώσις τῶν μὲν πάντα διαιρετῶν ἐνικωτέρα, τῶν δὲ πάντα συγχυτικῶν πλουσιωτέρα, ὥς μήτε πάντα ταῦτον εἶναι ποιεῖν τὰ ἐνωθέντα ἀλλήλοις, μηδὲ πάντα ἕτερον. Εἰ τοίνυν μηδὲ πάντα ταῦτον, μηδ' ἐξ ὅλων ἕτερον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀποφαίνει, ζητητέον πῃ μὲν ταῦτον, πῃ δ' ἕτερον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος τὸ μὲν ταῦτον κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν οἶδεν, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. "Ἐμπαλιν γὰρ ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει," κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Γρηγόριον. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀπαράδεκτον, τὸ ἐξῆς αὐτοὶ συναγέτωσαν. Πάντως γὰρ, εἰ μὴ ὑποστάσει ταῦτον, φύσει ἄρα δώσουσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, εἰς δὴ πού καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσται λόγος θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ τὴν ἐνώσιν. [C] καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, ταῦτον ἔσται ἐνωσίς τε καὶ φύσις· κοινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν κατηγορήμα. Ὡς περ γὰρ ὦν ἡ φύσις μία, τούτων καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ αὐτός, οὕτως ἀνάγκη καὶ ὦν ἡ ἐνώσις ἅμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ, τούτων κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν φύσιν εἶναι κοινήν. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν, ὦν ἡ φύσις μία, τούτων ὑποστάσεις διάφοροι, ἐπεὶ μηδεμίαν φύσιν ἐν πρόσωπον περιγράφει. Ἐντεῦθεν δε τί συναγεται; Μίαν μὲν εἶναι φύσιν σαρκὸς καὶ θεότητος, ὑποστάσεις δὲ δύο. Εἰ δὲ μήτε φύσει μήτε ὑποστάσει καὶ ἀριθμῷ τὸ ἐν ἔχουσιν τὰ συνελθόντα, πού ἡ διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν ἐνωθέντων ταυτότης; Εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσει καὶ ὑποστάσει τὸ ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶ, πού ὁ τῆς ἀτρεψίας καὶ τοῦ ἀσυγχύτου λόγος ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει σωθήσεται;

- [D] Ὅτι δὲ δυνατόν καὶ ἐξ ἀτελῶν καὶ ἐκ τελείων τὸ αὐτὸ γένεσθαι ἀποτέλεσμα, μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀναστάντες νεκροὶ· τοιοῦτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς, καίτοι τελείους ὄντας κατὰ τὰ μέρη, ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐνώσις ἀπειργάσατο, ὁποίους καὶ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ ἡ φύσις διαπλάττουσα συνῆψε. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ προσδοκωμένῃ κοινῇ ἀναστάσει συμβήσεσθαι πεπιστεύκαμεν· τῶν τε γὰρ προδιαλυθέντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων ἤδη σωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄρτι τότε ζώντων καὶ μεταστοιχειουμένων ἢ καὶ προσφάτως ἐκδεδημηκότων, ἀτελῶν τε καὶ τελείων, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀναστάσει [1944 A] σύστασιν γενήσεσθαι πεπιστεύκαμεν. Ἐξ ὧν δείκνυται ὅτι καὶ ἐκ προϋφεστώτων πραγμάτων ὑπόστασιν γένεσθαι ἀτρέπτως ἐνδέχεται, εἰ καὶ ὅλως ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο οὐ δίδεται, ὅτι οὐ προδιαπέπλασται. Οὐ μὴν δι' αὐτὸ γε

9 (ἔμπαλιν ... ἔχει): Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ep. 101 (Ad Cledonium I).4 (SC 208.44)

VOT usque ad 1.3; deinde VO 1 τοῦ ταύτου: μέρει T οὐ: οὐδὲ T ἂν om. T 2 ἐγένετο T ἐν ἐκατέρῳ: ἐκατέρῳ μέρει T καὶ om. T ἢ om. T 4 πάντη: τι V<sup>ac</sup> 6 μηδὲ V 7 δ': δὲ V 9 οἶδεν, τὸ δέ: οἶ δὲ τὸ V 21 τῆς ἀτρεψίας: τοῦ ἀτρέπτου O 21-2 τοῦ ἀσυγχύτου: om. τοῦ O 23 καὶ ἐξ ἀτελῶν iter. V<sup>ac</sup> ἐκ om. O 24 τοῦ: ὑπὸ VO 27 δ': δὲ O 33-4 εἰ ... δίδεται om. O

because of the unconfused peculiarity of the same whole in each. For there would not be an exchange of characteristics, if the peculiar character of each did not remain undisturbed, even in union.

"This, then, is the kind of union [we are speaking of]: more unitive than the kind that completely divides, but richer than the kind that completely confuses, so that it neither makes the elements that are united completely the same as each other, nor wholly other. If, then, union of this kind shows its product to be neither wholly the same nor wholly different, we must investigate how it is the same, and how different. The word of truth acknowledges the sameness [to be] in the hypostasis, the difference in the nature; for 'it is the opposite of [the way it is] in the Trinity,' according to St Gregory. If our opponents cannot accept this, let them draw the logical conclusions themselves. For surely they will agree that if [two united elements] are not one in hypostasis, they must be one in nature. If this is so, the concepts of divinity and humanity will be one and the same because of the union; and if that is so, [the state of] union and [that of] nature will be the same, for the predicate applied to both is common. For as objects which share one nature also come under one concept, so necessarily objects joined by union at one time and in one subject will have, according to them, a common nature. And the opposite will also be true, surely: if the natures of two elements are one, their hypostases will be different, since no one person (*prosōpon*) circumscribes a nature. What follows from this? There is one nature of flesh and divinity, and two hypostases. Or if what has come together has its unity neither in nature nor in hypostasis and number, where is the sameness of what is made one by union? But if they are one with each other in both nature and hypostasis, how is the structure of unchangeableness, and of the unmixed, preserved in the union?

"The dead bodies of Christ and of the saints witness to the possibility that the same product can come into being both from incomplete and from fully formed elements; for the union which occurred through the resurrection made them just as nature had originally woven them together in their mothers' wombs, even though they were already complete in their parts. And we believe that the same thing will happen in the common resurrection which we look forward to; for we believe that bodies will be formed by resurrection in the same way, whether they were previously decomposed and corrupted, or ones that were living right at that time and transformed, or had recently departed this life—whether they are incomplete or complete. This demonstrates that it is possible for a hypostasis to come into being even from pre-existent things, without their changing, even if this is not the case at all for Christ, because he was not created in advance. However, we realize

τὸ μὴ προδιαπεπλάσθαι φύσιν γέ τοι Χριστοῦ μίαν ἐκ δύο ἀσυγχύτως  
γεγενῆσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἄλλης καὶ ἡστινοσοῦν φύσεως ἔγνωμεν, ἥπουγε ἐπὶ  
Χριστοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον εὐσεβοῦσιν ἀμήχανον. Εἰ  
γὰρ φύσις λέγεται παρὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι τι, οὐδεμία δὲ φύσις τὸ ἐναντίον  
5 καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἑαυτῇ πέφυκεν, ἡ δὲ μία κατ' αὐτοὺς Χριστοῦ φύσις  
τοῦτο πέπονθεν, οὐκ ἄρα μία ἔσται φύσις· εἰ γὰρ τύχοι πεφυκέναι τῇ  
τοιᾷδε φύσει τὸ ὁρατὴν εἶναι, οὐ πέφυκε τῇ αὐτῇ [B] καὶ τὸ ἀοράτως εἶναι.  
καὶ εἰ πέφυκε θνητὴ εἶναι καὶ φθαρτὴ, οὐ πέφυκεν αὐτῇ τὸ ἀφθάρτως καὶ  
ἀθανάτως εἶναι, ἐπεὶ τοί γε ἔσται τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. Ἀλλ'  
10 ἄτοπον τοῦτο. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ ἐναντία ἀνὰ μέρος δέχεται, ἀλλὰ τούτων τι  
ἔχουσα κατ' ἐνέργειαν, οὐκέτι καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἔξει ποτ' ἂν.  
Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ ὁρατὴ καὶ ἀόρατος, θνητὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος,  
περιγραπτὴ καὶ ἀόριστος, καὶ συνόλως γενητὴ καὶ ἀγένητος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐν  
ταύτῳ ἡ μία κατ' αὐτοὺς Χριστοῦ φύσις καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖται. Ἡ  
15 μὲν γὰρ μία ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ ἐν πρόσωπον δύνανται ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ  
τὰ ἐναντία καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα κατηγορήματα δέχεσθαι· ἡ δὲ μία φύσις,  
ὡς εἴρηται, τὰ ἐναντία πεφυκυῖα, οὐκέτι καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα ἑαυτῇ  
πέφυκεν· ἐκσταίη γὰρ ἂν πάντως ἑαυτῆς, πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο παθεῖν.

[C] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἐκείνους. Τὸ δὲ τινὰς λέγειν, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
20 προδιαπεπλάσθαι μηδὲ προϋφεστᾶναι τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνθρωπότητα  
μηδὲ τελείαν προσειληφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὑποστήναι, διὰ τοῦτο μίαν  
ὑπόστασιν ἀμφοτέρων ποιεῖν, τὸ μὲν τι ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀληθές ὃν  
τυγχάνει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ προϋφεστᾶναι μηδὲ προδιαπεπλάσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς  
δώσομεν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἀμφοτέρων ποιεῖν, ὡς οὐκ  
25 ἐγχωροῦν ἄλλως οὐδὲ δυνατὸν Θεῷ καὶ τελείῳ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕτως ἐνωθῆναι,  
οὐκέτι δώσομεν. Τί γὰρ οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως ἔχοντι πλέον ἔσται Θεῷ εἰς  
ἐνωσιν; Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐνώσεως ἢ ὁ τόπος ἢ τὸ ἀτελές τοῦ  
σώματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἐνώσεως [D] τρόπος τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν πεποίηκεν.  
Οὐ τοίνυν διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πρέπειν ψιλὴν ποτὲ καὶ ἄνευ  
30 θεότητος εἶναι τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνθρωπότητα, τὴν προδιάπλασιν  
ἐκβάλλομεν. Τοῖς δὲ λέγουσιν, "Ἐξ ὑποστάσεων

Scholion ad 3-4 (εἰ γὰρ ... φύσις): ὅρα τὸν συλλογισμόν V (Σ')

3-18 (Εἰ γὰρ ... παθεῖν: cf. Aristoteles, *Cat.* 4a10 ff.; Dexippus, *In Cat.* 2.35 (CAG IV/2, 56.16-25); Ammonius, *In Cat.* (CAG IV/4, 51.13 f.; 53.22 ff.)

VO 1 Χριστοῦ om. O 2 οὐδ' οὐδὲ V ἐπὶ om. O 5 ἡ: εἰ O 7 ὁρατῇ V  
αὐτῇ: τοιαύτῃ O τὸ ἀοράτως: τῷ ἀοράτῳ V 8 θνητῇ ... φθαρτῇ V; φθαρτὴ καὶ  
θνητὴ εἶναι O τὸ: τῷ O 8-9 ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ VO 9 ὁ post αὐτὸς  
transp. O 10 τι ante τούτων transp. O 11 post ἐναντίον add. τὰ V 13 καὶ<sup>3</sup>  
om. O 19 ante Χριστοῦ add. ἡ O ὁμολογεῖται O 15 δύνανται O καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
om. O 16 τὰ' iter. V<sup>c</sup> 18 ἂν om. O 25 ἄλλως: ἀλλ' ὡς OV<sup>c</sup> ante Θεῷ  
iter. ἀλλ' ὡς O 30 τὴν post Κυρίου transp. V

that one nature does not come into being, unconfused from two, simply through  
the fact of their not being created in advance—neither in the case of any other  
nature you may think of, nor in that of Christ, for whom it is unthinkable to  
religious people even to think such a thing. For if we speak of a 'nature' in  
correspondence to the way a thing comes to be, and no nature comes to be in a  
way that opposes and contradicts itself, but what they call the one nature of  
Christ *does* behave in this way, then it is not one nature. For if it should fall to  
such and such a nature, let us say, to be visible, it does not fall to the same nature  
also to be invisible; and if it falls to it to be mortal and corruptible, it does not  
fall to it to be incorruptible and immortal, since then the same concept would  
be applied to opposites—but this is impossible. For even if it admits of opposites  
in turn, but only possesses one of them in actuality, it would not yet possess the  
opposite also in actuality. Let them tell us, then, if what they call the one nature  
of Christ is not, even by their own confession, both visible and invisible, mortal  
and immortal, circumscribed and undefined, and, in sum, begotten and  
unbegotten, together and in the same subject. For the one hypostasis and one  
persona can receive opposite and contradictory predicates together and in the  
same subject; but the one nature, as we have said, which can produce contraries,  
cannot at one time come to be contradictory to itself; for if would completely  
cease from being itself before this could happen."

So much for them. As for the fact that some say: because the Lord's humanity  
was not formed or did not exist beforehand, and because it was not assumed  
already complete, but had its subsistence in the Logos, therefore we can make  
one hypostasis of both [natures]—part of this is true and part is not. We too  
grant that [his humanity] did not pre-exist, was not formed first; but we do not  
at all grant that this therefore makes one hypostasis of both, as if it were not  
permitted for things to be otherwise, or as if it were impossible for God to be  
united even with a fully formed man in this way. For what difference will it make  
to God, with regard to union, to be related to someone existing one way or the  
other? For neither the time nor the place of union, nor the incompleteness of his  
body, makes the one Christ, but the manner of union itself. We reject the prior  
formation [of Jesus the man], then, not because it was impossible, but because it  
was not fitting that the humanity of the Lord should once have been alone and  
without his divinity. As for those who say: "From [a multiplicity of] hypostases

ἐπεται ἡ προδιάπλασις, καὶ τὸ ποτέ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Λόγον ἐπίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ προδιαπέπλασται, οὐδὲ ἐξ ὑποστάσεων· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐξ ὑποστάσεων, οὐδὲ ὑποστάσεις”—πῶς γάρ; Εἰ μὴ ἐκ τούτων ταῦτα (ὁπότε οὐδὲ εἰ ἐκ τούτων δοθείη καὶ ἐξ ὑποστάσεων, 5 ἤδη πάντως καὶ ὑποστάσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναστάντων νεκρῶν, ὡς δέδεικται), εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὑποστάσεων λέγουσι, τί μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκ προσώπων; Καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, τί μὴ καὶ ἐξ υἱῶν—τοῦ μὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐκ Παρθένου γενομένου—εἰπεῖν θαρροῦσι; Τοῦ δὲ ταῦτα [1945 A] ἐννοεῖν ἢ λέγειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη διαιρητικώτερον, ἢ τῆς Νεστορίου δυσσεβείας ἐγγύτερον, 10 καὶ ἐκ διαμέτρου δοκοῦσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴστασθαι. Ὡς περ ἀμέλει καὶ δειλία πρὸς θρασυτητα μάχεται· κοινὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἶδη κακίας, εἰ καὶ ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἐλλείψει πρὸς ἑαυτὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν στασιάζουσι.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπισημῆνασθαι χρή, ὡς ἡ ὑπόστασις οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ προηγουμένως τὸ τέλειον δηλοῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπάρχον, δευτέρως δὲ 15 τὸ τέλειον· ἡ δὲ φύσις τὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχον δηλοῖ, κυρίως δὲ τὸ τέλειον. Τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὸν τῆς ὑποστάσεως λόγον παραλαμβάνόμενα ιδιώματα τινὰ ἀπὸ τινων ἕκαστον εἶναι ποιεῖ· τὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς φύσεως, οὐ τὸν τινα μὲν, τί δὲ ἀπὸ τίνος εἶναι ποιεῖ. Τὰ τοίνυν τοῦ μόνου, καὶ μόνον εἶναι ποιεῖ· τὰ δὲ κοινῶς ὑπάρχοντα οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον [B] καθόλου τῶν καθόλου λέγεται, εἰ καὶ 20 πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἀναφερομένους περιείληφεν.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μὴ ἀγνωῶμεν, ὡς τὰ τὴν φύσιν χαρακτηρίζοντα συστατικὰ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσὶ, τὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν οἷον συμβεβηκότων λόγον ἐπέχει, καὶ εἰεν χωριστὰ ἢ ἀχώριστα· καὶ ἀπλῶν μὲν ἀπλαῖ αἱ κατ' ἄμφω 25 ιδιότητες, συγκειμένων δὲ καὶ συνθέτων σύνθετοι. Ὡς περ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ὄρου· τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ χαρακτηρίζει τὸ ζῶν, τὸ λογικόν, τὸ θνητόν, τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνὰ μέρος δεκτικόν (οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἄπταιστος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ὄρος), τὴν δὲ ὑπόστασιν σχῆμα, χρῶμα, μέγεθος, χρόνος, τόπος, οἱ γονεῖς, ἡ ἀνατροφή, ἡ ἀγωγή, καὶ [C] ὅσα τούτοις ἐπεται, ὧν τὸ ἄθροισμὰ φασιν ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου ἀληθεύειν δύναται, καὶ 30 ὁμῶς ἐνὸς ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ τίνος δηλονότι. Καὶ τῶν μὲν τῆς φύσεως ιδιωμάτων κυρίως ἐκεῖνα μετέχει τὰ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχοντα, τῶν δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος διάφορος, ἐπὶ ἀνὰ εἰς τίνος

25–33 (τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ... διάφορος): cf. Porphyrius, *Isagoge* (CAG IV/2, 47)

VO 2 οὐδὲ: οὐδ' O 4 εἰ om. O 5 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναστάντων νεκρῶν om. V  
10 δοκῶσι V<sup>cor</sup> (δοκοῦσι V<sup>ac</sup>) 13 δέ: δ' O 19–20 καθόλου τῶν καθόλου: τῶν  
καθ' οὐ τί O 19 εἰ: ἡ O 23 χωριστὰ: χωριστικὰ O κατ' ἄμφω: κατὰ φύσεως  
καὶ ὑποστάσεως ἄμφω O 26 ἀνὰ μέρος ante ἐναντίων transp. O 28 ἡ ... ἡ:  
ἡ ... ἡ V 29 φασὶν post ἐτέρου transp. O 30 μὲν om. O

there follows prior formation, and [Jesus's] having once existed as a mere man, and understanding Christ and the Logos to be two separate individuals; but if he was not formed beforehand, he is not *from* hypostases, and if he is not *from* hypostases, he is not more than one hypostasis." What is this? If these conclusions do not follow from these premises (since not even if we concede "from these" and "from hypostases" must we speak of [multiple] hypostases in the case of the risen dead, as we have shown), but if they still say "from hypostases," then why not rather say also "from personas"? And if this is acceptable, why do they not also have the courage to say "from sons"—one existing as the Son of God, the other born as son of the Virgin? But nothing would be more divisive than to think or to say this, nothing nearer to Nestorian irreverence, even if they think they stand diametrically opposed to him. This is the way cowardice fights with rashness: for they share the same kinds of evil, even if they struggle against each other, and against virtue, by excess and deficiency.

And we must point this out, too: that the hypostasis does not simply or even primarily signify that which is complete, but that which exists for itself, and secondly that which is complete; while the nature signifies what never exists for itself, but most properly that which is [formally] complete. For the characteristics which are admitted into the concept of the hypostasis mark off each individual from one another; but those admitted into the concept of the nature do not mark off the individual, but tell one *kind* of individual from another. The characteristics of the single individual, then, make it single: those which exist commonly are not predicated more properly of a general class, in any sense, than they are of the things of which they are generally said, even if they include all the individuals referred to under the same species.

And let us not forget this: the features which characterize the nature are constituent parts of its essence, while those which characterize a hypostasis belong, in a way, to the category of accidents, whether they are separable or inseparable. And in simple beings, the characteristics of both [nature and hypostasis] are simple, while in conjoined and compound beings they are compound. This is how it is with the human person, and with the definition of him: animal, rational, mortal, capable of opposites by turns (for this is the surest definition of his essence). All characterize his essence, while shape, color, size, time, place, parents, upbringing, way of life, and all that goes with them, characterize his hypostasis. The sum of them, they say, cannot hold true for anyone else, and nevertheless they belong to one man—namely, *this* one. And those marks properly belong to the characteristics of nature which exist in the same essence, while the characteristics of the hypostasis also include those which belong to different categories, when they are combined

ἔνωσιν καὶ συμφυίαν παρείληπται. Οὕτως οὖν ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 Ἐμμανουήλ· μία μὲν ὑπόστασις θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο κοινὰ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὰ ὡς ὑποστάσεως κατηγορήματα· οὐ μία δὲ ἡ  
 φύσις, καὶ δηλονότι οὐδὲ τὰ ὡς φύσεως ιδιώματα. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 5 εἶναι λέγεται πάντα ὡς ἑνός, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ, οὐδὲ ὡς κατὰ μιᾶς  
 φύσεως· οἷον ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁρατός καὶ ἀόρατος, θνητός καὶ ἀθάνατος,  
 ψηλαφητός καὶ ἀνέπαφος, οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δέ, οὐδὲ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ. [D]  
 Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰς ἐστι καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ὡς καθ' ἑνὸς πάντα λέγεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 κατὰ μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως καὶ προσώπου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντα  
 10 λέγεται, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς κατὰ μιᾶς ταῦτα  
 λέγεται καὶ ἀπλῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ διαφορῶν καὶ συγκειμένων καὶ  
 σφζουσῶν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει τὴν φυσικὴν ἑαυτῶν ιδιότητα.

in the natural unity of an individual. So it is, then, also in the case of Emmanuel:  
 there is one hypostasis of divinity and humanity, and therefore the things which  
 ought to be predicated of the hypostasis are common to both; but there is not  
 one nature, and therefore the characteristics of nature are also not [common to  
 both]. For even if all his characteristics are said to belong to the same one  
 person, they do not [belong] in the same respect, nor in the manner of one  
 nature. So, for example, the same individual is visible and invisible, mortal and  
 immortal, palpable and untouchable, but not in the same respect nor in virtue  
 of the same structural principle. Since he is one and the same, all these things  
 are predicated as of one individual, and therefore of one hypostasis and persona;  
 but since not all are predicated in the same respect, but with regard to different  
 realities, therefore they are not predicated as of one simple nature, but of  
 different natures which are associated with each other and preserve in union  
 their own natural properties.

VO usque ad 1. 10 (ταῦτα); deinde V 2 τε om. V 3 post κοινὰ add. τὰ O  
 7 δὲ om. O 8 ἐστι: ἔτι O 9 ἐπειδὴ: ἐπεὶ O 10 post ταῦτα desunt in O  
 quattuor paginae; additur autem hic in calce, manu recentiori, λέγεται καὶ ἀπλῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ  
 κατὰ διαφορῶν καὶ

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΠΑΠΟΡΗΜΑΤΑ  
ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ· ΕΝ  
ΤΩ· ΕΝΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ· ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ  
ΕΝΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΤΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ  
ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ  
ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ

By the Same Author:  
Proposals and Definitions Offered as  
Objections against those who Deny the  
Double Reality of the Divine and the  
Human Nature in the One Christ, after the  
Union (*Triginta Capita*)



[1901 B] α' Εἰ τὰ πάντα ταῦτα μιᾶς ἐστὶ φύσεως, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μία φύσις λέγεται, πῶς τὰ μὴ πάντα ταῦτα ἢ μιᾶς ἂν εἴη φύσεως ἢ μία φύσις λεχθήσεται; Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέποτε πάντα ταῦτον, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότης τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητι· οὐκ ἄρα μιᾶς ταῦτα ἂν εἴη ποτὲ φύσεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μία ταῦτα φύσις μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λεχθήσεται.

β' Ὡν μία ἡ φύσις, κοινὸς ὁ λόγος· ὦν δὲ κοινὸς ὁ λόγος, ὁμοούσιος ἡ ὑπαρξίς. Οὐδέποτε δὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ὁμοούσιος ἡ θεότης τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· οὐκ ἄρα εἰς ποτε τούτων ὁ λόγος. Ὡν δὲ μὴ εἰς ποτε ὁ λόγος, τούτων αἰεὶ αἱ φύσεις δηλονότι διάφοροι.

[C] γ' Εἰ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λέγοντες τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων λέγουσι, καὶ ταῦτον αὐτοῖς σημαίνειν ἅμφω δοκεῖ, πῶς ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι λέγοντες μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, οὐκ ἐν δύο φύσεσι λέγειν μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν δοθέντων ἀναγκασθήσονται; Ταῦτόν γάρ κανταῦθα τὸ ἐξ ἁμφοῖν δηλούμενον.

δ' Εἰ ἐκ δύο φύσεων τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντες, ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λέγουσι, καὶ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λέγοντες, ἐκ δύο φύσεων αὐτὸν λέγουσι, θεότητα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγουσι, δύο ἄρα καὶ αὐτοὶ φύσεις μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν Χριστοῦ λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ τὸ λέγειν δύο φύσεις ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀρνοῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν,

1901B 1. If things which are completely the same belong to one nature, and they are themselves called one nature, how can what is not completely the same belong to one nature or be called one nature? But even they agree that the divinity of Christ is never completely the same as his humanity; they could never belong to one nature, then, and therefore they will not be called one nature after the union.

2. Objects that have one nature share a common name; objects that share a common name exist in one substance. Now even according to them, the divinity of Christ is never of one substance with his humanity; therefore they never share a common name. And if objects never have one common name, their natures surely will always be different.

3. If when they say he is "from" divinity and humanity, they also say Christ is "from" two natures, and both expressions seem to them to mean the same, how is it that they can say he is "in" divinity and humanity after the union, and are not required to say, from what they have conceded, that he is "in" two natures after the union? For there, too, what is expressed by both phrases is the same.

4. If when they say Christ is "from" two natures, they say he is "from" divinity and humanity, and when they say he is from divinity and humanity, they say he is from two natures; and if they speak of divinity and humanity even after the union, then surely they themselves are speaking of two natures of Christ after the union. But if they refuse to speak of two natures in Christ after the union,

1-21: Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica* XVI (PG 130, 1068 B7-D13)

2 ταῦτα D post ταῦτα add. κατὰ φύσιν ACD, Euth. Zig. ἡ<sup>1</sup> om. ACD, Euth. Zig.  
3 καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς om. C<sup>cor</sup>, Euth. Zig. 5 ποτὲ om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 3-6 καὶ ...  
λεχθήσεται· ἢ μία φύσις λεχθήσεται ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ACD, Euth. Zig.  
7-8 ὁμοούσιος ἡ ὑπαρξίς· καὶ ἡ ὑπαρξίς ὁμοούσιος ACD, Euth. Zig.  
8 οὐδέποτε δὲ· οὐδὲ D ἐστὶ om. A καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς om. C<sup>cor</sup>, Euth. Zig. κατ' αὐτοὺς·  
κατὰ ταῦτόν A 9 ante ἀνθρωπότητι add. κατ' αὐτόν Euth. Zig. 9-10 μὴ εἰς ποτε·  
μηδέποτε εἰς ACD, Euth. Zig. 11 τὸν Χριστὸν om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 13 μετὰ τὴν  
ἔνωσιν om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 15 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ACD, Euth. Zig. 16 εἰ ἐκ om. D  
18 δὲ· τε V καὶ<sup>3</sup> om. A 19 φύσεις ante καὶ αὐτοὶ transp. ACD, Euth. Zig. μετὰ τὴν  
ἔνωσιν Χριστοῦ· τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ACD, Euth. Zig. 20 ἀρνοῦνται post  
ἔνωσιν transp. ACD, Euth. Zig. ἀρνοῦντες Euth. Zig.

ἄρα τὸ λέγειν θεότητα Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα ἀρνοῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσην.

- [D] ε' Εἰ ἀσύγχυτα ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει τὰ συνελθόντα γινώσκουσι, δύο δὲ τὰ συνελθόντα καὶ κατ' αὐτούς εἰσι, πῶς τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει μὴ συγχυθέντα δύο καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσην οὐ γνωρίζουσιν; Εἰ δὲ δύο γνωρίζουσιν, πῶς οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν; Εἰ δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι, πῶς ἀριθμεῖν ταῦτα παραιτοῦνται, [904 A] ὡς τὴν φύσεως ιδιότητα ἀσύγχυτον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσην ἐπίστανται; "Ὁ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι," φησὶν ὁ θεὸς Βασίλειος, "καὶ ἀριθμεῖταισαν."
- ς' Εἰ ἐκ δύο μέν φύσεων λέγουσι τὸν Χριστὸν, δύο δὲ φύσεις τὸν Χριστὸν οὐ λέγουσιν, ἐκ τούτων μὲν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσι τὸν Χριστόν. Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν συνιστῶσιν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις γνωρίζειν αὐτὸν ἀξιούσιν. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς, ἢ οὐδαμοῦ ἢ ἐν ἑτέρῳ δηλονότι καὶ ἐν τίνι παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ τίς οὗτος σαφῶς διδασκέτωσαν.
- ζ' Εἰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοουσιῶν ἡ μία φύσις λεγομένη οὐ ταυτότητα τῶν ὑποκειμένων δηλοῖ προηγουμένως, πῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑτεροουσιῶν αἱ δύο φύσεις [B] οὐ τὸ διάφορον ἀλλὰ τὸ κεχωρισμένον ἀναγκαιῶς σημαίνουσιν; ἡ' Εἰ πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἀριθμὸς τὴν διαίρεσιν συνεισφέρει, ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἄρα ἔσται τῆς διαιρέσεως αἷτιος, οὐχ ἡ διαίρεσις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.
- 20 καὶ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν ἀριθμεῖσθαι τῶν ἡνωμένων, ἢ μηδὲν ἡνωσθαι τῶν ἀριθμουμένων. Καὶ πῶς οὐ καταγέλαστον τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν τῷ ἀριθμῷ διδόναι, παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὸ ποσὸν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἢ τὴν ποίαν τούτων σχέσιν παριστᾶν πεφυκός;
- θ' Εἰ τῶν πρὸς τι ἡ ἔνωσις τε καὶ τὰ ἐνωθέντα, ἅμα δὲ τὰ πρὸς τι καὶ ἀεὶ, 25 ἅμα ἄρα καὶ ἀεὶ ἡ ἔνωσις τε καὶ τὰ ἐνωθέντα· εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐνωθέντα

7-8 Basilius, Ep. 214, ad Terentium Comitem, 4 (ed. Y. Courtonne II, 205, ll. 17-18; PG 32, 789 B9-10)

3-8, 18-23: Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (1069 A1-11, A12-B8); cf. Anast. Sin., Hod. X 2.2.47-54 12-13 (εἰ γὰρ ... δηλονότι): cp. Joannes Damascenus, Contra Jacobitas 61 (ed. Kotter 4.131) 24-p. 318, l. 1 (εἰ ... δηλονότι): cp. ibid. 63 (ed. Kotter, ibid.)

V ACD; ab l. 22 (διδόναι), etiam O 1 τὸ ante ἄρα transp. ACD, Euth. Zig. 1-2 ἀρνοῦνται post ἔνωσην transp. ACD, Euth. Zig. 5 γνωρίζονται Euth. Zig. post ἔνωσην add. δύο ACD, Euth. Zig. 5-6 πῶς οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν; εἰ δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι om. Euth. Zig. 9 μέν om. C τὸν Χριστόν<sup>2</sup>: αὐτόν ACD 10 ταῦτα: ταῦτόν CD 11 λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν om. ACD post εἰ add. δὲ ACD 13 οὕτως V<sup>ac</sup> 15 οὐ om. V<sup>ac</sup> (add. in marg. Σ3), ACD 19 οὐχ ἢ: οὐχὶ D; οὐχὶ ἢ Euth. Zig. 23 πεφυκός D 24-p. 318, l. 1 εἰ ... δηλονότι om. A; post p. 318, ll. 2-5 transp. CD 25 post ἅμα add. δὲ CD ἢ om. CD τε om. CD post εἰ δὲ add. καὶ D

then surely they are refusing to speak of Christ's divinity and humanity after the union.

- D 5. If they recognize that what has come together in the union is not confused, and there are, even according to them, two things which have come together, how can they not recognize the two unconfused elements in the union as two, even after the union? But if they recognize two, why do they not acknowledge them? And if they acknowledge them, why do they refuse to number them, whose particular natures they realize are unconfused, even after the union? "For what they confess," writes St Basil, "let them also enumerate!" (Ep. 214,4).
6. If they say that Christ is *from* two natures, but do not say Christ *is* two natures, they are saying Christ is from these things but is not they. Let them tell us, then, whether they do not think they should recognize Christ to be in those elements from which they combine him. If those things from which he consists are not in him, they are obviously either nowhere or in some other individual. Whom, then, besides him? Let them instruct us clearly on who this is!
7. If in things of one essence, the "one nature" referred to does not mean, principally, that the subjects are identical, why do the "two natures" [referred to] in things of different essences not signify a difference but necessarily separation?
- B 8. If everywhere and in every way, number introduces division, then surely number will be the cause of division, not division the cause of number; and one of two conclusions follows: either not to count anything which is united, or not to unite anything which is counted. And why is it not ridiculous to ascribe this kind of power to number, when every number naturally reveals the quantity of things, not their nature or any kind of relationship among them?
9. If union and what is united belong to the category of relation, and objects are in relation simultaneously and continually, then surely union and what is united are simultaneous and continual. If, then, what is united

πέπαυται, συμπέπαυται τούτοις καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις δηλονότι.

[C] Ἴ' Εἰ ὁ ἀριθμὸς πάντως χωρίζει τὰ ἀριθμούμενα, οὐχ ὁ τῶν φύσεων μόνον ἀριθμὸς χωρίζει τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τῶν ιδιοτήτων ἀριθμὸς χωρίσει πάντως· πῶς τοίνυν δύο ιδιότητος λέγοντες, οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ

5 τῆς διαιρέσεως αἰτία ὑποκείμενοι;

ια' Εἰ "ἐμπαλιν," κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Γρηγόριον, "ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει" ἡ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα οἰκονομία, τρεῖς δὲ αἰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις, μίαν δὲ φύσιν ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας ὁμολογοῦμεν, πῶς οὐ δύο μὲν φύσεις, μίαν δὲ ὑπόστασιν ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα οἰκονομίας δώσομεν—εἴπερ τὸ ἐμπαλιν τοῦ

10 παντός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ὅλον ἀντιστροφή;

ιβ' Εἰ τὸ "ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος" ἀντωνυμία ὑποστάσεων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν [D] Θεολόγον, τὸ δὲ "ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο" ἀντωνυμία φύσεων, αἰ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας, αἰ ἄρα τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας· εἰ δὲ αἰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, αἰ ἄρα αἱ φύσεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αἰ αἱ κατ' αὐτῶν

15 ἀντωνυμίαι.

ιγ' Εἰ ταῦτόν τὸ "ἄλλο τῇ φύσει" εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ "φύσιν ἄλλην" εἰπεῖν, αἰ δὲ τὸ πρότερον ἀληθεύει ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, αἰ ἄρα τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συναληθεύειν ἀνάγκη.

ιδ' Εἰ οὐ ταῦτόν ἡ ἀπλή φύσις τῇ συνθέτῳ φύσει, ἡ δὲ ἀπλή τοῦ Λόγου  
20 [1905 A] φύσις μίαν μόνην φύσιν δηλοῖ, ἡ σύνθετος κατ' αὐτοὺς Χριστοῦ φύσις οὐ μίαν φύσιν δηλώσει· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπλή καὶ ἡ σύνθετος μίαν κατ' αὐτοὺς φύσιν δηλοῖ, λεγέτωσαν τὴν διάφοραν τῆς συνθέτου κατ' αὐτοὺς Χριστοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἀπλῆς τοῦ Λόγου φύσεως.

ιε' Τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων τὰ μὲν ἔχει τὴν προφορὰν πληθυντικὴν,  
25 ἐνικὴν δὲ τὴν σημασίαν, ὡς "Θῆβαι" καὶ "παρεμβολαί"· τὰ δὲ τὸ

6 (ἐμπαλιν ... ἔχει): Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ep. 101, ad Cledonium 1.4 (ed. P. Gallay, SC 208.44, ll. 15–16; PG 37; 180 A16–B1) 11–12 ibid. (ed. P. Gallay, SC 208.44, l. 6–46, l. 2; PG 37, 180 A6–B3)

6–15, 19–23: Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (PG 130, 1069 B9–D2) 16–18: Nicetas Choniates, Thesaurus X (cod. Thomas Roe 22, f. 220<sup>v</sup>)

VO ACD 1 συμπέπαυται om. D 2 δ<sup>1</sup> om. O χωρίζει ante πάντως trans O  
3 χωρίζει<sup>2</sup>: χωρίσει AD 3–4 ἀριθμὸς post πάντως transp. ACD 4 δύο om. A  
ιδιότητες O λέγονται O 4–5 αἰτία post τῇ transp. ACD 6 ἢ supplevi ἐπὶ  
om. ACD 7 αἰ τὰς om. O 11 ἀντωνυμίαι ACD, Euth. Zig. αὐτὸν om. Euth.  
Zig. 12 ἀντωνυμίαι ACD, Euth. Zig. πρῶτον: πρότερον ACD, Euth. Zig. 13 εἰ  
δὲ ... οἰκονομίας om. OC, Euth. Zig. 14 καὶ post αἰ<sup>2</sup> transp. AC Euth. Zig. αὐτὸν O  
16 εἰ ... εἰπεῖν<sup>2</sup>: εἰ ταῦτόν τὸ "ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο" καὶ τὸ "φύσιν" εἰπεῖν "ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην" Nic.  
Chon. τῇ φύσει εἰπεῖν om. ACD ἄλλην post εἰπεῖν<sup>2</sup> transp. C 17 πρότερον:  
πρῶτον V τῆς<sup>2</sup> om. Nic. Chon. 18 αἰ om. O post ἄρα add. καὶ Nic. Chon.  
19 post ταῦτόν add. ἐστὶν Pamph. 20 φύσις μίαν μόνην φύσιν om. Pamph. μόνην  
om. O κατ' αὐτοῦ D 20–1 Χριστοῦ φύσις: φύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ACD, Euth. Zig.  
21 δηλώσει δηλοῖ ACD, Euth. Zig. ἡ<sup>2</sup> om. Euth. Zig. 22 τῆς: τοῦ V κατ' αὐτοῦ D  
24 τὰ: ἃ O 25 post Θῆβαι add. καὶ Ἀθῆναι ACD τὸ om. ACD

ceases to be, surely union ceases along with them.

C 10. If number wholly separates what is numbered, not only the number of natures separates the natures, but the number of characteristics will also separate them completely; how, then, are those who speak of two characteristics not themselves also open to the charge of division?

11. If, as St Gregory says, the Incarnation of the Savior is "the opposite of how it is in the Trinity," and if we always confess three hypostases and one nature in speaking of God, why do we not grant two natures and one hypostasis in the Incarnation of the Savior—since "opposite" means the complete reversal of everything?

12. If the distinction of "one person and another" refers to hypostases, according to the same theologian, and the distinction of "one thing and another" refers to natures, and the first expression is always used in speaking of God, then the second is always used in speaking of the Incarnation; and if the second is *always* used in speaking of the Incarnation, then the natures remain always, since the opposed formulas that refer to them always remain.

13. If it is the same to say "other in nature" and to say "another nature," and the former is always true of the divinity and humanity of the Savior, then necessarily the second is also always true of the same elements.

14. If the simple nature is not the same as the composite nature, and if the simple nature of the Word signifies only one nature, then what they call the composite nature of Christ will not signify one nature. But if the simple and the composite signifies one nature, according to them, let them explain the difference between the composite nature of Christ they speak of and the simple nature of the Word.

15. Some nouns and verbs have a plural form but a singular meaning, like "Thebes" and "barracks;" some, on the contrary,

ἔμπαλιν ἐνικὴν μὲν τὴν προφορὰν, πληθυντικὴν δὲ τὴν σημασίαν, ὡς “χορὸς” καὶ “στρατὸς” καὶ “πόλις.” Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν πῶς ἡ μία σύνθετος αὐτοῖς φύσις λέγεται. Εἰ μὲν ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Πατράσιν ἡ διττὴ λεγομένη καὶ διπλὴ φύσις, χώραν οὐκ ἔχει προσκεῖσθαι τῇ συνθέτῳ φύσει [B] τὸ  
 5 “μίαν” αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν, εἴπερ μὴδὲ τῇ διττῇ· πρὸς δὲ καὶ μάταιος αὐτοῖς ὁ πρὸς τὰς δύο φύσεις πόλεμος· ἐνικῇ γὰρ σημασίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ πληθυντικὴν ἀποδεδώκασιν ἔννοιαν. Εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἔχει τὴν κλήσιν ἐνικὴν, οὕτως ἀξιούσι καὶ τῇς σημασίαν εἶναι ἐνικὴν, ταῦτόν αὐτοῖς σημαίνεται ἐκ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ τῆς συνθέτου φύσεως, καὶ περιττὴ ἢ τῆς “συνθέτου” φωνῇ· τὸ γὰρ  
 10 αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀπλῆς τε καὶ συνθέτου φύσεως αὐτοῖς ἀποδέδοται νόημα. Εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ ὁπότερον τῶν εἰρημένων, νόθον ἄρα καὶ συγκεχυμένην μίαν φύσιν ἐκ δύο φύσεων μυθοπλαστοῦσιν, ὅποια ἢ τῶν ἡμιόνων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπινενόηται, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δὲ ἢ τῶν πολυμόρφων καὶ ἐναντίων ζώων διαγράφεται τερατεία.

15 [C] ἰς' Εἰ τὸ λέγειν “μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην” ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῷ λέγειν δύο ἡνωμένας, δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον· ἢ τὴν σάρκα ταύτην μὴ εἶναι φύσει, μὴδὲ σαρκὸς ἔχειν φύσιν, ἢ οὖσαν μὴ λέγεσθαι ὅπερ ἐστίν. Ὅποτεραν τοίνυν τῶν ἀσεβειῶν βούλονται, αἰρεῖσθωσαν οἱ σοφοί, ἢ τὴν φύσιν ταύτην σάρκα μὴ εἶναι, ἢ τὴν σάρκα φύσιν μὴ λέγεσθαι.

20 ἰζ' Ἡ μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη τριπλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἔννοιαν· ἢ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιστροφὴν λέγεται, οἷον ὅτι καὶ σεσαρκωμένη μία πάλιν ἐστὶ—τουτέστι γυμνὴ σώματος—ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἀνδριάντος μία φύσις χαλκοῦ ἐσχηματισμένη· ἢ ὅτι κατὰ τροπὴν οὐσίας, οἷον μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου ἀποσαρκωθείσα, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος μίαν λέγοι [D]  
 25 φύσιν καὶ ἀπολιθωθείσαν· ἢ ὅτι μία οὐσα τοῦ Λόγου ἢ φύσις, οὐ μόνη καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλὰ μετὰ σαρκὸς οὐσα θεωρεῖται. Εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ

p. 318, l. 24–p. 320, l. 14: cp. Joan Dam., Ctr. Jac. 67 (ed. Kotter 4.132).

VO ACD 2 ante χορὸς add. τὸ ACD χορὸς ... πόλις: χορὸς, δῆμος, στρατὸς, πόλις ACD ἢ μία om. O; ἢ om. CD 4 ante προσκεῖσθαι add. τὸ ACD 5 αὐτὴν: ταύτην O ὀνομάζειν: νομίζειν V 8 τῆς<sup>1</sup> om. ACD 9 περιττὴ ... φωνῇ: περιττὴ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ συνθέτου φωνῇ ACD 10 φύσεως αὐτοῖς om. ACD ἀποδέδοται O 11 μὴδ' ACD νόθον: νοθηεῖ ACD 12 post ὅποια add. καὶ ACD 12–13 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων om. ACD 13–14 καὶ ἐναντίων om. ACD διαγράφεται: ἐπινενόηται ACD 15–16 εἰ τὸ λέγειν μίαν om. D φύσιν post Λόγου transp. O Θεοῦ om. OC 16 τῷ: τὸ V; τοῦ O 17 φύσει: φύσιν OC 18 βούλονται ante τῶν ἀσεβειῶν transp. ACD οἱ σοφοί om. ACD 20 ἢ: εἰ A<sup>com</sup> ante Λόγου add. Θεοῦ ACD 21 τὴν om. ACD λέγοιτο ACD 22 τουτέστι om. ACD 23 ὅτι om. A οἷον: οἷον ἢ CD; οἷονεῖ A 24 λέγοι: λέγει O; ante μίαν transp. ACD καὶ om. ACD 25 ἢ om. V; ante τοῦ Λόγου transp. ACD Λόγον: σοῦ O μόνη καὶ: μόνον ACD 26 αὐτὴν O ante σαρκὸς add. τῆς O

have a singular form but a plural meaning, like “chorus” and “army” and “city.” Let them say, then, how they mean their expression “one composite nature.” If it is the same as what the Fathers speak of as the “twofold” and “double” nature, there is no room for the term “one” to be applied to the composite nature, since it cannot be applied to the twofold nature; furthermore, their quarrel with the expression “two natures” is vain, for they, too, have taken a word with singular meaning in a plural sense. But if they think the meaning is singular, just as it has a singular verbal form, then the same thing is signified, in their eyes, by a “simple” and a “composite” nature, and the word “composite” is superfluous; for the same idea is given to them by the [concept of the] simple and the composite nature. And if neither of these explanations is true, then they are fabricating a bastardized and confused “single nature from two natures,” such as is recognized in the nature of mules and the like, and like the tales of hybrid and self-contradictory beasts spun out by the Greeks.

16. If speaking about “one nature of God the Word, made flesh,” is the opposite of speaking about two [natures] united, then one of two conclusions is necessary: either that the flesh is not this by nature, and does not have the nature of flesh, or that it is [flesh by nature] but is not called what it is. Let the sages choose, then, which kind of impiety they prefer: either that this nature is not flesh, or that the flesh is not called a nature.

17. The “one nature of the Word, made flesh,” has three [possible] meanings: either it is said by way of paradox, meaning that even though it is “made flesh” it is still only the one reality—in other words still without a body—just as a bronze statue has one nature of bronze, made into a shape; or [it is meant] as a change of essence, equivalent to “one nature of the Word turned into flesh,” as one might speak of one nature of water turned to stone; or [it is meant to say] that the nature of the Word, being one, is not considered alone, by itself, but along with flesh. Now if

τὰς πρώτας ἐννοίας τοῦτο λέγουσιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ ἔλεγχος· μετὰ γὰρ Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Εὐτυχέως ἀποσκευάζονται τὴν οἰκονομίαν· εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τελευταῖον σημαινόμενον, πῶς ἢ μετὰ σαρκὸς τοῦ Λόγου φύσις, τῇ φύσει τῆς σαρκὸς, τῇ μετὰ τοῦ Λόγου οὕσῃ, μία τῇ φύσει ἐστίν, ἢ πῶς μὴ οὕσα μία τῇ φύσει, φύσις μία λεχθήσεται; [1908 A]

10 ιη' Τὰ κυρίως ἀλλήλοις ἀντικείμενα ὅλην τὴν ἀπόφασιν καθ' ὅλης τῆς καταφάσεως ἀντιστρέφουσιν, ὅλον τῇ λεγούσῃ καταφάσει "Παῦλος ἀπόστολός ἐστιν" ἢ λέγουσα ἀπόφασιν "Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἐστίν." Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ταῖς δύο φύσεσιν ἢ μία φύσις ἀντίκειται· εἰ γὰρ μία φύσις ἐστίν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ δύο, καὶ εἰ δύο, οὐ μία. Εἰ δὲ μίαν λέγοντες, ἄλλο τι προστιθέασιν, οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀντιφατικῶς λέγεται ἀλλ' ἑτεροίως καὶ κατὰ περίφρασιν, καὶ συνέστηκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ ὅρου ἢ τῶν δύο φύσεων ὁμολογία—ἐκ μὲν ὀνόματος τῆς "φύσεως τοῦ Λόγου," ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρου τῆς "ἐψυχωμένης σαρκὸς ψυχῇ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ" (ὅρος γὰρ 15 ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως οὗτος). Πῶς τοίνυν τὸν ὅρον τῆς φύσεως λέγοντες, τὴν κλήσιν αὐτῆς παραιτοῦνται; Ἡ πῶς τὴν κλήσιν ἑκατέρας φύσεως παρέχοντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν παραιτοῦνται; Λεγέτωσαν οἱ μὴδὲ τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς ἢ τὰ μαχόμενα συνορᾶν δυνάμενοι!

[B] ιθ' Ἡ ἀπλή φύσις τῇ συνθέτῳ φύσει οὐχ ὁμοούσιος. Εἰ δὲ ἀπλή μὲν 20 ἢ φύσις τοῦ Πατρὸς, σύνθετος δὲ ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσις, οὐκ ἄρα ὁμοούσιος ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσις τῇ φύσει τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν λέγειν προσποιοῦνται. Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν εἰ ἐνδέχεται τὴν μίαν, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασί, σύνθετον Χριστοῦ φύσιν ἐξ ὧν εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὅλην πάλιν ἡμῖν, καὶ εἰ μὴ εἰς 25 τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦτο ὁμοουσιότητα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναφέρει. Εἰ δὲ λέγοιεν μὴ κατὰ τὸ ὅλον τὴν μίαν Χριστοῦ φύσιν τῷ τε Πατρὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον, λείπεται τῆς μιᾶς φύσεως τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν εἶναι [C] τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον· καὶ τοῦτο τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ μερίζειν

6-28: Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (PG 130, 1069 D3-1072 B6) 10-15: cp. Joan. Dam., Ctr. Jac. 68 (ed. Kotter 4.132)

VO ACD 2 Εὐτυχέως Α 4 οὕσῃ: σημασία Ο μία om. Ο 5 μὴ οὕσα μία: μία οὕσα C οὕσα: οὐσία Ο μία om. D; ante φύσις transp. AC 9 καὶ om CD, Euth. Zig. φύσις<sup>2</sup>: φύσιν D 11 καὶ om. AC 13 τοῦ om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 14 ἐμψυχωμένης D; ἐνεψυχωμένης Euth. Zig. 16-17 ἢ πῶς ... παραιτοῦνται om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 18 αὐτοῖς: ἐαυτοῖς ACD, Euth. Zig. ἢ: καὶ ACD, Euth. Zig. 19 φύσει om. Ο 20 τοῦ Πατρὸς ante φύσις transp. ACD, Euth. Zig. φύσις<sup>2</sup> om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 21 καὶ αὐτοὶ om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 23 ante Χριστοῦ add. τοῦ ACD, Euth. Zig. 24 ἐξ ὧν ACD, Euth. Zig. καὶ ... ἡμῖν om. Euth. Zig. post ἡμῖν add. ὁμοούσιον ACD 25 τοῦτο post ὁμοουσιότητα transp. ACD 26 τὸ: τὸν Ο ante Χριστοῦ add. τοῦ ACD, Euth. Zig. 27 εἶναι post Πατρὶ transp. Ο δὲ post ἡμῖν transp.

they use this phrase according to the first [two] senses, the refutation of their impiety comes from their own words; for along with Apollinarius and Eutyches, they have done away with the Incarnation. But if they [use it] according to the last sense, why is the nature of the Word, which is associated with flesh, one in nature with the nature of the flesh which is associated with the Word, and why are they called one nature when they are not one in nature?

18. Things which are properly contradictory oppose a complete negation to a complete affirmation, as when the negative sentence, "Paul is not an apostle," denies the affirmative sentence, "Paul is an apostle." So also the "one nature" is opposed to the "two natures," for if Christ is one nature, he is not two, and if two, he is not one. But if they say "one," and then add something else, they are no longer speaking by way of contradiction but by way of variation and circumlocution, and from the noun and the definition [they are using] there proceeds a confession of the two natures—from the noun, "nature of the Word," and from the definition of "flesh animated by a rational, intelligent soul" (for this is the definition of human nature). Why, then, do they assert the definition of nature but refuse the name of it? Or why do they offer the name of each nature but refuse the number? Let them tell us, though they are unable to perceive what helps their case and what opposes it!

B 19. The simple nature is not of one essence with the composite nature. If the nature of the Father is simple, and the nature of Christ is composite, then the nature of Christ will not be of one essence with the nature of the Father. But they themselves pretend to hold that Christ is of one essence with the Father, and that the same Christ is also of one essence with us. Let them tell us, then, if it is possible for what they call the one, composite nature of Christ to be completely of one substance with the Father and completely so also with us, and if this does not lift us up to being of one substance with the Father. If they should say that the one nature of Christ is not in its entirety of one substance with the Father and with us, it remains for half of the one nature to be of one substance with the Father and half to be of one substance with us; and what else is this but to divide



ἦν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι μίαν Χριστοῦ φύσιν εἰς τε ὁμοουσιότητα καὶ εἰς ἑτεροουσιότητα, καὶ εἰς ποστημόρια τῶν συμπληρούντων αὐτοῖς τὴν μίαν σύνθετον φύσιν; Τῆς δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου ἐστὶ δυσσεβείας καὶ τῆς Ἀρείου μανίας ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸ τέλειον τῆς τε θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος.

κ' Εἰ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ὃ εἰς Χριστὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγεται, φύσει δὲ ἀμφότερα, πῶς οὐ δύο φύσεις ὃ εἰς Χριστὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, εἴπερ μηδέποτε ταῦτον τῇ φύσει Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, μηδὲ τῇ αὐτῇ φύσει ποτὲ ἤπερ ἐστὶ Θεός, ταύτῃ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος;

[D] κα' Εἰ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγοντες, πρὸς ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο λέγουσι, τουτέστι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐδέποτε δὲ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοούσιοι, οὐδὲ τὸ ἡμῖν ἄρα ὁμοούσιον ὁμοούσιον ἔσται ποτὲ τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοουσίῳ. Εἰ δὲ τὰ ὁμοούσια μιᾶς ἔστι καὶ λέγεται φύσεως, οὐχ ὁμοούσιος δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότης τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητι, τὰ δὲ ἑτεροούσια ἑτέρας καὶ διαφόρου ἐστὶ φύσεως, τὰ τῇ φύσει ἕτερα καὶ φύσεις ἕτεροι δηλονότι.

κβ' Αἱ ιδιότητες οὐχ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τινων εἰσιν ιδιότητες· εἰ δὲ δύο [1909 A] καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν αἱ ιδιότητες, δύο ἄρα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὰ ὧν αἱ ιδιότητες. Ἀλλὰ μὴν δύο ιδιότητος λέγοντες, φυσικὰς ταύτας λέγουσι. Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ αἱ δύο φυσικαὶ ιδιότητες φύσεων δύο εἰσιν ιδιότητες· εἰ δὲ τὰς δύο φυσικὰς ιδιότητας καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγουσιν, αἰεὶ ἄρα αἱ δύο φύσεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αἰεὶ δύο αἱ τούτων φυσικαὶ ιδιότητες.

κγ' Ἡ διαφορὰ διαφερόντων πάντως διαφορά· αἱ δὲ συστατικαὶ διαφοραὶ τὰ οὐσιωδῶς διαφέροντα διακρίνουσιν. Λεγέτωσαν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ διαφορὰν

what they call the one nature of Christ into a similar substance and a different substance, and into fractions of the elements that help each other fill up the one composite nature? It belongs to the blasphemy of Apollinarius and the madness of Arius to deny the perfection of Christ's divinity and of his humanity.

20. If even *they* say that the one Christ is God and man, also after the union, and is both by nature, why is not the one Christ two natures also after the union, since God and man are never the same in nature, nor is he ever God by the same nature by which he is man?

D 21. If in saying Christ is doubly consubstantial, even after the union, they say he is consubstantial with two different beings—namely, with the Father and with us, and if the Father and we are never consubstantial, then neither will that which is consubstantial with us ever be consubstantial with what is consubstantial with the Father. But if consubstantial things are and are said to be of one nature, yet Christ's divinity, even in their view, is not consubstantial with his humanity; and things of a different substance belong to another, different nature; then things which differ in nature are clearly also two natures.

22. Properties are not properties of themselves, but of things; and if even they agree that there are two [sets of] properties after the union, then the things of which these are properties will be two, even after the union. But when they speak of two [sets of] properties, they say they are "natural." Let them explain, then, whether the two [sets of] natural properties are the properties of two natures; and if they confess two [sets of] natural properties even after the union, then there remain two natures, since the natural properties of them remain twofold.

23. Surely a difference is a difference between things that differ. And constitutive differences distinguish between things that differ in essence. Let them tell us, then, if when they speak of the difference

1-9: Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (PG 130, 1072 B6-C5)

VO ACD usque ad 1. 7 (φύσει δέ); deinde lacuna in O 1 εἰς<sup>2</sup> om. V  
2 ποστημόρια: πρὸς τῇ μοίρᾳ A; πολλοστημόρια D; ποστημόριον V<sup>ac</sup> 2-3 τὴν ...  
φύσιν: τὴν μίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσιν τὴν σύνθετον ACD 4 μανίας om. O, ACD, Euth.  
Zig. ἀρνήσασθαι O τε om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 6 αὐτὸς O εἰς om. ACD, Euth.  
Zig. 7 φύσει: φύσεις C<sup>cor</sup>, Euth. Zig. εἰς om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 8 μηδέποτε: μηδὲ  
ACD, Euth. Zig. 9 ποτὲ om. ACD, Euth. Zig. ἤπερ εἴπερ V<sup>ac</sup>, D καὶ om. AC  
10 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. ACD λέγοντες: λέγουσι ACD λέγουσι: λέγοντες ACD 13 ὁμοούσιον<sup>2</sup>  
om. VA ποτὲ om. ACD 14 ἔστι: εἰσι V λέγονται V 15 δ' ACD ἀδιαφόρου D  
ἐστὶ: εἰσι ACD ante τὰ τῇ φύσει add. καὶ ACD 19-20 δύο ... ιδιότητες: τινῶν  
δύο πάντως εἰσιν ιδιότητες ACD 22 δύο<sup>2</sup> ante φύσεων (l. 21) transp. CD  
21-22 φύσεων ... ιδιότητες om. A 23 λέγουσιν: ὁμολογοῦσιν ACD αἰεὶ om.  
ACD αἰ om. ACD 25 πάντως: ἐστὶ ACD δέ: γὰρ V

θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λέγοντες, φυσικὴν τούτων διαφορὰν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ φυσικὴν λέγουσι διαφορὰν, φύσεων πάντως φασὶ διαφορὰν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, δύο φύσεις ἄρα διαφορὰς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγουσιν, εἴπερ αἱ δύο φύσεις φυσικῇ διαφορᾷ [B] πάντως δύο φύσεις εἰσίν.

κδ' Εἰ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους Πατέρας ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, ἡ μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου οὐ πρὸς τὴν σάρκα μία φύσις λέγεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· πρὸς αὐτὸν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐνότητα καὶ ταυτότητα. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μία φύσις ἔστι τε καὶ λέγεται, εὐδελον ὡς οὐ μία φύσις ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λεχθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ Λόγος οὐ μία φύσις πρὸς τὴν σάρκα λέγεται, εὐδελον ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ πρὸς αὐτὸν μία φύσις ποτὲ λεχθήσεται. Εἰ δὲ μηδὲ ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὴν σάρκα μηδὲ ἡ σὰρξ πρὸς τὸν Λόγον μία φύσις λέγεται, μετὰξὺ δὲ μιᾶς καὶ δύο [C] οὐδὲν τὸ μέσον, σαφές 15 ὅτι ἡ ἀναίρεσις τῆς μιᾶς φύσεως τὴν τῶν δύο φύσεων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦ συνεισάγει ὁμολογίαν.

κε' Εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ιδιότητα ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ Λόγου ἀφορίζει, ταύτη δὲ τῇ ἀφοριστικῇ ιδιότητι τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις, ἄλλος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, οὐ ταύτη δὲ τῇ ἀφοριστικῇ ιδιότητι καὶ ἀπὸ 20 τῆς σαρκὸς διακρίνεται, πῶς ἡ ἄλλος ἔσται ὁ Λόγος ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἢ ὡς ὑπόστασις ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀφορισθήσεται; Εἰ δὲ οὐ ταύτη τῇ ιδιότητι διαστέλλεται ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς, ἑτέρα - δηλονότι τῇ τῆς φύσεως ιδιότητι, ἥτις τῷ Πατρὶ συνάπτουσα, τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτὸν διαστέλλει· ἐκ τούτων 25 ὑπόστασιν· ὅτι τῇ ἀφοριστικῇ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς συνάπτεται [D] πρὸς τὴν σάρκα, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τῇ συναπτώσει αὐτὸν φυσικῇ ιδιότητι τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ διάφορον ἔχει πρὸς τὴν σάρκα· καὶ ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα

6-7 ταύτην ... ἴδιον: cf. Basilus, Ep. 236, ad Amphilochium, 6 (ed. Y. Courtonne III, 53, ll. 1-2; PG 32, 884 A8-9).

6-16: Euth. Zig., Pan. XVI (PG 130, 1072 C6-D5)

V ACD; ab l. 26 (ἀμέλει) etiam O      2 φύσεως C      3 φασὶ: λέγουσι ACD      δύο ... διαφορὰς: φύσεων ἄρα διαφορὰν ACD      3 ante μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν add. αὐτοὶ ACD  
6 ἔχειν D      9 καὶ ταυτότητα om. A      11 ὁ Λόγος: ὁλως CD, Euth. Zig.      ποτὲ ante μία φύσις (l. 10) transp. ACD, Euth. Zig.      13-14 εἰ ... Λόγον: εἰ δὲ μηδὲ ἡ σὰρξ πρὸς τὸν Λόγον μηδὲ ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὴν σάρκα ACD, Euth. Zig.      14 μετὰξὺ ... μέσον om. C<sup>com</sup>, Euth. Zig.      σαφῶς ACacD      15 ἐκ τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦ om. ACD, Euth. Zig.      20 ante ἄλλος add. γὰρ ACD      23 αὐτὸν διαστέλλει: ἀποδιαστέλλει αὐτὸν ACD      24 ἐστι om. ACD      τοῦ om. V<sup>ac</sup>, ACD

between godhead and manhood, they mean a natural difference between them, even after the union; and if they mean a natural difference, surely they mean a difference of natures. And if they mean that, then even they mean two different natures after the union, since two natures with a natural difference surely are two natures.

24. If, according to true reasoning and the holy Fathers, essence has the same difference from hypostasis that the common has from the proper, then the one nature of the Word will not be called one nature along with the flesh, but along with the Father; for he shares with him unity and sameness of nature. But if he is and is called one nature with the Father, it is obvious that he will never be called one nature with the flesh; and if the Word is not called one nature with the flesh, it is obvious that the flesh will never be called one nature with him. And if neither the Word is called one nature with the flesh, nor the flesh with the Word, and there is no middle term between one and two, it is clear that the denial of the one nature [of both] brings in, as its consequence, the confession of the two natures.

25. If the hypostasis of the Logos defines his proper distinction from the Father, and if by this property which distinguishes him from the Father, which is the hypostasis, he is another individual than the Father, but is not distinguished from the flesh by this same property, how will the Word be a different individual from the flesh, or be distinguished from it as hypostasis? But if he is not distinguished from the flesh by this property, clearly it is by another: by the property of nature, which joins him to the Father but distinguishes him from the flesh. From this it is clear how we speak of two natures in Christ, but one hypostasis; for by the distinguishing characteristic which divides him from the Father, he is joined to the flesh, just as by the natural property which joins him to the Father he experiences difference from the flesh; and as he is one nature with the Father

μία φύσις ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ταυτότητα, οὕτως οὐ μία φύσις πρὸς τὴν σάρκα διὰ τὴν ταύτης, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Λόγον ἐνώσει, φυσικὴν καὶ ἄτρεπτον ιδιότητα.

- κς' Εἰ πάντα τὰ ὁμοούσια τῷ τῆς φύσεως λόγῳ συνάπτεται καὶ διὰ  
 5 τοῦτο λέγονται μία φύσις, τὰ δὲ ἑτεροούσια ἐνώσει καὶ οὐ φύσει  
 συνάπτεσθαι πέφυκεν, οὐ ταῦτόν δὲ ἐνώσει καὶ φύσις, οὐ ταῦτόν ἄρα τὸ ἐξ  
 ἀμφοῖν ἀποτελεσμα· εἰ δὲ ἡ φύσις συνάπτει φύσις μία λέγεται, τὰ τῇ  
 ἐνώσει συναπτόμενα ὑποστάσει μὲν, οὐ μὴν φύσει καὶ οὐσίᾳ, ἐν εἶναι  
 λεχθήσεται.
- 10 [1912 A] κς' Κοινῶς παρὰ πάντων ὡμολόγηται τὸ "ἄνθρωπος" ὄνομα  
 τὴν φύσιν δηλοῦν, τὸ δὲ "Παῦλος" ἢ "Πέτρος" τὴν ὑπόστασιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
 μακάριον Κύριλλον, "τὸ "Χριστὸς" ὄνομα οὔτε δύναμιν ὅρου ἔχει οὔτε τὴν  
 τινος οὐσίαν δηλοῖ," ὥς "ἄνθρωπον" καὶ "ἵππου" καὶ "βοῶς" καὶ ἐκάστου  
 τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος. Οὐκοῦν οὐ ταῦτόν "ἄνθρωπον" τε ἀπλῶς καὶ  
 15 "Χριστόν". Πῶς τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παράδειγμα, τῆς φύσεως ὃν  
 δηλωτικόν, μετάγετε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρόσωπον, τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον, οὐ φύσιν δηλοῦντος ἀλλ' ὑπόστασιν; Εἰ δὲ  
 λέγοιτε αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πατέρας χρήσασθαι τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 παραδείγματι εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐνώσεως λόγον, οὐ τὸν ἀπλῶς ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ  
 20 τὸν τινα παραλαμβάνουσιν, ὑπόστασις δὲ οὗτος. Ἐπιστήσατε δὲ [B] ὅτι  
 καὶ ἐν δυσὶν αὐτὸν τοῖς χιμάροις διαγράφει τῷ λόγῳ· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐνταῦθα  
 οὐ πρὸς τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῶν χιμάρων φέρει τὸ παράδειγμα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ  
 διάφορον τοῦ τε ζῶντος καὶ τοῦ τεθυμένου τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, οὕτω  
 25 προσώπου ἢ τοῦ τινος αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπου εἰκὼν παραλαμβάνεται. Ὅτι δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Πατράσιν ἐκ δύο τε καὶ δύο φύσεις  
 ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται, καθ' ὃ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν συγγεγραμμένων  
 αὐτοῖς πολλαχόθεν ἐστὶ πιστώσασθαι.

12–13 Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Scholia* 1 (ed. P. Pusey 498, ll. 5–7; PG 75, 1369 A3–5), 21 cf. Cyr. Alex., *Frag.* in Ep. ad Hebraeos, supra p. 69, Test. 78; Ep. 41, ad *Acacium Scythopolitanum* (ACO I, 1, 4. 48, l. 23; PG 77, 220 C9–10) 20–5: cf. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Ep. ad Hebraeos Frag.* (vide CNE, Flor. 78; p. 254 supra).

4–28: Euth. Zig., *Pan.* XVI (PG 130, 1072 D6–1073 B12) 20–23 (ἐπιστήσατε ... ἀναφορὰν ἔχει) cp. Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.* 58.1–3 (ed. Kotter 4.130)

VO ACD 2 καὶ om. ACD 7 μία ante φύσις<sup>2</sup> transp. ACD 10 ὁμολογεῖται V<sup>ac</sup>  
 12 τὴν om. D 14 οὐ ταῦτόν: σὺ (?) τοῦτον V<sup>ac</sup> τε om. V 16 μετὰγεται O, ACD  
 18 λέγειτε Euth. Zig. 21 χιμάρροις O; χιμάρροις A οὖν om. O  
 ἐνταῦθα: ἐκεῖ Euth. Zig. 22 οὐ om. O χιμάρρων O; χιμάρρων A 24 καὶ  
 ἐνταῦθα ACD, Euth. Zig. 25 αὐτοῖς om. ACD, Euth. Zig. 26 παρὰ om. VO  
 τε om. C, Euth. Zig. post καὶ<sup>2</sup> add. ἐκ O φύσις O 27 τε καὶ λέγεται om. ACD,  
 Euth. Zig.

because of the sameness of nature, so he is *not* one nature with the flesh, because of its natural and unchanging character, even in union with the Word.

26. If all beings of the same essence are joined together by the category of nature, and therefore are called "one nature," but beings of different essences tend to be joined by union, not by nature, but union and nature are not the same, then surely the product of both is not the same. And if what nature joins is called "one nature," what is joined by union will be said to be one in hypostasis, but not in nature or in essence.

- 1912A 27. Everyone generally agrees that the word "man" signifies the nature, and the words "Paul" or "Peter" the hypostasis: according to the blessed Cyril, "the name 'Christ' does not carry the force of a definition or signify the essence of an individual," as [would the name] of "man" or "horse" or "ox" or everything else that comes under the same class. Therefore it is not the same thing simply to say "man" and to say "Christ." Why, then, do you transfer the analogy of a man, which expresses the nature, to the person of Christ, when the name of Christ, according to the master, does not express a nature but a hypostasis? And if you say that he and the other Fathers used the analogy of a man to express union, [note that] they do not use simply [the image of] man, but a particular man—and that is a hypostasis. And you should know that [Cyril] also describes Christ by the image of two goats: just as there the analogy refers not to the hypostases of the goats, but it makes reference to the difference between the living animal and the sacrificed one, so also here the image is not meant by them [i.e., the Fathers] to suggest the denial of natures, but the union of person or of the individual man. And it is possible to prove from many examples taken from their writings that for the same Fathers, even the individual man is—and is said to be—from two natures and even *is* two natures, because he is soul and body.

κη' Τὸ λέγειν ἐκ δύο φύσεων τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνωθέντων μερῶν νοεῖν ὑποβάλλει· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ [C] τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐξ ὑποστάσεων μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ ἐκ φύσεων ἔσονται αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐτοῦ, εἴπερ ἀρχαὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ μὲν τὴν θεότητα ὁ Πατὴρ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἡ μήτηρ· ἐκ τούτων δὲ ὦν ὡς ἀπὸ αἰτιῶν, σαφὲς ὅτι οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι κἂν ὅπερ ταῦτα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Πατὴρ οὐδὲ μήτηρ. Εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ μερῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ τὰ μέρη; Ἡ πῶς τὸ ὅλον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν; Εἰ γὰρ μήτε τὸ ὅλον ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν, μήτε τὰ μέρη ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ, λείπεται, ὡς προεῖρηται, ἢ μηδαμοῦ καὶ μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι ταῦτα, ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ παρὰ τὸν Χριστὸν θεωρεῖσθαι τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι θεωρεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Λόγου θεότητος τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀναιρεῖ.

[D] κθ' Τὸ ποσὸν τῶν πραγμάτων παρίσταται οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὠρισμένου ἀριθμοῦ, οἷον τοῦ δύο ἢ τρία ἢ τέσσαρα καὶ ἐξῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀορίστου, οἷον τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλίγα καὶ πλείονα καὶ ἐλάττωνα καὶ εἴ τι ὅμοιον, καὶ ἐξ ἀναλογίας, οἷον μείζον, ἥττον, ἴσον πρὸς τι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δεικτικῆς καλουμένης φωνῆς, οἷον τῆς τοῦτο κάκεῖνο καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλο καὶ ἕτερον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, οἷον πρὸ τοῦδε καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον—εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρους τρόπους. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πάντας τοὺς δηλωτικὸς τρόπους τῶν πραγμάτων διαιρητικὸς ἴσασιν τῶν δηλουμένων, αὐτόθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀτοπίας ὁ ἔλεγχος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ μίαν καὶ μίαν λέγουσι καὶ φύσεις ἀορίστους καὶ ἰδιότητας, τοῦτό τε [1913 A] κάκεῖνο, καὶ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον, καὶ μείζον καὶ ἥττον καὶ ἴσον, καὶ πρὸς τι καὶ πρὸ τοῦδε καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕστερον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντας τοὺς τρόπους, τὸν δὲ ὠρισμένον ἀριθμὸν μόνον καὶ μάλιστα τῆς δυνάδος διαιρεῖν ὑποτίθενται, ἀποκληρωτικὸς ἔσται ὁ λόγος· ἐπεὶ λεγέτωσαν αὐτοὶ τί δήποτε, κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τῆς ποσότητος τῶν ὑποκειμένων δηλουμένης, μόνῃ ἢ δυὰς τὴν φοβερὰν αὐτοῖς

28. To say Christ is "from two natures" suggests either that he is "from" them as his origins or that he is "from" these united parts. Now if he is from them as from his origins, his origins will be from hypostases and not from natures, since his origins are, for his divinity, the Father, and for his humanity, his mother; coming from these as his causes, it is clear that he is not the same as they are, for he is neither Father nor mother. But if he is, as it were, "from" parts, why are not the parts in the whole? Or why is the whole not in the parts? For if neither the whole is in the parts nor the parts in the whole, it remains, as we have already said, that either they are nowhere and nothing at all, or that the divinity and humanity of Christ are [to be] recognized in someone outside of Christ, and that Christ is [to be] recognized in other things and not in his own divinity and humanity; and this denies the existence not only of his humanity, but of the very divinity of the Word.

D 29. The quantity of things does not only consist in definite numbers, like two or three or four and so on, but also in undefined expressions of measurement, like "many" and "few" and "more" and "fewer" and whatever resembles them; and in expressions of comparison, like "more," "less," "the same amount" as something; and in so-called demonstrative terms, like "this," "that," "these," "another," "different," and in expressions of order, like "before this," and "after that," and "from the start," and "afterwards," and probably in other ways, too. If, then, they consider all indicative expressions to divide the things being indicated, the refutation of their absurdity is already at hand; for they themselves speak of indefinite natures and properties as numerically distinct, as "this and that," "one and another," different from each other, greater and less, equal and related, before this and after that, original and later. And if they suggest that not all turns of phrase, but only definite number, and especially the number two divides, their argument is absurd. For let them explain why on earth, of the many turns of phrase which express the quantity of subjects, only the number two introduces the dreadful suspicion

14-p. 332, l. 4: cp. Joan. Dam., *Ctr. Jac.* 77 (ed. Kotter 4.134)

VO ACD 2 ἀπὸ: ἐκ O 3 οὐκ ἐκ: οὐ O 3-4 ἔσονται ... αὐτοῦ: ἔσται  
ACD 4 ante ἀρχαὶ add. αἱ O 5 ὦν: ὧν O; om. CD ἀπ' A 6 ἔσται OA  
οὐδὲ: οὐδὲν D 5-6 οὐδὲ γὰρ ... μήτηρ om. A ante Πατὴρ add. ὁ D 7 ante  
μέρων add. τῶν O 7-8 εἰ γὰρ ... μέρεσιν om. CD 8 ἐν<sup>1</sup> om. O μήτε<sup>2</sup>: μηδὲ A  
9 καὶ μηδὲ: καὶ μηδὲν O; καὶ μηδ' ACD 10-12 τὴν θεότητα ... θεωρεῖσθαι om. C  
10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ ante τὴν θεότητα transp. O τὴν<sup>2</sup> om. O 14 παρίσταται: συνίσταται V  
15 ἀριθμοῦ, οἷον om. ACD τοῦ: τὸ O δύο: δευτέρου D καὶ ἐξῆς om. ACD  
16 τοῦ: τὸ O καὶ ὀλίγα om. A 17 δεκτικῆς ACD 18 καλουμένης om. ACD  
ἄλλα ACD ἕτερα ACD 19 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. D ἐκ: ἀπὸ ACD πρὸ τοῦδε: πρώτου δὲ D  
πάντας: ἅπαντας ACD 23 ἀορίστως V τε: τότε CD 26 post ἀριθμὸν add.  
ὄν CD μόνον ante ἀριθμὸν transp. ACD 27 διαίρεσιν ACD ὑποτίθεται D  
28 ante τρόπους add. τοὺς ACD

τῆς διαιρέσεως ὑπόνοιαν ἐπεισάγει, τῆς ἀληθείας ἐτέρως ἐχούσης; Ἡ γὰρ  
δυὰς καὶ τὰ δύο ἀμοῦ τὰ ἀριθμούμενα ἀλλ' οὐ κεχωρισμένα, κατὰ τὴν  
συλληπτικὴν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου δύναμιν, παρίστησι, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μιᾶς  
καὶ μιᾶς—αὐτῶν ὁ διαλελυμένος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν θεωρούμενος.

- 5 λ' Εἰ πᾶσα σύνθεσις μοναδικῶς ἐξαγγέλλεται καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκβάλλει  
ἐκ τῶν συντεθειμένων, δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον· ἢ ἀσύνθετον εἶναι τὸ [B]  
ἡμέτερον σῶμα καὶ τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, ἢ μὴ κατηγορεῖσθαι κατὰ τοῦ  
σώματος ἢ τοῦ ὅλου ἀνθρώπου κατ' αὐτοὺς τὸν ἀριθμὸν. Λεγέτωσαν  
τοῖνυν εἰ μὴ ἀριθμὸν τῶν συνθέτων ὑποβάλλει τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα γραφικὰ,  
10 τὸ "Ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἐν ἑκάστων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ σώματι", καὶ τὸ "Πολλὰ μὲν  
μέλη, ἐν δὲ σῶμα", καὶ "Ἐξηρίθμησαν πάντα τὰ ὀστά μου", καὶ "Ὁρυξαν  
χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας", καὶ "Ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ". Ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἐπὶ συναμφοτέρου τρία ἀριθμεῖ ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ  
πνεῦμα, ἃ καὶ "ἐζυμώθη", κατὰ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, "εἰς ἀλεύρου  
15 σάτα τρία", καὶ πάλιν "Δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν  
τῷ πνεύματι, ἃ τινὰ ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ", καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, "Ταῦτα δὲ  
ἀντίκεινται ἀλλήλοις". Λεγέτωσαν τοῖνυν εἰ μὴ τὸ "ἅτινα" καὶ "ταῦτα" [C]  
καὶ "ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις" ἀριθμοῦ εἰσὶν εἶδη. Λεγέτωσαν δὲ καὶ τίνες οἱ  
ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης καὶ τοῦ μύλωνος δύο, ὧν "ἡ μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ μία  
20 ἀφίεται". ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ Σωτῆρι δύο νοεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ σῶμα καὶ  
ἡ ψυχὴ, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀποκτείναι δύνανται οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες, τὸ δὲ ἀνώτερον  
τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τυγχάνει, ἀμφοτέρα ἐν γεέννῃ ἀπολλύμενα, εἰ τούτου  
κριθεῖεν ἄξια. Ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπωμεν καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ τοῦ χρόνου φύσιν πλέον  
ἡνώσθαι, εἴτα κατὰ σύνθεσιν εἰς δώδεκα ὥρας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διαιρεῖσθαι,  
25 ἢ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένον ὅλον

10 1 Cor. 12.18 10-11 1 Cor. 12.20 Ps. 21:18 (LXX) 11-12 Ps. 21.17  
(LXX) 12 Acta 1.18 13-14 (τρία ... πνεῦμα) 1 Thes. 5.23; cf. Hebr. 4.12  
14-15 Matt. 13.33; cf. Origenes, *In Matthaeum*, fr. 302; GCS 41, 135 15-16 1 Cor. 6.20  
(v.1.) 16-17 Gal. 5.17 19-20 Matt. 24.41; Luc. 17.34 f.; cf. Origenes, *Comm. Ser. in Matt.*  
57 (GCS Origenes II. 131 f.; Origenes 12.200 f.) 20-2 (τὸ σῶμα ... ἀπολλύμενα)  
Matt. 10.28 24 (εἰς δώδεκα ... διαιρεῖσθαι) Joan. 11.9

VO ACD 1 ὑπόνοιαν: ἔνοιαν ACD ἀληθείας: ἐτέρας ACD 2 καὶ om. ACD  
τὰ<sup>2</sup> om. ACD ἀριθμοῦντα O 4 καὶ μιᾶς om. ACD διαλελυμένως C καὶ<sup>2</sup> om V  
6 ἐκ om. ACD 10 αὐτῶν om. ACD 11 ἐξηρίθμησεν O  
13 συναμφοτέρου: τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους O 14 ἃ om. ACD 15 πάλιν om.  
ACD 16 post πνεύματι add. ὑμῶν V 17 ἀντίκειται O 18 καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. O  
ἀντικείμενα: ἀντίκειται ACD 20 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. O τῷ Σωτῆρι: κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα O  
21 δύνανται ante ἀποκτείναι transp. ACD 22 post ἀμφοτέρα add. δὲ ACD εἰ: ἐπὶ O  
τούτου CD 23 κριθεῖεν: κατακριθεῖεν C καὶ om. ACD 24 ἡνώσθαι:  
ἡνωμένην ACD εἴτα: ἢ τὰ ACD διηρησθαι V 25 ὑπ' om. D

they have of division, when the truth is something different? For the number  
two expresses the idea of two things together, counted but not divided, by the  
unitive force of this number, as distinct from saying "one and another"—those  
words suggest what is broken into its elements and considered part by part.

30. If every composite expresses a singular meaning, and excludes number  
from the objects compounded, then one of two things is necessary: either our  
body and the whole man are not compounded, or number cannot be predicated,  
in their opinion, either of the body or of the whole man. Let them explain, then,  
if such scriptural passages as these do not suggest number in composites: "He  
put members, each one of them, in the body," and "There are many members  
but one body," and "They counted all my bones," and "They dug my hands and  
my feet," and "All his entrails poured out." But in considering both parts together,  
the Apostle numbers them as three, body and soul and spirit, and according to  
the Savior's parable, "three measures of meal were leavened;" and "Praise God  
in your body and in your spirit, which belong to God," and again, concerning  
the same parts, [we read] "These are opposed to each other." Let them tell us,  
then, if words like "these" and "they" and "which are opposed to each other" are  
not forms of number; and let them tell us who those "two" on the bed and at the  
mill are, of which "one will be taken and one left," and if the Savior does not  
think of man as two parts, body and soul, of which those who plot against us  
can kill one, but the other is above plotting, and both can perish in Gehenna, if  
they are judged worthy of it. And if we say that the continuous nature of time is  
rather united, but that it was then divided by the Lord into a composite of  
twelve hours, or again, according to what he said, that the whole



- τὸν νόμον “ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς” κεκρεμᾶσθαι, τῇ εἰς Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπῃ, τάχα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος μεθ’ ἡμῶν τῆς διαιρέσεως τὸ ἔγκλημα οὐκ ἐκφεύζεται, τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς δώδεκα τεμῶν [D] ὥρας καὶ τὸν νόμον ὅλον εἰς δύο γενικὰς ἐντολάς. Καὶ ὅλως τῷ γε φιλοπόνως
- 5 ἐντυγχάνοντι τῇ τε Γραφῇ καὶ τοῖς Πατράσι ποικίλῃ καὶ πολυειδῇ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὴν χρήσιν εὐρεῖν ἔξεστι, κατὰ τε ἀπλῶν καὶ συνθέτων καὶ ἠνωμένων καὶ διηρημένων καὶ ὑφεστώτων καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ θεωρητῶν καὶ μέχρι τῶν πάντῃ ἀνυποστάτων χωροῦσαν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν, ὡς λανθάνειν προσποιούνται τοὺς ἀπλουστεροὺς ὡς τινος οὐσης διαφορᾶς
- 10 μεταξὺ τοῦ δύο εἰπεῖν καὶ ἄμφω καὶ ἐκάτερα καὶ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ἐν ἀμφοῖν καὶ δι’ ἀμφοῖν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις [1916 A] εἰσιν, εἴπερ τι ἕτερον, κἂν τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτέροις εὐρίσκεται, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ταῦτα ὄντα πολλοῖς δηλοῦνται τοῖς τοῦ λόγου μέρεσιν. Ὁ γοῦν θεῖος ἀπόστολος τὴν διαφορὰν
- 15 τούτων χρήσιν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων διαποικίλλει, φάσκων “ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐν,” καὶ πάλιν “ἵνα κτίσῃ τοὺς δύο ἐν ἑαυτῷ,” καὶ ἔξης καὶ “ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους.” ὥστε παντὸς ἀληθέστερον μῆτε ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ μῆτε μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Πατράσι ταῦτα διάφορον νοῦν ἐμποιεῖν ἐν τῇ διαφόρῳ αὐτῶν σημασίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ᾖ τι τούτων
- 20 εὐρίσκηται, ταῦτὸν δηλοῦσθαι τῇ ἐκ πάντων τούτων διαφόρῳ σημασίᾳ.
- Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένους τῷ Θεῷ ἐυχαριστήσαντες, αὐτοῦ που τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπαπορήσεων στήσωμεν· οὐ γὰρ λογογραφεῖν, ἀφορμὰς δὲ [B] καὶ σπέρματα τοῖς φιλοπονωτέροις τῆς τελειοτέρας ἐξεργασίας τούτων παραδοῦναι προεθυμήθημεν, ἵν’ εἰδέναι ἔχοιεν οἱ σοφοί, μὴ πάντα
- 25 ὄντες ἀπορητικοί. ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπορεῖσθαι παρ’ ἡμῶν εἰσιν ἄξιοι.

law hangs together “in these two commandments,” those of love for God and one’s neighbor, perhaps the Lord himself, along with us, will not be able to escape the charge of division, for dividing the day into twelve hours and the whole law into two general commandments. In general, it is possible for one who reads the Scripture and the Fathers industriously to find a varied and manifold use of number, for simple things and compound, united and distinct, existent and purely conceptual, even reaching as far as the completely non-existent. And let us not forget that they try to deceive the simple [into thinking] that there is some difference between saying “two” and “both” and “each” and “either” and “in both” and “through both;” but all of these expressions, and those like them, mean the same as each other, even if they are slightly different, and some of them are found in common usage, others among the more highly educated, just as many other things which are the same are expressed in many parts of speech. The divine Apostle, after all, expresses the different usage of such terms for the same things in a variety of ways, when he says: “He who made both one” and “that he may form the two in himself,” and then “and he will reconcile both of them.” So that it is truer to say that neither in the holy Scripture nor indeed in the holy Fathers do these terms bring about a different sense through their different significance, but whatever meaning one of them is discovered to have, the same is expressed by the different significance of all of them.

Now we give thanks to God for what we have said, and bring to an end here the number of our objections; for we are not writing a speech, but we are eager to offer material and seeds for discussion to those industrious people who seek a fuller investigation, so that our sophistic friends may know [what we think], if they are not ready to challenge everything; there are points where they, too, deserve to be challenged by us!

1 Matt. 22.40      15-16 Eph. 2.14      Eph. 2.15 (v. 1.)      17 Eph. 2.16

VO ACD      1 κρεμᾶσθαι AC; κρεμμᾶσθαι D      ante Θεὸν add. τὸν ACD      2 ante τὸν πλησίον add. τῇ εἰς ACD      τὸν: τῷ O      3 τέμνων O      4 ὅλον om. ACD  
 9 post προσποιούνται add. καὶ O      10 ἐκάτερας ACD      καὶ ἀμφοτέρω om. ACD  
 11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα O      12 εἰσιν: ἐστὶν ACD      εἴπερ: ἤπερ ACD      κἂν: καὶ A  
 13 εὐρίσκηται VC      ταῦτα D      post ταῦτα add. τοιαῦτα V      14 δηλοῦντα C      τοῦ λόγου ante τοῖς transp. O      γοῦν: οὖν O      θεῖος ἀπόστολος: θεσπέσιος Παῦλος ACD  
 15 ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων om. ACD      διαποικίλλει: ἀποκίλλει A; καὶ ποικίλλει CD  
 16 ἑαυτῷ: αὐτῷ ACD      17 ἔξης: πάλιν ACD      ἀποκαταλλάξῃ O      πάντως CD  
 18 ἁγίοις om. ACD      19 νοῦν: οἰανοῦν C      ἀλλὰ C      19-20 ἀλλ’ ... ταῦτὸν om. D  
 ἀλλ’ ... σημασίᾳ om. O      ἐν ᾧ ... ταῦτὸν om. C      τι om. O, ACD      20 post σημασίᾳ add. τὸ ταῦτόν C      22 τῶν: τὸν V      στήσωμεν O      22-6 οὐ γὰρ ... ἄξιοι om. CD  
 γὰρ om. A      22 ἀφορμὴν A      23 σπέρμα A      φιλοπόνους O      τῆς: καὶ A  
 τελειώτερας V      ἐξεργασίας: ἐπεξεργασίαν A      24-26 τούτων ... ἄξιοι: καταλιπεῖν  
 πάσῃ δυνάμει προεθυμήθημεν A      24 ἵνα V<sup>ac</sup>

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΛΟΓΟΣ Β'· ΠΡΟΣ  
ΤΟΥΣ'ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΉΜΕΤΕΡΩΝ  
ΠΡΟΣΘΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗ  
ΚΑΤΕΦΘΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΓΝΩΜΗ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΔΟΚΗΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ

By the Same Author:  
A Dialogue against those of our Party  
who Adhere to the Corrupt Doctrine  
of the Aphthartodocetists  
(*Contra Aphthartodocetas*)

Ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις ἡμῖν, σὺν Θεῷ δὲ φάναι, τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις “τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως” εἰς δυνατὸν διαλελύκαμεν, αἷς δὴ χρώμενοι καθ’ ἡμῶν οἱ τῆς ἐναντίας δοκῆσεως (οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο καλεῖν αὐτοὺς παυσαίμην, ὅτι μηδὲ θέμις) τῆς εὐθείας ἀπάγειν τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ὑπολαμβάνουσι· νῦν δὲ αὖθις ἑτέρου σκέμματος καὶ προβλήματος τὴν θεωρίαν ἀναπτύξαι τε καὶ διευκρινῆσαι πειράσομαι. Ἦγείσθω δὲ τοῦ λόγου Χριστὸς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Λόγος καὶ φῶς καὶ [1317 A] ζωὴ καὶ ἀλήθεια, ἐμπνέων ἡμῖν σύνεσιν εἰς τὸ—μετὰ χάριτος καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἄνωθεν—τὰ συντελοῦντα εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ νοῆσαι καλῶς καὶ φράσαι δυναθῆναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑώρων τὴν νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἐπαναστᾶσαν κατ’ ἀλλήλων ζυγομαχίαν μέχρις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μείνασαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαβῆναι φιλονεικοῦσαν, τάχα που καὶ κέρδος ὑπελάμβανον τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων μάχην τε καὶ ἀντιπαράταξιν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ σφῶν βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἀνατρεπόμενοι οὐδὲν ἡμῖν πρᾶγμα, ὅτι μὴ θεωρίαν ψιλὴν τοῦ πολέμου προὔξενουν· ἐνὶ τούτων μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλγυνομένων, τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν “ἀθετῆσαι μὲν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Δαυὶδ,” κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τολμησάντων, ὑπεριδόντων δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν οἶκον Ἰεροβοὰμ ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μηδὲ ἐκείνην [B] συντηρησάντων, ἀλλὰ σχισθέντων τε καὶ διαιρεθέντων ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥς ἐξεῖναι τοῖς συνετωτέροις “ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον ἐπιγινώσκειν,” κατὰ τὸν Σωτήριον λόγον, διὰ τῶν πολυσχιδῶν στάσεων τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοῦντος ταραχώδους πνεύματος τὰ μάλιστα δεικνυμένου—συμπέφυκε γάρ πως τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τὸ φίλεχθρόν τε καὶ πολεμοχαρὲς. Νῦν δὲ δὴ γέγονεν ἡμῖν πρὸς κακοῦ ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσμένεια—ὦ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας!—καὶ τῶν ἐν κακίᾳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς δευτέρων γεγονόναμεν ἀθλιώτεροι, μηδὲ ὅσον οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐποπτεύσαι τε καὶ φυλάξαι δυνάμενοι. Εἴπερ ὁ μὲν θατέρου μέρους τῶν σχισμάτων

In what we said before—speaking with God’s help—we destroyed as far as possible the objections and contrary opinions of “what is falsely called knowledge,” which the “opposite kinds of docetist” use against us (for I shall never stop calling them this—it would not be right!) in an attempt to lead the simple away from the straight path. Now, beginning again, I shall try to unfold the discussion of another subject and problem, and to examine it carefully. And may Christ, (who is) God and the Word, and light and life and truth, take the lead in our discussion, inspiring in us understanding, so that—with the help of grace and wisdom from above—we will be able to understand well what contributes to our argument, and to explain it well.

Now if I thought that the struggle which has now developed between opposing groups remained confined to their own numbers and that it were not straining to cross over into our party as well, perhaps I would consider the struggling and contentiousness of these opponents to be a kind of gain; for if they are attacked and defeated by their own kind, it is no concern of ours, except in that they are providing us with the mere spectacle of war. We regret only one thing in all of this: the loss of those who dared, as the saying goes, “to rebel against the house of David,” who neglected harmony with the house of Jeroboam and failed to preserve even that, but have been split and divided from one another, against one another, so that it should be possible for the wise to “recognize the tree from its fruit,” as our Savior says. The troublesome spirit who is at work in them, after all, is shown up most clearly by the many forms of discord which arise; hatred and delight in battle are, in a way, the by-products of impiety. But now, to our misfortune, the ill-will our enemies have towards each other has become ours. O ignorance! We have become more wretched than those among them who have reached the second degree of vice, for we cannot even watch over our household and protect it as well as our enemies can. For even if the father of both sides of the schisms

2 1 Tim. 6.20

17 3 Regum 12.19 (LXX)

21 Matt. 7.16; Luc. 6.44

VO 2 δυνατὸν: δύναμιν V  
24 τε om. O11 ὑπεναντίοις: ἐναντίοις O  
27 μηδ’ O16 ἡμῶν om. O  
28 μὲν om. O

πατήρ τὸ δέον ἔγνω, καὶ ἡδέσθη τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας προφανῆ πόλεμον, [C]ήμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπίγνωσιν ἀγνοίας ἐφόδιον πεποιήμεθα, καὶ γεγόναμεν καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀσυνετώτεροι.

Σευήρου γὰρ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ, τῶν δύο τῆς μιᾶς ἀσεβείας ἀρχῶν, πρὸς 5 ἑαυτοὺς διενεχθέντων—ἀνοήτως μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχάς, ἐμφρόνως δὲ ὡς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—καὶ περὶ τοῦ φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου ζυγομαχούντων, οἱ μὲν τῆς Σευήρου μερίδος, φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν, τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρεκέρδαινον πονηρίας· ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτοὺς πρὸ τούτου εἰπεῖν ἔπεισε, ταῦτα ἢ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους δυσμένεια 10 ὁμολογήσαι ἠνάγκασεν. Ἦνίκα δὲ πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνανεύειν ἤρξαντο, τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάνευσιν ἀβλεψίας ὑπόθεσιν τινες ἔσχον τῶν ἡμετέρων, τῇ χειρόνι μοίρᾳ προσθέμενοι, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ῥήματος εἰς ταῦτον [D]ῆλθον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ δι' εὐπρέπειαν ὀνόματος πᾶσαν, σὺν ἐκείνοις, ἀπεσκευάσαντο τὴν οἰκονομίαν.

Ἐκείνων γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἀνοήτως μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχάς, 15 ἐμφρόνως δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀφορμὰς, ζητούντων πότερον δεῖ φθαρτὸν καὶ παθητὸν τὸ σῶμα λέγειν, ὅπερ ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φορέσας ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο, Σευήρος ὅψε μὲν, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἤσθετο ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων παρεκέρδανε πολέμου, ἀναγκασθεὶς διαφορὰν 20 τε καὶ ιδιότητος ὁμολογήσαι τε καὶ κηρύξαι. Τῆς αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν εἴη σοφίας, καὶ τῶν ἐξηλωκῶν αὐτὸν, διαφορὰν καὶ ιδιότητος κατηγορεῖν, οὐ καθ' ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων, ἢ δύο παραιτούμενον φύσεις ὁμολογεῖν, δύο [1320 A]λέγειν ιδιότητος φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου, καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς δυνάδος, ἣν ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφων καὶ τὰ πάντα κυκλῶν ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι 25 διέβαλλεν, ἥκιστα γε τὰ νῦν εὐλαβεῖσθαι. Ἡ πῶς γε μὴ ἀγάσαιτό τις αὐτὸν τῆς παιδεύσεως, τὴν μετοχὴν μὲν λαμπρᾷ κηρύττοντα τῇ φωνῇ, ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὴ παρήκται «οὐκ» οὐ φυλαττόμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμεῖν σπεύδοντα; Ἡ γὰρ οὐχὶ φύσει μὲν παθητὸν λέγει τὸ σῶμα καὶ φυσικὰ πάθη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν; Ἀποκρινάσθω δὴ οὖν 30 ἡμῖν ὁ σοφὸς εἰ μὴ ἐκ φύσεως τὰ φυσικὰ, ὥσπερ ἐκ τέχνης τὰ τεχνητά.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν μακροτέροις ταμιευσόμεθα λόγοις, ἢ τοῖς ἡμῶν μάλιστα σχολὴν ἄγουσιν. Τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τῶν ταῦτα λαμπρᾷ μὲν κηρυττόντων καὶ διαπρυσίῳ ἀεὶ τῇ φωνῇ, ἐνέργειαν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις

knows what must be done, and takes pleasure in open war against the truth, still we have ourselves made our recognition of the other side a gateway to ignorance, and have become more ignorant than the enemy.

For Severus and Julian, the two sources of one impious teaching, were divided against each other—foolishly, as far as their own principles were concerned, but prudently as far as the truth itself is concerned—and quarreled over the terms “corruptible” and “incorruptible.” The party of Severus, if I may speak as a “lover of truth,” made illicit profit from the wickedness of their opponents; for their current malice towards their fellows has forced them to confess what no one could have persuaded them to say before. But when *they* began to look up towards the rays of the truth, some of our own party used their looking upwards as a pretext for blindness, became adherents of the weaker party, and through one expression came to the same position as our enemies: through the attractiveness of a name, they threw away—with them—the whole mystery of the Incarnation!

While his party, as I said, were investigating—foolishly, as far as their own principles are concerned, prudently, as far as the sources of truth are concerned—whether one ought to say the body which our Lord received from us and bore for us was corruptible and passible, Severus, however belatedly, discovered himself and profited from the war against his own faction, being forced to acknowledge and to proclaim the difference and the properties [of corruptible and incorruptible]. It would be typical of his brand of wisdom, and that of his eager followers, to have spoken of the difference and the properties, but not to predicate them of underlying realities; or, while refusing to confess two natures, to speak of two properties—corruptible and incorruptible—and while he previously attacked the distinction of the two, turning everything upside down until all was hopelessly mingled, at least to respect it here. How could one fail to wonder at his learning, as he proclaims a sharing [of properties] in clarion voice, yet not only fails to preserve that from which it is derived, but even is eager to argue against it? For does he not say that the body is passible by nature and attribute natural sufferings to it, even after the union? Then let the sage explain to us whether natural things do not proceed from a nature, just as artificial things proceed from an art!

We shall store up what we have against him for a longer work, or leave it for those who have more leisure than we do. But what would you say about those who constantly proclaim all these things in a clear and loud voice, who distinguish, in addition, the activity

VO 6 ἐμφρόνως: ἀφρόνως O 8 παρεκέρδανον O 9 πρὸς: εἰς O  
16 δὴ V<sup>ac</sup> O 17 φορέσαι O 21 αὐτὸν om. O 22 παραιτουμένων O  
24 τὰ om. O 25 ἢ: εἰ V<sup>ac</sup> γε<sup>2</sup> om. O 27 οὐκ suppl. Torres 28 ἢ: εἰ V<sup>corr</sup>  
οὐχὶ om. V λέγει ante παθητὸν transp. O φυσικά: φύσει O 30 εἰ μὴ om. O  
31 μὲν om. V 33 δέ: τε V

[B] ἄλλην μὲν σαρκὸς, ἑτέραν δὲ θεότητος, πάθος τε περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀπάθειαν περὶ τὸν Λόγον ὁμολογούντων, εἰ καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιπεριχωρεῖν ταύτας δεδώκασι καὶ ἀντικατηγορεῖσθαι θατέρου, διὰ τὴν ἐν θατέρῳ ταύτου ἐπαλλάττουσαν ιδιότητα, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες τοῖς οἰκείοις περιπιπτόντων, καὶ τῷ “ἀφθάρτῳ” προσθεμένων; Ὡς οὐκ οἶδα τί καὶ λέγειν χρεῶν—θαυμάσω τὴν στερρότητα, ἣ ἐπαινέσω τὴν κουφότητα, ἐνὶ ῥήματι εὐπρεπεῖ, τῇ λήχνῃ τῆς ψυχῆς προσκλίσει πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν τῆς ἀπάτης, παρασυρέντων; Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν πεπονθότας γινώσκομεν. Ἡδὲ γάρ τινες ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν τῇ τῶν Ἐγκρατιτῶν ἀπάτῃ προσέθεντο, τῷ κομψῷ τῆς φωνῆς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Μάνεντος [C] βάραθρον κατασυρέντες· ἄλλοι δὲ τῇ τῶν Καθαρῶν οὕτω καλουμένων ἐμμολυνθέντες ἀκαθαρσία, οὐδενὶ γε ἐτέρῳ ἢ τῷ χαρίεντι τούτων ὀνόματι προσεφθάρησαν· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν, ὧν καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἀριθμεῖν ἐργωδέστατον, τῇ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐμπαθεῖ συνηγορίᾳ τῆς ἀπαθείας τοῦ Λόγου, εἰς τὸ Νεστορίου βάραθρον ἐμπεπτώκασι.

Καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν, ὅλους στόλους ψυχῶν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ Σκύλλης τινὸς ἢ τῆς ἀντιθέτου Χαρύβδews ἡρπασμένους τε καὶ ὑποβρυχίους γεγονότας ἔγνωμεν, τοῖς ταπεινότεροις Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἡμετέρον αὐτοῦ συγκατάβασιν, ῥήμασί τε καὶ πράγμασιν ἀπαιδεύτως προσπταίσαντας. [D] Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰ μυρία φύλα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἢ τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς ἡμῖν φάλαγγας ἐξώπλισέ τε καὶ ἐξέμνηεν, ἀλλ’ ἢ, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ὠνόμακεν, «ἡ μωρία τοῦ κηρύγματος»; Καὶ τίς ἂν μὴ θαυμάσειεν τῆς παιδεύσεως τοὺς νέους δογματιστὰς, εἴπερ οἶόν τε ἦν, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν λήρους, πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἀοιδίμους μάρτυρας, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογητὰς καὶ βασάνων ἐκτὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας στεφάνους ἀπολαβεῖν, διὰ δύο τουτωνὶ λέξεων, εἴ γε μεμαθηκότες αὐτὰς ἔτυχον; Οἱ δὲ τῆς οὕτω μεγάλης αὐτῶν σοφίας ἀμέτοχοι διαμείναντες, ἀπῆλθον ἀπάτης πάρεργον, οὐκ ἀνδρείας στήλαι τῷ βίῳ γενόμενοι. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν, ὡς οἶμαι, τῶν τότε πικροτάτων καὶ [1321 A] δυσμενῶν διωκτῶν, δίκην τινὰ Χριστιανῶν εἰσεπράξατο, εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὡμολόγουν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον καὶ τεθαμμένον καὶ ἐγγεγμένον. Ποῖος γὰρ ἂν

9 Ἐγκρατίται : cf. Amphilochius Iconiensis, *Contra Haereticos* 3 (CCG 3.187, II. 97–8) Epiphanius, *Panarion* 47 (GCS, Epiphanius 2.215–19); Theodoretus, *Haer. Fab. Comp.* 1.20 (PG 83.370–1). 11 Καθαροί: cf. Amphilochius, *Contr. Haer.* 18 (CCG 3.201, I. 705); Epiphanius, *Pan.* 59 (GCS, Epiph. 2.363–79); Theodoretus, *Haer. Fab. Comp.* 3.5 (PG 83.408B).

22 1 Cor. 1.21

VO 4 ταύτου: αὐτοῦ O ὥσπερ: ὡς O 6 χρεὼν V 7 προσκλήσει VO  
9 Ἐγκρατιτῶν V 10 βάραθρον om. O 12 τούτῳ V δέ: τε VO  
14 ἐργωδέστερον O ἐμπαθῇ V<sup>ac</sup> 18 ante Χριστοῦ add. τοῦ O τοῦ: καὶ O τὸ:  
τὸν O 21 ἐξέμεινεν V ἢ: εἰ V<sup>ac</sup> 22 ἂν om. O 23 νέους: Νεστορίου O  
24 ἀοιδίμους om. O 28 γενόμενοι τῷ βίῳ στήλαι O τότε: τε O 30 αὐτὸν  
ante ἄνθρωπον transp. O 31 ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου om. O 32 καὶ ἐγγεγμένον om. O

of the flesh from that of the divinity, and who confess suffering in connection with the body, impassibility in connection with the Word—even if they concede that in the unity of elements these have a reciprocal relationship and are predicated of one another in turn, because of the exchange of properties of each element within the same subject—and then who now, as if deliberately, attack their own party and espouse the term “incorruptible”? I do not know what I should say about them—should I admire their firmness or commend their light-headedness, as they are swept away by one attractive word, in the avid susceptibility of the soul for plausible deceit? We know that others have suffered in the same way, before this as well as now. Formerly, for instance, some assented to the deceptions of the Encratites, dragged down by a pretty-sounding name into the pit of Manes. Others, soiled by the impurity of the so-called “Cathari,” were corrupted by nothing else than the charming name of that sect. Many, too—recently and long ago—under an uncountable variety of sectarian names, have fallen into the pit of Nestorius, because of what is to them the impassioned appeal of the [notion that] the Word is impassible.

To put it briefly, we know that whole troops of souls have been snatched and pulled under water as if by some Scylla or opposed Charybdis, because they stumbled, in their ignorance, over the lowly sayings and notions of Christ our God, which come from his condescension to our way of life. What else has maddened the countless tribes of Gentiles, or armed the Jewish squadrons against us, but what Paul has called “the foolishness of our message”? And who would not be amazed at the learning of these new know-it-alls, if it were possible—as they foolishly suggest—that all the celebrated martyrs and all the confessors could have received the crown of piety without their trials, simply by these two words, if they had ever managed to learn them? But those who remained without a share in their great wisdom, went their way as by-products of deceit, not as pillars of courage for life! For none, I think, of the bitterest and most hostile persecutors of past times, would have exacted any punishment from Christians, if in the dock they had agreed that he was only a man who was begotten of a Virgin, and crucified and buried and raised. Why would they



φθόνος αὐτοὺς ὑπείσῃλθεν, τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀνθρώπου καταγγελλομένης; Οἱ γε οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν εἴτε μεμυθευμένων εἴτε ἀληθῶς ἀναβιώσιναι ἱστορουμένων ἤλωσαν βασκανία, πολλῶν γε ὄντων· οὔτε δὲ, εἰ κατὰ τοὺς τὴν νέαν σοφίαν σοφισθέντας καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθές τε  
5 καὶ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον· τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ἡρτήσθω καὶ ἄορατον αὐτὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ ἀναφές καὶ ἀφηλάφητον, ἀποιόν τε καὶ ἄποσον, καὶ συλλήβδην ἀσώματον· ἄπερ πάντα τῷ θαυμαστῷ τούτῳ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας συνεπινοοῦσιν ὀνόματι.

[B] Τίς γὰρ ἡ ἀποκλήρωσις, τὰ μὲν διδόναι τῶν θεοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων  
10 αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ ἀποστερεῖν, καὶ πολὺ τι μέρος τῆς ἀξίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ὑποτέμνεσθαι τοῦ, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ ἀτίμως δοξάζουσιν, ὑπερουσίου καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς καὶ ἀσωμάτου σώματος; Τίς δ' ἂν καὶ χαλεπαίνει τῶν ἀπίστων ἡμῖν, εἴ γε μὴ φύσει τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοιμεν ὀφθῆναι τε καὶ βρῶσιν καὶ ποτὸν προσενέγκασθαι, καὶ γε ὑπνῶσαι ἢ πεπονθέναι, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς  
15 τούτοις ἀναμαρτήτως ὑπομείναι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐκ ἀπερυθριάσας ἀσθένειαν; Ἔστι γὰρ δὴ πού τοις πᾶσι καταφανές, ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἤδη γεγένηται νόμῳ θαύματος, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγῳ φύσεως. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τοῦτο μανίας ἐξοίστησεν ὁ πολυάνθρωπος τῶν Ἰουδαίων δῆμος, εἴ τις αὐτῷ παρέστησε λόγος μὴ ὅμοιον ἡμῖν εἶναι κατὰ πάντα καὶ ὄντως ἀνθρωπίνην  
20 [C] φύσιν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν σταυρωθέν τε καὶ πάθος δεξάμενον σῶμα, καὶ τεθαμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων. Πολλῶν γὰρ θεοφανειῶν ἀναπεπλησμένης τῆς ἱερᾶς Γραφῆς, συνιδεῖν ἔξεστιν ὅτι γε δὴ κατὰ τὸ τοῖς οἰκονομουμένοις συμφέρον εἰς ἀνθρώπινα σχήματά τε καὶ πράγματα, ἐνεργείας τε καὶ λόγους καθήκεν ἑαυτὴν ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὴ πρόνοια· καὶ  
25 τούτων ὅμως οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο ἀνθρωπίνως ὑπολήψεις περὶ τοῦ θείου λαβεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως παρ' αὐτοῦ ὥκονόμητο. Πείθει δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τολμήματα ὅτι ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶν πᾶσιν ὁμοιοπαθὴς ὁ Κύριος, εἰ καὶ μὴ πέπεικε τὰ θαύματα ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς εἴη, ὑπεροχῇ φύσεως πάντων ἀνγκισμένους.

30 [D] Οὕτως ἢ τε τοῦ μονογενοῦς Λόγου, κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἀθέων ἀπάθεια, καὶ ἢ τῆς σαρκὸς, κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, τῶν νῦν σοφιστῶν ἀφθαρσία, ἐμπαθὴς ὄντως καὶ φθαρτὴ οὐσα γινώσκεται· ἢ μὲν οὐ ποιοῦσα μεθ' ἡμῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἢ δὲ οὐκ ἔωσα μένειν τὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἔως ὃ τῆς ἰατρείας ἀπαιτεῖ χρόνος, καὶ ἢ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τάξει  
35 γινομένη

have harbored ill-feelings at the proclamation that a man had risen? They did not take umbrage at any of the others who were reported—whether fictionally or truly—to have been brought back to life, many though they were: nor [would they] if, according to these representatives of a new wisdom, the very body of Christ were impassible and unchangeable and invariable. And it depends on this same whim whether they call it, blasphemously, invisible or unpalpable or untouchable, without quality or quantity, or—in sum—bodiless. All of these things are included in this wonderful predicate of “incorruptibility.”

For what absurdity is it that gives Christ some divine names and deprives him of others? That removes a good part of the dignity and honor, as they so dishonorably conceive it, from his super-essential and supernatural and unbodily body? Which of the unbelievers would chide us, if we were to say that the Lord's body was not naturally seen, did not [naturally] take food and drink, and sleep, and suffer, and [experience] all the other things in which he was not ashamed to undergo human weakness, without sin? For it is obvious, I suppose, to everyone that all his many experiences of this kind occurred by the law of the miraculous, not by reason of nature! But the great multitude of the Jews would not have raged so madly, if some argument had shown them that the body they crucified, that accepted suffering and was buried by his friends, was *not* like us in all things, *not* a truly human nature. For since the holy Scripture is full of many revelations of God, one can see that our God's providence for us has taken upon itself human shapes and concerns, human activities and language, according to what is best for those at whom it is directed; nevertheless, none of this ever led them to form human conceptions of God, even if he acted towards them in a human way. And their own shameless acts proved to the Jews that the Lord is a man who can suffer like all of us, even though his miracles did not prove [to them] that he is also God, exalted above all by the sublimity of his nature.

So the impassibility of the only-begotten Word, which the atheists [i.e., the Severans] urge against Christ, and the incorruptibility of his flesh, which these present sophists urge against our salvation, can themselves be recognized now as truly passible, truly corruptible notions; for the former fails to make him who is above us to be one of us, and the latter does not allow him who is one of us to remain like us until the time of healing demands him back, the reasonable and orderly ascent

VO 2 ουδ' O 4 τὴν om. O τοῦ Χριστοῦ om. O 5 δ' O  
7-21 συλλήβδην ... τεθαμμένον om. O 25 προσηγάγετο: προήγαγε τὸ V  
28 καὶ² om. O 29 ἀνγκισμένους V 33 οὐ: οὐν V<sup>ac</sup> 34 ἀπῆγει O  
35 γινομένου O

τοῦ ἡμετέρου πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀνάβασίς τε καὶ ἀνάστασις. Πῶς γὰρ δὴ  
τὸ θεομίμητον ἔχομεν, μὴ συμπαθόντες τῷ πεπονθότι; Πέπονθε δὲ πῶς,  
μὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς παθόν; Οὐκ ἄρα δὲ πέπονθε καθ' ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ μεμένηκε καθ'  
ἡμᾶς. Δεδόξασται δὲ οὐδαμῶς, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦτο λαβὼν κατὰ σάρκα, ὅπερ  
5 αἰεὶ ἔχων ἦν κατὰ πνεῦμα.

[1324 A] Ἀλλ' ἐντυχὼν μοί τις ἑναγχος τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφῶν, ἀρκεῖν  
ἔλεγε τὸ ἐνανθρωπήσαι τὸν Κύριον εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

+ Τί δέ; Καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ βούλησις, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφην, μόνῃ πρὸς σωτηρίαν  
ἀπέχρη;

10 \* Ναὶ, ἔφη.

+ Πῶς οὖν; ἔφην. μὴ οὐχὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι μόνῳ καὶ σέσωκεν;

\* Ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔφη, κεκρήσθαι, τῇ δὲ φιланθρωπία  
μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ φίλον αὐτῷ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκης δεσποτικῆς,  
τὸ δὲ κηδεμονίας ἐτύγγανε πατρικῆς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἦν μόνῃς τῆς βίας, τὸ δὲ  
15 καὶ τῆς ἐκουσίᾳ συγκαταβάσεως· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου, τὸ δὲ καὶ [B]  
ἡμέτερον—ὅπερ οὐ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἀπλῶς ἔπεται τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
πράττειν ἐκεῖνα ἄπερ πείθει καὶ καταιδεῖ τὸν σφζόμενον.

+ Εὐγε, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ· διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται, ὁ  
καινοπρεπὴς τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐεργεσίας εἰσήχθη τρόπος, μετὰ τὸ συγχόν  
20 τε καὶ πολυειδὲς τῆς ἀνέκαθεν περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐνδεδειγμένης  
προνοίας, ὡς μόνον σωτηρίας ὑπολειπόμενον φάρμακον. Τῆς γὰρ μετὰ  
σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν ἂν εὐροιμεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπιστροφῆς  
δραστηκώτερον. Ταύτῃ γὰρ, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὁ μόνος σοφὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων  
ψυχῶν ἱατρὸς τὰ πάθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναδεξάμενος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν  
25 πάντων ἐξιάσατο νόσον.

[C] \* Οὐ θέμις τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἑτέρως ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ὅτι γε  
δὴ πρὸς παντελῇ σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ μέγα μυστήριον τῆς  
θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐταρκέστατον.

+ Οὐδ' αὐτὸς, ἔφην, μὴ οὐχὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν εἴποιμ' ἂν· τὸν δὲ τῆς  
30 σαρκώσεως τρόπον ἡδιστα ἂν καταμάθοιμι, τῇ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τοῦ νοῦ  
πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον ἐκκαλυπτόμενον.

\* Συνδιασκόπει, ἔφη, εἴ σοι φίλον ἐστίν.

+ Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, εἶπον, ἐχρῆν οὐ βουληθῆναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τι πρᾶξαι  
τὸν Θεὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, πάντως που καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔδει τὸ πραττόμενον εἶναι,  
35 ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἔχειν σοφίας ὑπερβολήν.

VO 8 καὶ οὐχὶ οὐχὶ O μόνῃ V μόνῃ post σωτηρίαν transp. O 9 ἀπέχρη; ναί.  
ἀποχρήναι V 15 συγκαταθέσεως O 16 ὅπερ ὅπερ V τὸν om. O  
18 δὲ V\* 19 εὐεργεσίας; 22 οἰκονομίας O συγχόν 30 καταμάθοιμεν V  
32 ἔφη om. O

and resurrection of what is ours to what is above us. How, indeed, shall we share  
in the likeness of God, if we do not suffer with him who suffered? And how did  
he suffer, if he did not suffer like us? But he did not suffer like us, if he did not  
remain like us. And he has never been glorified, if he did not take on, in his flesh,  
that which he always has had in the spirit.

1324 Recently, one of those sages filled with this kind of wisdom told me, in  
conversation, that it was enough for our salvation that the Lord had become  
human.

+ "What?" I said to him. "Would not even his will alone have been enough for  
our salvation?"

\* "Yes," he said.

+ "What, then?" I said. "Surely he did not save [us] by willing alone?"

\* "He did not want to use his authority towards us," he said, "but rather he  
preferred also to use his kindness and justice. The one fits in with a dictator's  
coercion, the other with a father's care; the one would be a matter of force alone,  
the other of willing condescension; the one would only be his doing, while the  
other involves us as well. From which it follows that God does not simply act by  
willing, but also does those things which would persuade and fill with remorse  
the one being saved."

+ "Excellent, my friend," I said. "This, it seems to me, is the way God's new  
kind of generosity towards us began, after the many varied ways in which his  
providence towards humanity had showed itself before: it was the only  
remaining remedy to save us. I could not imagine a more effective means of  
converting us to a better life than the Incarnation in the flesh. Here the only  
wise healer of our souls received human sufferings into himself, and so cured in  
himself the sickness of all."

\* "It is not allowed, surely," he said, "for those who think rightly to profess  
anything else than that the wonderful and great mystery of the divine  
Incarnation is completely sufficient for our full salvation."

+ "I would not wish, myself, to affirm anything else but that this is so," I said.  
"But I would like very much to understand the manner of his becoming flesh  
more clearly, as far as the busy inquiry of the mind may reveal it."

\* "Examine it with me," he said, "if you are willing."

+ "Well," I said, "since it was right that God not only *will*, but *do* something for  
us, surely it was also necessary that what he should do be such as not to surpass  
the bounds of wisdom."

\* *Εὖ λέγεις, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἦν ἀρμοδιώτερον· ἐδέησε γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνου, καὶ οὐχὶ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου, πρὸς τέλειαν τοῦ σπουδαζομένου κατόρθωσιν.*

[D] + *Ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς, ἔφην, λέγεις, ὦ φίλτατε· ἀλλ' ἐκείνὸ γε πολλῆς ἐστὶν διασκέψεως ἄξιον. Εἰ γὰρ σάρκα μόνην ὁ Κύριος ἦνωσεν ἑαυτῷ, ἀρ' οὐχὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐκινδύνευε τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν;*

\* *Πάντως.*

+ *Ψυχῆς γὰρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ μάλιστα προσδεομένης καθάρσεως, ὥς ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσειλημμένης· διότι πρωτοπαθήσασα, πρώτη καὶ κατεκέκριτο.*

10 [1325 A] \* *Θείως, ἔφη, λέγεις.*

+ *Ὅλον οὖν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐκ σώματος λέγω καὶ ψυχῆς λογικῆς τε καὶ νοεῖας συγκείμενον, οὐσιωδῶς προσλαβὼν, ὅλον ἀνθρώπου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐιργάσατο, τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνακαθαίρων.*

\* *Κάλλιστά γε, ἔφη, ταῦτα λέγεις καὶ τελεώτατα.*

15 + *Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε πρὸς αὐτὸν· οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ψυχὴν λαβὼν, οὐ τὴν ἐμὴν προσειλήφει; Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ πάντων οὐσιωδῶς ὑπάρχουσιν, ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν πάντως ὑπῆρχε ψυχὴν τὸ σωζόμενον.*

\* *Δηλονότι, ἔφη· ἐκείνης γὰρ δὴ πάντως ὑπῆρχεν ἡ σωτηρία, πρὸς ἣν καὶ ἀπαρallάκτως ἔχουσα ἠύρίσκετο.*

[B] + *Κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δὲ τρόπον, ἔφην, εἰ καὶ σάρκα λαβὼν, μὴ τὴν ἐμὴν; Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τι παρηλλαγμένην, ἔχει δ' ἂν τὸ διάφορον· εἰ μὴ καὶ ὁμοιοπαθὴς εἴη, καὶ κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις συμβαίνουσα, πάντως ἂν ἡ σωτηρία τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκείνης ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα, πρὸς ἣν 25 ἀφομοιωσαὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐνωθείσαν αὐτῷ κατηξίωσεν.*

\* *Καὶ τίς, ἔφη, πρὸς τοσοῦτον μανίας ἐλήλακεν, ὅστις οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ τε εἶναι ὁμολογεῖ καὶ τοὺς μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντας τοῖς κατακρίτοις συναριθμεῖ;*

+ *Ἐκείνοι πάντως, εἶπον, οἱ ἀπαθὲς ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὀριζόμενοι.*

30 \* *Οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπαθὲς, ἔφη, τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀφθαρτον λέγομεν, ἀλλ' ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λόγον γενόμενον.*

[C] + *Οὐδὲν διαφέρει, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοῦ προτέρου τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἴσην*

\* "You are right," he said, "since nothing could be more fitting; for to accomplish completely what he was eager to do, he needed [to act by] such a method, and not this way [= by departing from wisdom]."

D + "You speak rightly in all of this, my friend," I said. "But this is worth a great deal of reflection. For if the Lord had united only flesh to himself, would not our salvation have been in danger, in the greatest degree?"

\* "Surely."

+ "The soul, after all," I said, "in my opinion, is most in need of purification, and was taken up for this reason: because being the first [element] to be affected by passion, it was also the first to be condemned."

325A \* "You speak God's truth," he said.

+ "He assumed, then, in a substantial way, the whole human being, composed of body and rational, intelligent soul, and so worked the salvation of the whole human being, purifying like by like."

\* "These are fine and perfect things that you say," he remarked.

+ But I said to him: "Well, then, if he took on a soul, did he not take on *mine*? And yet if he *did* take mine, and it was not essentially like mine in every respect, then surely what was saved was something other than my soul."

\* "Obviously," he said; "for what had to be saved was clearly that soul, which he was found to be exactly like."

B + "In the same way," I said, "if he also took flesh, is it not mine? But if it *is* mine, but changed in some way, there would be a difference; and if it couldn't be affected in the same way and agree in all respects with our bodies, then surely salvation would have belonged to *that* kind of flesh which he decided that the flesh he had united with himself ought to resemble."

\* "Who," he said, "has reached such a stage of madness, as not to acknowledge this to be true and to count those who do not agree among the damned?"

+ "Surely those," I said, "who proclaim that it was impassible and incorruptible!"

\* "We do not say his body was naturally impassible," he said, "and incorruptible, but that it became so in its union with God the Word."

C + "There is no difference," I said, "between the first [theory] and the second, but they are equally capable

VO 1 post εὖ add. γε O ἔφη om. O ἦν: εἶεν V 4 ante διασκέψεως add. τῆς O  
7 ὥς om. O 9 κατακέκριτο V 13 τῷ: τὸ V 15 ἐγώ O οὐκοῦν om. O  
εἰ: ἡ V<sup>c</sup> 17 ἄλλο τι: ἀλλ' ὅτι V<sup>c</sup> O 19 δὴ om. O 20 εὐρίσκετο V  
26 τοσοῦτο O 30 τὸ σῶμα om. O 32 διαφέρειν V

πρὸς τὸ κακὸν δύναμιν ἔχει, εἴπερ γε ὅλως τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοιοπαθὲς τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος συγγένειαν παρήτηται ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου σὰρξ.

\* Πῶς τοῦτο, ἔφη, λέγεις;

+ Ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο, εἶπον, ἔστι τὸ σκοπούμενον, πότερον ἐνώσει ἢ κατασκευῇ φύσεως ἄφθαρτον γέγονεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἀπαρλλάκτως τὰ γνωρίσματα, πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, διέσωζεν.

\* Διέσωζεν, ἔφη, ὅσον γε ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ αὐτῆς συστάσει καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου, ἀδελφῆς τε ἡμῶν οὔσης κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ πάσης κοινωνούσης τῆς ιδιότητος τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου συγκρίματος.

10 [D] + Σαφεστέρως δεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐξηγήσεως, ἔφην, παριστώσης ἡμῖν τηλαυγέστερον τὸ ζητούμενον. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οὕτως ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκας γινώσκειν ἔχω.

\* Τί μὴν, ἔφη, ἀσαφὲς εἴρηκα;

+ Πότερον, ἔφην, ἄρα, τοῦ σώματος τῆς Παρθένου μεταστοιχειωθέντος καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκστάντος φύσεως ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου δυνάμεως, οὕτως ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς μήτρας ἄλλως ἔχουσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῷ φύσιν ἠνώσθαι λέγεις· ἢ τῆς Παρθένου μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώμασι τῆς φύσεως μεινάσης, τῶν δὲ πρώτων ἀρχῶν—τῶν παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων λέγω—μεταποιηθέντων, ἄφθαρτον γεγενῆσθαι τὴν σάρκα.

20 \* Τινὲς μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ δόξῃ—τῶν ἀπλουστέρων, οἶμαι—προστίθενται, [1328 A] πλεον ἢ προσῆκε τὴν Παρθένον ἀποσεμνύνοντες, καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀναφυομένην ἀτοπίαν οὐ προορώμενοι, καὶ ὡς εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτο τῇ Παρθένῳ συμβεβήκει, καὶ αὐτῆς ἂν τῆς πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν ἐπιτηδειότητος ἀπεστέρητο.

25 + Ἀληθέστατα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, λέγεις. Τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτον καταστὰν οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοῦ κυφορεῖν τε καὶ σαρκικῶς ἀποτίκτειν γένοιτο δεκτικόν. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνδημία οὐχὶ τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τοῦ γεννᾶν τὴν Παρθένον ἀφείλετο ἢ κεκώλυκεν· τούναντίον μὲν οὖν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπόρως οἰκονομηθεῖσαν σύλληψιν ὑπερφυῶς αὐτὴν προηγάγετο. Κἀκεῖνο δέ μοι

30 σκοπεῖν ἔπεισιν, ὡς εἰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἢ Παρθένος ἄφθαρτος τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ Πνεύματος γέγονεν, ἐκείνη πάντως ἂν καὶ ρίζα τῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀφθαρσίας [B] ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθὼν θεὸς βλαστός.

\* Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Παρθένου ζωὴ παραδεδέχθαι καθάπαξ ἰστόρηται τῆς φυσικῆς ἕξεως μεταποίησιν· καθαρότητος

VO 1 ἔχει ante δύναμιν transp. O 6 post διέσωζεν add. ἔφη V 7 \* om. V<sup>ac</sup>, add. in marg. Torres διέσωζεν, ἔφη om. V 10 ante σαφεστέρως habet \* V<sup>ac</sup>, corr. ad + in marg. Torres ἔφη V 13 \* om. V<sup>ac</sup>, add. in marg. Torres μὴν· μὲν O ἀσαφέστερον V 14 ἔφην om. O μεταστοιχειωθέντος· μετὰ παρθένων O 15–28 καὶ τῆς ... ἀφείλετο ἢ om. O 28 ante τούναντίον add. ἢ O 29 προηγάγετο V

of doing harm, if [you insist that] the flesh of the Lord really must be free of all likeness to our body in its ability to experience the passivities ours does."

\* "What makes you say that?" he asked.

+ "Because the object of our investigation is not," I said, "simply whether it came to be incorruptible by union or by the constitution of its nature, but whether or not he preserved the marks of our nature unchanged, except for sin."

\* "He preserved them," he said, "insofar as its primary composition is concerned, and its having its origins in the Mother of God, who is our sister by nature and shares in every characteristic of the human frame."

D + I said, "Your answer needs a clearer explanation, which will show us what we are looking for more clearly. For I cannot understand it simply from what you have just said."

\* "What did I say, then," he asked, "that was unclear?"

+ "Do you mean," I said, "that the body of the Virgin was transformed in substance, and left her own nature behind by the power of the Word, so that a nature was united to him which was ours yet in a different state from the very womb; or do you mean that the Virgin remained within the characteristics of her nature, but that the basic elements [of Christ's humanity]—coming, I mean, from the blood of the Virgin—were transformed, and so his flesh became incorruptible?"

\* "Some," he said, "hold to the former of these opinions—simple people, I suppose, who honor the Virgin more than is appropriate; but they fail to foresee the absurdity that results from this, and [to notice] that if something like this should happen to the Virgin, she would lose some of her very suitability for being his mother."

+ "What you say is very true," I agreed. "For once incorruptibility were established, it would not have become capable of childbearing and of giving physical birth. The coming down of the Spirit did not remove or prevent the Virgin's ability to beget a child; on the contrary, it led her in a supernatural way to a conception which was accomplished without human seed. And it seems to me we should consider this, as well: if, in their view, the Virgin became incorruptible at the coming of the Spirit, *she* would perhaps have become the root of incorruptibility for our race, but not the divine shoot who grew from her."

\* "You've made an excellent point," he said. "For the rest of the Virgin's life, as it is narrated, doesn't suggest an immediate transformation of her natural state. The coming of the Spirit upon her produced purity

μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα  
πρόξενος ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις, οὐ μὴν οὐσίας ἢ φύσεως ἄμειψιν  
ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκεύασεν.

+ Κἀκεῖνο, ἔφην, τοῖς εἰρημένοις προστίθει, ὅτι γε δὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα  
5 δυνάμει γονιμοποιῶν τὴν Παρθένον ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν  
ὑπάρξαι τῇ φύσει καρποφορῆσαι στάχυν ἀνήροτον καὶ κλάδον παρθενικῆς  
ρίζης ὑπερφυῶς ἐκφυόμενον.

\* Εὐγε, ἔφη, ὦ βέλτιστε.

[C] + Νῦν δὲ δὴ καιρὸς, ὦ φιλότης, ἔφην, ἀγαπητικῶς τε καὶ πραέως τὸ  
10 ἐξῆς συνδιασκέψασθαι. Τῆς γὰρ Παρθένου συνομολογουμένης ἡμῖν  
ὡσαύτως ἔχειν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αἰεὶ, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἑτέραν, παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῇ, μεταχωρῆσαι κατάστασιν, ὃ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας  
φύσεως ἀρραβῶν ἀρ' οὐχὶ ὁδῶ καὶ τάξει φύσεως τοὺς χρόνους ἐγίνωσκε  
τῆς κινήσεως;

15 \* Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

+ Κατὰ βραχὺ γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ μήτρᾳ διαπλαττόμενος καὶ  
μορφούμενος, εἶπον, προέκοπτε νόμῳ κινήσεως πρὸς τὴν ἀπηρτισμένην  
τοῦ βρέφους τελείωσιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆς,  
«Ἐπλήσθησαν,» λεγοῦσης, «αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν». Ἐνθα περὶ [D]  
20 τὸν τόκον, ὡς περὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρώτην σύλληψιν, καινοτομεῖται θαῦμα  
παράδοξον, οὔτε τοῦ τόκου τὴν παρθενίαν λύσαντος, οὔτε τῆς παρθενίας  
ἐμποδῶν τῇ κυοφορίᾳ γενομένης.

\* Θείως, ἔφη, λέγεις.

+ Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡ σύλληψις ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς γεγεννημένη τὸ καθ'  
25 ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ γέννησις τὸ παράδοξον ἔχουσα τοῦ δι'  
ἡμᾶς τεχθέντος τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἠμείψεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέφυ κλάδος τε καὶ καρπὸς  
τῇ φυσάσῃ γαστρὶ παραπλήσιος.

\* Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοιάδε περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
δοξάζομεν, ὅτι κατ' αὐτήν γε τῆς συλλήψεως τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἅμα τῶν  
30 παρθενικῶν [1329 A] ἐφήπται σπλάγχνων, καὶ τὸ προσληφθὲν εἰς  
ἀφθαρσίαν μετεσκευάζετο· πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ τὴν φθαρτὴν  
ἀποτίθεσθαι φύσιν, τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ λόγῳ προσενωθέν;

19 Luc. 2.6

VO 3 αὕτη O 4 γε δὴ om. O 5 γονοποιῶ O 6 ἀνήρωτον O  
9 καιρὸς om. O πρῶτος O τὸ: τὰ O 10 συνδιασκέψαι O συνομολογούσης V  
14 post κινήσεως add. ὡς V 19 ἐπληρώθησαν O 26 τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἠμείψεν  
om. O 28 τῆς om. O Χριστοῦ: Κυρίου O

of soul and holiness of body, but did not bring about in her a change of essence  
or nature."

+ "And add this to what we have already said," I remarked. "The Spirit filled  
the Virgin with his fertilizing power, so that her nature might have, in a  
supernatural way, the power of bearing uncultivated fruit, and a shoot springing  
supernaturally from a virginal root."

\* "Excellent, my friend," he said.

+ "Now it is time, then, my good colleague," I said, "to examine together, in a  
friendly and gentle way, what follows from this. For if we agree that the Virgin  
always remained the same on the level of nature, and did not change her state  
to something else, different from what she had possessed from the beginning,  
then did not the pledge of our nature, who came from her, experience the  
temporal process of gestation in nature's order and way?"

\* "Certainly," he said.

+ "Put together and formed, little by little, in the Virgin's womb," I said, "he  
came by the law of childbirth to realize the complete perfection of an infant, as  
one can even hear in the Gospel text, 'The days of her bearing him were fulfilled.'  
Then a strange miracle, without precedent, in connection with his birth, as with  
his first conception: his birth did not destroy her virginity, nor did her virginity  
stand in the way of her giving birth."

\* "You speak God's truth," he said.

+ "But," I said, "just as the conception which took place above our nature was  
not totally separate from what is ours, so the birth, which contained an element  
of paradox, did not change the nature of him who was born for our sakes, but  
both branch and fruit grew up similar to the womb who had borne him."

\* "Now we," he said, "believe this about the flesh of the Lord: that at the very  
beginning of his conception, just as he came into the womb of the Virgin, that  
which was assumed was transformed, too, to incorruptibility. For how would it  
have been possible for that flesh not to put off its corruptible nature, when it  
was joined to the incorruptible word?"



+ Μᾶλλον ἔοικας μοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, τῶν οἰκείων, ἔφη, λόγων ἀμνημονεῖν. Τὴν γὰρ Θεοτόκον Παρθένον ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ἄτρεπτον διαμεῖναι συνωμολόγησας, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συλλήψεως χρόνον ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ μήτρᾳ μορφούμενος ὁ τῶν χρόνων δημιουργὸς οἰκῆσαι οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο. Πῶς τοίνυν ὁ σπλάγχνοις μητρὸς ἐνοικῆσαι καταδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς τῆς κυήσεως χρόνους ἐκτετελεκώς, κατ' οὐδὲν τῆς Παρθένου προϋχούσης ἡμῶν πλήν γε μόνης τῆς ἀγιότητος, ὥσπερ ἐκ μεταμελείας τινὸς τὴν τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος φύσιν ἀπαξιοῖ, καὶ ταῦτα τῇ [B]γεννησαμένη διὰ πάντων ἀπαραλλάκτως συμβαίνοντος;

10 \* Τούτοις μὲν οὖν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, πάντες κοινῶς συνθήσονται. τὸ δὲ ὅτι φθαρτὸν ἐκ μήτρας λαβὼν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου σῶμα, εὐθέως αὐτὸ πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν μετεκεράσατο, τῶν ὀρθῶς ἡμῖν δοκούντων ἐστίν.

+ Καὶ ποῦ ὁ τῆς συμπολιτεύσεως ὅρος καὶ χρόνος, ἔφη, οὐ μάλιστα ἐν χρεῖα καθειστήκειμεν, «ἐν ἀτόμῳ καὶ ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ» τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς 15 ὁμοιότητα, ὡς φῆς, ἐπιδειξαμένου, καὶ θάττον μεταθεμένου, ὅποτε οὐ τούτου μόνου προσεδεόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ συναναστραφῆναι ἡμῖν τὸν Κύριον καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁδεῦσαι, δι' ὧν ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἀρχομένη, καὶ [C]διὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ χωρήσασα, πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔρχεται τέλος;

\* Τί γὰρ, ἔφη, τὸ κωλύον ἦν, καίπερ ἀπαθὲς τῆς ἐνώσεως ποιησάσης τὸ 20 σῶμα;

+ Καὶ πῶς, ἔγωγε ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἢ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνδιαιτῶτο τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο πάθη, ἡρνημένος ἐκ πρώτης ἐνώσεως τὸ ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπίκηρον;

\* Ἐπασχε μὲν, ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου ἀνάγκη φύσεως ἀλλὰ 25 λόγῳ οἰκονομίας, τοῦ Λόγου ἐφιέντος τὸ παθεῖν.

+ Αἰνίγματος οὐδὲν ἀπάδειν, ἔφη ἐγὼ, τὸ ῥηθέν. Πῶς γὰρ καὶ φύσιν ἔσχεν ἀνωτέραν παθῶν, καὶ πάσχειν πάλιν τὰ τῆς φύσεως σαρκὸς ἡφίετο [D]παρὰ τὴν φύσιν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἔνωσις τοῦ Λόγου τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῇ σαρκὶ ἐδωρήσατο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν ἀπεστέρησεν τοῦ γε δεδωρημένου καὶ ἅπαξ 30 προσνεμηθέντος αὐτῇ. Πρὸς δέ γε καὶ εἰ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως τοῦ Λόγου τῆς ἀφθαρσίας μετειλήφει, ὥρα σοι καὶ ἀποσχίζειν ἀθέσμως τολμᾶν τὴν ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ θαυμασίαν ἔνωσιν. Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν πάσχειν τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀπαθὲς, μὴ

+ “You rather seem,” I said, “to be forgetting your own words, my friend. For you agreed before that the Virgin Mother of God remained unchanged, and that the Creator of time did not refuse to be shaped and dwell in the virgin womb for the appointed time of human conception. How, then, did he who accepted to dwell in his mother’s bowels and who fulfilled the terms of childbirth—while the Virgin herself was not superior to us in anything except holiness—change his mind, as it were, and spurn the nature of his own body, precisely at the moment when it concurred unchangeably in every way with the body of her who bore it?”

\* “Everyone,” he said, “would agree with these principles. But in our opinion, it belongs to right belief to hold that he took a corruptible body from the womb of the Virgin, and immediately changed it to incorruptibility.”

+ “And where,” I asked, “are the limits and the duration of his sharing our life—that of which we most stand in need—if he has [simply] exhibited, ‘in a moment and in the twinkling of an eye,’ the likeness to us which you admit, and then quickly altered it? We did not need simply this, after all, but that the Lord should have associated continually with us, and have gone the whole way, through all the experiences that human nature begins with and progresses through, until it comes to its proper end.”

\* “What would prevent that from happening,” he asked, “even if the union had made his body impassible?”

+ “And how,” I said to him, “can he have lived with men and women to begin with, or have accepted suffering for our sakes, if he refused, from the first moment of union, to be able to suffer like us or to be mortal?”

\* “He suffered,” he answered, “but not, surely, by natural necessity, but by reason of the divine plan, as the Word permitted suffering.”

+ I said that what he had said was no different from a riddle. “For how did he have a nature that was above suffering, yet allow himself to suffer what belongs to the nature of flesh, in a way beyond nature? For if the union with the Word endowed the flesh with impassibility, he would not have taken away what had once been given and allotted to it. Furthermore, if [the flesh] gained a share in incorruptibility from its union with the Word, this would be just a step short of wrongfully daring to split apart the supernatural and wonderful union. For that which was impassible because of the union would not have been able to suffer, unless

14 1 Cor. 15.22

VO 1 λόγων om. O 2 Παρθένον om. O 4 τῇ om. O 12 ἡμῖν post  
δοκούντων transp. O 16 προσεδεόμεθα V<sup>ac</sup> O 17-18 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ: διὰ  
om. O 19 ἀπαθὲς post ἐνώσεως transp. O 21 ἔφη om. O 22 καταδέχεται O  
ἡρνημένον O 25 παθὸς O 27 σαρκὸς om. O 30 εἰ: ἢ V<sup>ac</sup>

τῆς ἐνώσεως πρότερον ἀναιρεθείσης· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σκότος ὑποσταίη ποτ' ἂν, μὴ τοῦ αἰτίου τοῦ φωτίζοντος ὑποχωροῦντος· καὶ ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἶπεῖν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεκτικοῦ αἰτίου τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς παραμένειν πέφυκεν, μὴ τοῦ αἰτίου παρόντος. Σκόπει δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἴ γε πάσχοντι αὐτῷ  
 5 συνεῖναι ὑπέμεινεν, ὑπομῖναι ἂν καὶ παθητῷ γε ὄντι ἡνῶσθαι τῷ σώματι.  
 [1332 A] \* Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐχὶ βουλομένου τοῦ Λόγου ἔπασχεν ἡ σὰρξ, ἀλλὰ νόμοις ὑπέκειτο φύσεως;

+ Καὶ τίς γὰρ ἂν, ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπον ἐγὼ, τοῦτο φήσειεν, ὅτι γε μὴ βουλομένου τοῦ Λόγου, τῶν φυσικῶν τι συμπτωμάτων συνέβαινε τῇ  
 10 σαρκί, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐφιέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ πάσχειν πεφυκυῖα τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἀναμαρτήτως ὑφίστασθαι; Οὐ γὰρ ἀνωτέρα κατὰ φύσιν οὔσα, παθητῇ διὰ τὸν Λόγον ἐγένετο. Τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπερείχεν παθῶν, τοῦ Λόγου αὐτῇ, ὡς τὰ πολλά, τὴν κατὰ παθῶν ἐπικράτειαν χαρίζομένου· ὥστε τὴν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Λόγου  
 15 συμφυῖαν ἀχώριστον εἶναι καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἀδιάσπαστον, τὴν δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀμεθεξίαν οὐ πάντοτε [B] παραμένειν τῷ σώματι. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἔσχε τὸ ἀπαθὲς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς βουλήσεως τοῦ ἐνωθέντος, κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τι χρησίμον οἰκονομοῦντος. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν ἀληθές, δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ὁμολογεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ πεπονθέναι τι παντελῶς,  
 20 ἀπαθῇ τῇ φύσει τυγχάνουσαν διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, ἢ πάσχουσαν ὅλως τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀποσχίζεσθαι.

\* Εἰ τοίνυν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, κατὰ γε τοὺς σοὺς λόγους, φύσιν ἡ σὰρξ ἔχουσα παθητὴν τὰ τε ἄλλα δι' αὐτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἔπασχεν, οἰχήσεται ἡμῖν τὰ αὐχήματα καὶ διόλωλεν, ἅπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς δι' ἡμᾶς παθούσης  
 25 ἐσχέκαμεν.

+ Τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἔφην, ὦ βέλτιστε, παθεῖν τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου σάρκα διττῶς [C] λέγεται· ὅτι τε συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Λόγου τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος συνέβαινε (δυνάμενος γὰρ κωλύειν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον), καὶ

the union had first been abolished, just as there would be no darkness, if the source and cause of light did not withdraw. To put it simply, nothing which proceeds from a sustaining cause can remain in its effects, unless the cause itself is present. And consider this: if he endured being joined to one who suffers, he would have endured being joined to a passible body."

1332A \* "What?" he said to us; "did the flesh suffer, not because of the will of the Word, but because it was subject to the law of the flesh?"

+ "Who would dare to say," I said in reply, "that any natural occurrences should happen to his flesh without the consent of the Logos, and not rather that he permitted a nature which was naturally equipped to suffer to undergo, without sin, what was natural to it? For it was not naturally superior to suffering, and only became able to suffer because of the Word. Just the opposite: there are times when it rose above its natural sufferings, when the Word afforded to it the power to overcome sufferings, as often happened. As a result, the natural union of the Word to flesh was inseparable, completely indivisible; but freedom from suffering was not always accessible to his body. For he did not have his impassibility from the union, but from the will of him who was united and who occasionally allowed this for some good purpose. If this were not true, we would have to profess one of two things: either that he simply never suffered at all, but was naturally impassible because of the union, or that when he suffered he was totally cut off from the union."

\* "If, then," he said, "according to your argument the flesh had a passible nature and [therefore] suffered other things and even death because of it, our reason for boasting, which we had from that humanity because it suffered for us, will pass away and perish."

+ "There are two ways," I said, "in which we speak about the Lord's flesh suffering for our sake, my friend: first, that suffering occurred in its case with the permission of the Word (for he could have prevented it, but did not, according to the great Athanasius); and

Probatio calami, ut videtur, in calce O, f. 118<sup>v</sup> (Σ<sup>94</sup>), ad 8-9: τῷ ἐντιμοτάτῳ ἐυγενεστάτῳ (?); cf. p. 144 infra.

28 cf. Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* 21.7 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, SC 199 344, ll. 42-4; PG 25, 133 C4-7); *ibid.* 44.8 (ed. Kannengiesser, 428, ll. 53-6; PG 25, 176 C1-5)

|                                  |                           |                  |               |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| VO                               | 1 ante ὑποσταίη add. ἂν V | 2 τοῦτ': καὶ VO  | 5 ὑπέμεινεν O |
| 12 ἐγένετο V                     | ὅτι O                     | 13 αὐτῇ: ταύτῃ O | 14 ὥστε: ὡς O |
| 19 θάτερον ante ἀνάγκη transp. O | 20 τὴν φύσιν O            | 23 καὶ om. O     | ἐπέσχευ V     |
| 25 ἐσχέκεν O                     | 28 ἐκώλυκεν O             |                  |               |

ὅτι πάσης ἁμαρτίας κρείττων φανείσα, οὐκ ἐχρεώσται δι' ἑαυτὴν θάνατον—εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ θάνατος διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εἰσέφρησε καὶ διὰ πάσης κεχώρηκε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, “ἐφ’ ᾧ,” κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον, “πάντες ἥμαρτον.” οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἐκουσίῳ τε ἢ ἀκουσίῳ ἁμαρτίας καθαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς εἵπομ’ ἂν μικρὸν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλ’ οὖν γε κατὰ διάνοιαν πάντως ῥύπου κακίας εἰσδέξασθαι τι. Καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Κυρίου διδάσκοντος, ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ἔρχεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ εὐρήσει οὐδέν.” Τὸ [D] γὰρ “ἐν ἐμοὶ” καὶ τὸ “οὐδέν” εἰπὼν, διαρρήδη ὑπέδειξεν ὅτι γε μόνος ἀπάσης μεμένηκε καὶ τῆς κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν ἁμαρτίας ἐλεύθερος. Διὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατάκριμα, μηδεμίαν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χώραν εὐρὸν, ἔστη καὶ περιεγράφη, καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίων εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀνακεχώρηκε· τέθηκε γὰρ ὁ θάνατος, ἀναμαρτήτου σαρκὸς ἀπογευσάμενος. Τὸ δέ γε οἶεσθαι ὡς ἀπαθὴς τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀθάνατος οὖσα, τὸ μὴ τῇ φύσει προσὸν ἐθελουσίως προσήκατο, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων ἔστιν ὅτι τὸ βούλεσθαι καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι οὐκ ἔστι σαρκὸς ἴδιον ἀλλὰ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, περὶ ἣν ἡ αὐτεξουσιότης τε καὶ ἡ ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα τοῦ θέλειν ῥοπή θεωρεῖται. ἔπειτα καὶ ὑπαίτιον αὐτὴν εἶναι [1333A] κατασκευάζουσιν, τὸ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν θελούσης, καὶ ὃ μὴ πέφυκεν αἰρουμένης· οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτίας ὅρος ὁ ἔσχατος.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μὴ καταλείψωμεν ἀπαρασήμενον, ὅτι τριῶν αἰτιῶν θεωρουμένων, ἐξ ὧν πᾶσα ἀποτελεῖται ἐνέργεια—ἡ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐκ φυσικῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ ἐκ παρατροπῆς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα θεωρεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἀνάβασιν τε καὶ πρόοδον—τούτων ἡ μὲν φυσικὴ, ἡ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀνομάζεται. Ἡ μὲν οὖν παρὰ φύσιν, κατ’ αὐτὸ γε τὸ ὄνομα ἀπόπτωσίς τις οὖσα τῶν φυσικῶν ἕξεων καὶ δυνάμεων, λυμαίνεται τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ αὐτῇ καὶ ταῖς ταύτης φυσικαῖς ἐνεργείαις. Ἡ δὲ φυσικὴ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαραποδίστου καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐρηρυσμένης ἀποτελεῖται αἰτίας. Ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνάγει τε καὶ ὑψοῖ, [B] καὶ πρὸς τὰ τελειότερα δυναμοῖ καὶ ἄπερ οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυσεν ἐνεργεῖν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐναπομείνασα· οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀναιρετικά, ἀλλὰ προαγωγὰ καὶ παρορμητικά εἰς τὸ κακῆινά τε δυνηθῆναι.

3-4 Rom. 5.12

8-9 Joan. 14.30

VO 1 κρείττον V 3 ᾧ: ὁ O 4 ἡ: εἰ O 8 διδάσκοντος: λέγοντος O  
9 εὐρίσκει V 10-11 ἁμαρτίας ante μεμένηκε transp. O 12 εὐρὸν O  
περιγραφή O 13-14 σαρκὸς ἀπογευσάμενος: σώματος γευσάμενος O 15 τῇ  
om. O πρὸς ὃν V<sup>ac</sup> Oac 17 ἡ om. O αὐτεξουσιότητος O τε om. O  
21 καταλείψωμεν O 26 γε: δὴ O 30 τελεώτερα O 32 παραγωγὰ V

second, that because it was revealed to be above all sin it did not have to die on its own account—since death entered first of all because of sin, and has pervaded all of human nature ‘because all have sinned,’ according to Paul. For there is not, and has never been at any age, a human soul clean of voluntary or involuntary sin, but even the souls of the saints, I should say, have surely admitted some small stain of sin, if not in action, at least in thought. And this can be clearly heard in our Lord’s teaching, where he says: ‘The ruler of this world is coming, and in me he has nothing.’ For in saying ‘in me’ and ‘nothing,’ he has explicitly shown that he alone remained free of all sin, even sin of the mind. Therefore the punishment for sin, finding no ground in him, stood still and was circumscribed, and from then on withdrew from those under its sentence. For death died, when it tasted of sinless flesh. But to think that a flesh that was naturally impassible and immortal voluntarily admitted what did not belong to its nature, first of all ignores the fact that willing and not willing is not proper to flesh, but to the rational soul, in which the independence of the will and its inclination to both sides is discovered; and secondly, [people who think this] make the flesh blameworthy, wishing what is contrary to nature, and choosing what it is not made to choose; and this is the ultimate definition of sin.

“And let us not leave this unmentioned, that of the three causes we discern, from which every activity is produced—one kind of activity is that which comes from a natural power, one from the deviation from natural habit, and the third is observed in ascent and progress towards the better—of these, one is, and is called, *natural*, one *preternatural*, and the third *supernatural*. The preternatural, by its very name, is an aberration from natural habits and powers, and damages both the substance itself and its natural activities; the natural is produced from unimpeded causal operation, relying upon nature; the supernatural leads upward and elevates, and strengthens [the subject] for more perfect things—things which it could not achieve if it remained within its natural functions. But the supernatural does not abrogate the natural, but leads it onwards and sets it in motion to be able both to carry out its own functions,

καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν.

\* Παραδείγματι οἰκειοτέρῳ σαφηνίσον τὸ λεγόμενον· οὐ γάρ μου ὁ νοῦς πῶ εἶλεν αὐτό.

+ Σκόπει δέ, ἔφην, ὦδε, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶς κατεσκευασμένων  
5 ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μετακοσμοῦσαν τὴν τέχνην τὸ κατασκευάσμα, καὶ τὴν  
φυσικὴν τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης ἀμορφίαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον σχῆμά τε  
καὶ [C]εῖδος μετάγουσαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ χρειώδες μᾶλλον ἐκκαλουμένην.  
Χαρίζεται γὰρ ἡ τέχνη ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ φύσις· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ  
κιθάραι καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις τῶν ὀργάνων ὅμοια φθέγγεσθαι παρὰ τῆς τέχνης  
10 ἐξεβιάσθησαν· οὕτω καὶ πλαστικὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς τε μυρία  
γένη τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, καὶ γε πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς μεταμείβει μορφὰς·  
μηχανικὴ τε αὖ πάλιν ἀστρονομικὰς σφαίρας καὶ ὥροσκόπια καὶ τὰ  
τοιαῦτα ἐπινενόηκε. Μακρὸν δ' ἂν εἴη τὰ κατ' εἶδος καταριθμεῖν, οἷς ὁ  
τεχνικὸς λόγος, ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὄρων αὐτῆς μεινάσης τῆς φύσεως καὶ  
15 οὐδὲν ὅλως παραβλαβείσης, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης εὐκοσμίαν τε καὶ  
εὐχρηστίαν προστίθῃσι. Τὸν αὐτόν γε δὴ τρόπον, ἵνα τοῖς θείοις τε καὶ  
ὑπερτέροις τὰ χαμαῖζήλα καὶ πολλοστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπήχημα φέροντα  
[D]πρὸς παράδειγμα λάβωμεν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου νόμι μοι σάρκα, τῶν  
τῆς φύσεως νόμων, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ θαυμασίαν ἔνωσιν,  
20 ἀλωβήτων αὐτῆς συντηρηθέντων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν δεδέχθαι, ὥς  
μηδ' ὀπότερον ἐκ τοῦ θατέρου χωρίζεσθαι ἢ ἐμποδίζεσθαι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ  
ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἔχει χώραν, μὴ τῆς φύσεως ἐχούσης κατὰ φύσιν. Ἀφήρηται δέ  
καὶ τὸ εἶναι θαῦμα τὸ θαῦμα, εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τῆς φύσεως  
μεταστάσης· καὶ γίνεται ὕβρις ἡ φιλοτιμία τυραννήσασα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

25 \* Κάμοι δὴ, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ· οὕτω μέντοι, ὥς τὰ μὲν πάθη θαύματος  
λόγῳ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ Κυρίου συμβαίνειν, τὸ δέ γε ἀπαθὲς αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον  
φύσεως νόμοις ἀδιαπτῶτοις ἐρηρεῖσθαι.

+ Καὶ πόθεν, εἶπον ἐγὼ, τοῦτο λαβὼν ἔχεις, ὦ βέλτιστε; Τίς δέ σοι  
γεγένηται τῆς ξένης ταύτης σοφίας ὑποφήτης; Ἡ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι νόμος  
30 φύσεως [1336A] οὐ τὸ σπάνιον ἀλλὰ τὸ ὥς αἰεὶ, ἢ κατὰ γε τὸ πλείστον  
ἐνθεωροῦμενον καὶ παραμένον; Ὁ γοῦν Κύριος ἡμῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν  
ὅλοις ἔτεσι μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα πολιτευσάμενος, τῇ μὲν ἀπαραλλαξίᾳ  
τῶν ἡμετέρων τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀπεσέμνυνεν, ἐσθίων τε καὶ πίνων καὶ  
ὑπνῶν, καὶ

and to accept in addition the power to do what is above it."

\* "Clarify what you are saying with a homely example; for my mind has not yet grasped it."

+ "Consider it this way," I said. "[It is] just as one finds, among things made by human skills, that art changes what is made, and brings the natural lack of form in the underlying material to a more beautiful shape and condition, calling it forth to greater usefulness. For art bestows what nature did not have. So flutes and lyres and instruments like them are forced by art to make music; so, too, the plastic arts change gold and other materials into ten thousand kinds of beasts, and even to human shapes; and the mechanical arts, again, contrive astronomical spheres and sundials and the like. It would be a long task to enumerate the kinds of things to which the creative reason adds the beauty and usefulness of art, while nature remains within its boundaries and is not at all injured. And in the same way, if we may take lowly things, bearing a distant echo of the truth, as an example of divine and lofty things, you may think of the flesh of the Lord: the laws of its nature remained uninjured, even after the supernatural and wonderful union, yet it received what was above its nature, so that neither was divided from the other or got in the other's way. For there is no place for what is above nature, if nature does not act naturally. And the miracle would cease to be a miracle, if nature were changed to what is above nature. Any love of glory which does violence to the truth becomes pride."

\* "That is what I think, too," he said; "but I see it this way: that the sufferings were experienced by the Lord's flesh by way of a miracle, while his lack of suffering and indestructibility rested on unfailing laws of nature."

+ "And where," I said, "do you get this from, my friend? Who is the oracle who suggested this strange wisdom to you? Don't you know that a law of nature is not what is rare, but what is constant, or at least what is most often observed and what endures? For the Lord dwelt among us in the flesh thirty-three whole years, and glorified humanity by not deviating at all from what is ours, eating and drinking and sleeping and

VO 5 τῷ κατασκευάσματι V καὶ om. O 12 μηχανικὴν O ὥροσκόπια V;  
ὥροσκόπια O 14 αὐτοῖς O 20 ἀλώβητον O αὐτῇ O 22 post ἐχούσης  
add. τὰ O 23 εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν: ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν O; τῷ ὑπὲρ φύσιν V  
26 ἀνώλεθρον: ἀνάλωτον O 30 ἀλλὰ: ἀλλ' ἢ O 32 ὅλοις ἔτεσι: ἔτεσιν  
ὅλοις O 33 ἐπεσέμνυνεν

τ' ἄλλα δὴ πάντα φυσικῶς προσιέμενος, ἅπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνίστη τοῦ εἰλημμένου σώματος. Καὶ θαυματουργεῖν δὲ τριακονταέτης γεγινώς, οὐ πρότερον, ἤρξατο - μὴ γάρ μοι τὰ παιδικὰ τις τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐκ παιδικῆς φρενός, προβαλλέσθω θαυματουργήματα - τελείαν βάσανον ἀρετῆς καὶ διδασκαλίας καιρὸν ταύτης ἐχούσης τῆς ἡλικίας, ἥνικα καὶ τὰ ὄντως ἡμῖν ἐκήρυξεν εὐαγγέλια καὶ, τὸ πιστὸν ἐπάγων τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις διδάγμασι, [B] τῷ παραδόξῳ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπεσφράγισε τὰ λεγόμενα. Τοσοῦτον δὲ κἀνταῦθα φαίνεται τοῖς τοῦ σώματος φυσικοῖς τε καὶ ἀδιαβλήτοις προσχρησάμενος, ὥστε "φάγου τε καὶ οἶνοπότου" δόξαν ἠνέγκατο, 10 παραπλησίως ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς χρείας μέτρον ἀποπληρῶν. Τί δ' ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρᾶσθαι μορφῇ, μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τε ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν τῷ σχήματι διαλλάττοντα; Καὶ γὰρ "ἀπέθλιβον" αὐτὸν "οἱ ὄχλοι," ὡς ὁ Πέτρος φησὶ. καὶ ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν σημεῖα ἐδίδου, δι' ὧν γνωσθῇ τοῖς θεοκτόνοις, 15 διὰ τὴν, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ὁμοιότητα. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης γεννήσεως μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀναβάσεως, καὶ γε τῆς τριημερονύκτου ταφῆς, εἰρμῷ τινι καὶ τάξει φυσικῇ [C] προὔβαιεν· εἰς φανέρωσιν δὲ τῆς οὐπω τοῖς πολλοῖς δεδηλωμένης θεότητος, σπανιάκις ὡς πρὸς γε τὴν ὅλην ἀκολουθίαν, 20 ἐκαινοτόμει τὰς περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεοσημείας—εἰς δήλωσιν, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος, οὐκ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ σώματος. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πελάγους κουφίζεται καὶ μεταμορφοῦται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ πρὸ γε τούτων ἄγευστος ἐπὶ ὅλας τεσσαράκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας μεμενηκώς, τῆς φυσικῆς χρείας ἐκλέληστο, παρθενικῶν τε σπλάγχνων 25 ἀνέθλε, τοῦ τῆς παρθενίας ἄνθους ἀδιαφθόρου συντηρηθέντος· εἰς δήλωσιν τοῦ θησαυρίσματος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναίρεσιν καὶ μεταστοιχείωσιν τοῦ προσλήμματος τεθαυματούργηκεν. Καὶ ἵνα [D] συνελόντες εἴπωμεν, τὰς μὲν ἀρρήτους θεουργίας τῆς ὑπερκειμένης θεότητος προὔβαλλετο γνωρίσματα· τὰ δὲ πάθη, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν γέννησιν 30 καὶ τὰ σπάργανα, τὴν τε τῆς ἡλικίας αὔξησιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ὅσα δὴ νόμῳ φύσεως περὶ τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο, ἀληθῆ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον ἀπέφαιεν ἄνθρωπον.

Ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν ἐμὴν μικροῦ ἀπέδρα διάνοιαν, κἀκεῖνο προσθήσω.

\* Φάθι γε δῆτα αὐτὸ, εἴπεν.

naturally accepting all the other things that prove the truth of the body he took. And he began to work miracles when he was thirty years old, not before. For no one should propose that the Lord's actions as a child, coming out of a child's mind, were miraculous; no: that age offers both the perfect test of virtue and the perfect moment for teaching, when he proclaimed what is, for us, truly the Good News, and added credibility to his inspired teachings by sealing his words with the marvelous proof of miracles.

"And even then, he appeared still to need the natural and innocent things of the body—so much so that he had the reputation for being a 'glutton and a drinker,' fulfilling the measure of his needs just as we do. And what do you say about the fact that he always appeared in our form, associating with the crowds and not differing from the mass of people in appearance at all? For "the crowd pressed upon him," as Peter said. And he who betrayed him gave the sign, by which he would be recognized to those who wished to kill God, because—as one of our own has remarked—of the external similarity of the Lord to his disciples. These things happened in a kind of natural order and sequence, from the first moment of his birth up to his ascent onto the cross and his three-day burial; but to reveal the divinity which had not yet been shown to the crowds, he began to work new, miraculous signs concerning his body—rare occurrences, in relation to the whole course [of his life]—to show, as I say, his own divinity, while not abrogating the reality of his body. So he walked on the sea without sinking, and was transfigured on the mountain, and before this he remained without food for forty whole days, and forgot completely about natural necessities; he sprang forth from a virgin's womb, while the flower of her virginity was preserved intact. He worked these wonders to prove the treasure [he possessed], not to destroy or transform what he had taken in addition. To put it in a nutshell, he performed indescribable miracles as proof of the divinity which overshadowed him; but his sufferings, and before them his conception and birth and infancy, his growing in age, and each of the other things which occurred by the law of nature in his bodily life, showed him to be a true human being, of the same substance as we are. But let me add something which almost escaped my mind."

\* "Say it, by all means," he said.

9 Matt. 11. 19

13 Luc. 8.45

15-16 fontem non repperi

|        |         |             |        |     |          |           |           |        |       |              |         |
|--------|---------|-------------|--------|-----|----------|-----------|-----------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|
| VO 1   | τὰ ἄλλα | · συνίστησι | V      | 3   | τις: τῆς | O         | 10        | δ' om. | O     | 14           | ἐδίδου: |
| διδούς | O       | 16          | πρώτης | om. | O        | 18        | προέβαιεν | O      | 20-21 | τῆς οἰκείας: | τὴν     |
| τῆς    | O       | 31          | τὸν    | O   | 32       | ἀπέφαινον | O         |        |       |              |         |



+ Ἐννεόηκα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἐκείνός γε τὸ καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ εὐσεβῶς πᾶσι δοκοῦν, ὅτι, ὥσπερ ὁ Κύριος πάντων, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μεταδίδους τῇ σαρκί, ἀνεκφοίτητος μεμένηκεν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐδραΐαν ἔχει μονήν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότης, ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστῶσα [1337 A] 5 καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἔχουσα φυσικὰς δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας, καὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα οὐποτε λείπουσα, τὸν τε ὅρον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς τελειότητος οὐσιωδῶς κекημενή, πάντων κεκοινώνηκε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου καλῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν πηγὴν τῶν καλῶν τὸν Λόγον ἔχουσα, πηγάζει ἐξ ἑαυτῆς πάντα τὰ τοῦ Λόγου διὰ τὸν Λόγον. Μὴ γὰρ δὴ οἰόμεθα 10 μέγα τι λέγειν περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐκείνο αὐτῇ διδόντες ὃ μὴδὲ αὐτὴν τετίμηκε καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἀφήρηται τιμὴν; Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ Λόγου ἦν τῶν ἡμετέρων αὐτὴν στερεῖν, μένουσαν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὔτε τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐχούσης συγγένειαν, ὑπερηφανῆσαι τὴν ὁμοιοπάθειαν (εἰ γε μὴ μέλλοιμεν τῆς θεομιμησίας αὐτῆς ἀποπίπτειν), 15 οὔτε δὲ τὰ κοινῶς ὑπάρξαντα δικαίοις τε καὶ ἀδίκους μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν - φημὶ δὴ τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, [B] καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὸ μὴ πεινεῖν καὶ διψεῖν καὶ ὑπνου ὀρέγεσθαι—ὥς μέγα τι προσρίπτειν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ Κυρίου. Ὡς γὰρ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ” τῶν διὰ τιμῆς ἀτιμαζόντων καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου σάρκα, τὴν μὲν τῇ 20 στερεῖν τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἡμᾶς δὲ τῇ ἀποπτώσει τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης· οὐ γὰρ δοξάσει, μὴ συμπαθοῦσα, ἢ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν δοξάζουσα.

\* Ἰδοὺ δὴ νῦν, ἔφη, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀπεδιστείλω τοῦ παθητοῦ τὸ φθαρτόν. Πάσχει γὰρ ἐν τῇ κολάσει τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν σὺν αὐταῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐ δὴπου δὲ καὶ πάσχοντα θανάτῳ ἢ φθορᾷ 25 ὑποπεσεῖται· ὥς ἐντεῦθεν γινώριμον εἶναι [C] ὅτι οὐ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ παθητῷ τὸ φθαρτόν, εἴπερ καὶ κεῖνα πάσχει μὲν, οὐ φθείρεται δέ.

+ Ἀλλ', ὦ βέλτιστε, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὅτι πᾶν ὃ τίποτε πάθος φθαρτικόν ἐστὶ τοῦ πάσχοντος, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιάδε καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦδε. Τῶν ἐν 30 οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν ἴδιον τὸ φθεῖρειν τὴν ὑποκειμένην φύσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τολμήσαντα εἰπεῖν, καὶ συντελεῖ τι πρὸς τὴν διαρκὴ ἐπιμονὴν τῶν κολαζομένων. Ἰδοὺ δ' ἂν τις αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς

18 Phil. 3.19

VO 1 ἐννεόηκα O γε: δὴ O 2 ὅθ' O μεταδίδους O 3 ἐδραΐαν V<sup>α</sup>; ἐδρεάν V<sup>corr</sup> 1; ἐδραΐαν V<sup>corr</sup> 2 5 τε om. O 6 καθ' ἡμᾶς om. O 9 αὐτῆς O οἰώμεθα conj. Mai 14 γε om. O 17 τι om. O 18 Κυρίου: Χριστοῦ O 19 καὶ! om. O 20 ἀποπτώσει: ἐκπτώσει O 22 δὴ om. O 24 ταῖς om. V 27 ὃ τίποτε om. O 28 τὰ τοιάδε: τὸ τοιοῦδε O 29 γινομένης ante ἐξ αὐτῶν transp. O 32 καὶ ἐν: καὶ O

+ “It strikes me,” I said, “as right, and as something that would seem religious truth to all, that just as the Lord of all, when he shared what was his with the flesh, remained undiminished in himself and steadfastly retained the position that is his by nature, so too his humanity, remaining in its own natural bounds and holding on to its natural powers and activities, and not departing from our common, innocent passions, and [so] in its very being laying down the definition of human perfection, shared all the riches which came from the Word—or rather, having the very fount of riches in the Word, it poured forth from itself all that the Word possesses, because of the Word. Surely we do not imagine we are saying something great about the flesh of the Lord, by attributing to it what does it no honor and removes honor from us? For it is no glory for the Word to deprive his flesh of our characteristics, while it remains among us; nor does it give glory to his humanity, which is akin to us, to treat its passibility like ours with contempt, unless we are to fall away from the ideal of imitating it. It is also no great thing to add to the flesh of the Lord things which will exist in just and unjust alike after the resurrection—I mean immortality and incorruptibility, and before them the quality of not hungering or thirsting or needing sleep. For it is possible to say truly, on this point, that his glory is in the shame of those who, by their concern for honor, dishonor both us and the flesh of the Lord—him by depriving his flesh of our characteristics, and us by depriving us of what we have from his flesh. For that flesh that gives glory by suffering will not share its glory, if it does not suffer with us.”

\* “Look,” he said: “even now, though you haven’t intended it, you have distinguished the corruptible from the passible. For in the realm of punishment, the bodies of sinners suffer along with their souls, but even when they suffer they are not subject to death or decay; from this, it is obvious that the corruptible is not the same as the passible, if they also suffer but are not destroyed.”

+ “But, my friend,” I said, “I do not say that every suffering whatsoever corrupts the sufferer, but only certain kinds, in certain people. I would not say, then, that it is proper to the punishments of Hades, and the painful sensations that come from them, to corrupt the nature that undergoes them; if I may speak boldly, pain even contributes something towards the lasting endurance of those being punished. One can see this same thing happening in

ιατρικοῖς φαρμάκοις· ἀναζέι τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀναθάλλει τὴν φύσιν, τὸ βάθος κεντρίζοντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ τῇ ἀναισθησίᾳ μαραίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ [D] ὀδύνη συντηρεῖ καὶ τῷ διακαεῖ συντονίαν ἄγει καὶ πύκνωσιν. Τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη καὶ φυσικὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, ἅπερ ὁ Κύριος κατεδέξατο, 5 πέφυκέ πως καὶ τὴν σάρκα καταμαραίνειν, κοποῦν τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνιᾶν καὶ τέλος διαλύειν, ὃ δὴ γεγονὸς καὶ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔγνωμεν· τῇ δὲ διαλύσει, ὅσον γε ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει, καὶ τὸ φθαρῆναι ἔπεται. Τὰ τοίνυν ἀνθρώπινα πάθη λυπεῖν οἶδε τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τῇ συνθέσει λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τέλος χωρισμὸν εἰσάγειν καὶ φθορὰ ὑποβάλλειν, ὥνπερ ὁ Κύριος 10 “παραπλησίως” [1340 A] ἡμῖν πάντων “μετέσχηκεν,” κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ Ἀποστόλου μυσταγωγίαν.

\* Τί δὲ ἄλλο γε, ἔφη, διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων πείθειν τε καὶ δεικνύειν ἐσπούδακας, ἢ ὅτι παθητὸς ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ τοῦτο σώματος φύσει, οὐχὶ θελήσει θεότητος, καὶ φθαρτὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσται; Οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβες τοῦτο 15 κατασκευάζων· ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμεθα πώποτε, κἂν μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἐρεῖς. Πειστέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρῳ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν βασιλεῦσι θεοκρίτῳ καὶ ἀρχιπροφήτῃ Δαβίδ, ἀποφαινομένοις ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ “οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν.”

+ Ἐπειδὴ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων, εἶπον ἐγὼ, ὁψέ γ’ οὖν, ἀπέστης λογισμῶν 20 [B] καὶ πιθανότητων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς θείας Γραφὰς καταπέφυγας, μνήμη δέ τις καὶ ἡμᾶς προφητικῆς ὑπέδραμε ῥήσεως, ἐναντίως ἔχειν δοκοῦσα τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ· ταύτην, αἰτῶ σε, τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν διασάφησον.

\* Τίνα ταύτην, ἔφη, λέγεις, διέξιθι.

+ Τὴν Ἱερεμίου τοῦ θεηγόρου, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπον, ἦν ἐν 25 τοῖς Θρήνοις, τὸν τῶν θρήνων λυτῆρα προαναρρητικῶς ὑποφαίνων, ἐφθέγγετο, «Χριστὸς Κύριος,» λέγων, «συνελήφθη ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς ἡμῶν». Καὶ ἄλλο δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου κηρυχθὲν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, «Τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου,» λέγοντος, «ἐν τῷ καταβῆναί με εἰς διαφθοράν;» Ἡ τε γὰρ ἐπιγραφή τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, καὶ ἡ ὅλη 30 ῥημάτων ἀκολουθία τὸν Κύριον ἡμῖν νοεῖν ὑποτίθεται [C] διὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ μυστικῶς προτυπούμενον, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεολόγων ἐξήγησιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πέτρος φαίνεται τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσι τῇ ἀναστάσει

medical drugs: they seethe up and warm the nature, stimulating it in its depths, and do not allow it to waste away in numbness, but they preserve it by pain and bring it to firmness and density by irritation. But the human, natural sufferings of the body, which the Lord accepted, were such as to waste the flesh, to weary and distress it, and in the end to break it down, which we know is what happened on the cross. And corruption follows upon dissolution, as far as nature is concerned. Human sufferings, then, were able to cause pain to his nature, to do violence to its unity, and in the end to bring about separation and subject it to decay; in all of these things the Lord ‘shared, just like us,’ according to the great doctrine of the Apostle.”

\* “What else,” he said, “are you trying to argue and prove by what you have said, except that since Christ is passible—precisely by his bodily nature, not by the divine will—he is also necessarily corruptible? It doesn’t escape me that this is what you’re building up to! But we would never accept that, not even if you say countless things beyond what you have said already. We must rather believe the leader of the apostles, Peter, and also the inspired king and chief prophet David, when they insist that his flesh ‘did not see corruption.’”

+ “Since you are departing from human arguments and persuasion,” I said, “however belatedly, and are taking refuge in the holy Scriptures, we, too, can remember a prophetic saying which seems to say the opposite to yours; explain that to us now, I beg you.”

\* “Tell me just which one you mean,” he said.

+ “That saying of the inspired Jeremiah,” I said to him in reply, “which he utters in the *Lamentations*, when he shows by prophetic proclamation the one who will save us from lamentation: ‘Christ the Lord,’ he says, ‘was included in our corruption.’ And one can find the same thought expressed by the prophet speaking in the person of the Lord, when he says, ‘What benefit is there in my blood, in my going down to corruption?’ For the inscription of the psalm, and the whole sequence of its sayings, urges us to think of the Lord as mystically prefigured by the psalm, according to the explanation of the theologians. But even Peter himself appears on the scene,

10 Hebr. 2.14 18 Ps. 15.10 (LXX); Acta 2.27 26–7 Lam. 4.20 (LXX)  
28 Ps. 29.10 (LXX); cf. Methodius, Frag. 1 in Job, GCS 27, 511, ll. 6–7

VO 1 ἀναζή V 3 διακαεῖ: δάκει εἰς O 9 ante χωρισμὸν add. καὶ V  
ὥνπερ: ἦνπερ O 12 ἔφη post τούτων transp. O 16 πιστέον V 17 θεοκρίτῳ:  
fort. θεοκλύτῳ 18 ἀποφνηαμένοις O ἴδεν V 22 ταύτην ... διασάφησον,  
una cum l. 23, Aphthartodoceto attribuit V 23 λέγεις om. O διέξιε O  
25 προαναντιρρητικῶς O 27 δὴ om. O 29 καταβαίνειν V 32 Πέτρος:  
revera Paulus

τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐμβριθέστατα λέγων "ὅτι ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν, μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν". τὸ δὲ μηκέτι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ὑποστρέφειν οὐκ ἀνεπίδεκτον φθορᾶς εἶναι δηλοῖ τὸν περὶ οὗ ταῦτα εἴρηκεν. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ οἶει ταῦτα τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ προενηνεγμένοις  
5 ἀντιστατεῖν, καὶ μείζουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπορίας δεσμοῖς περιβάλλειν;

\* Νῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκείνος ἔφη, πολλῆς ταῦτα γέμει τῆς ἀσαφείας, εἰ μὴ πού τινος ἐξηγητοῦ τυγχάνοιεν, κατὰ σκοπὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφωνίαν εὐθύνοντος.

[D] + Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν, εἶπον, ὦ καλέ τε καὶ ἀγαθὲ, τὸ τῆς τούτων διανοίας  
10 συνεσκιασμένον εὐθυβόλως ἀνακαλύψας, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡμῖν παραγύμνωσον, εἴτε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβὼν ἔχεις.

\* Οὐ καλὴν, ἔφη, τινὰ παντελῶς οὐδὲ εὐπρόσωπον ἔδοξās μοι τὴν πρόφασιν ἐξευρεῖν, ταῖς ἀντιθέτοις τῶν ῥήσεων μείζονι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσαφείᾳ περιβαλὼν, ἵνα σοι ἢ μὲν ἀπορία τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν, ἢ δὲ ἀμφιβολία  
15 τὴν ὁμολογίαν παρεισκυκλήσῃ τοῦ ψεύδους. Ἐγὼ γοῦν εἴτε τις ἐρμηνεύσει λόγος ἡμῖν, εἴτε καὶ μὴ, τὸ τῶν ῥήσεων ἄπορον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἀποσταίην, διαρρήδην τῆς θεοπνεύστου βοώσης Γραφῆς [1341 A] ὅτι "οὐκ ἐγκατελείφθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν."

20 + Ὡς πεφυκυῖα τοῦ φθείρεσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον, οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν; Ἡ μὴ τοῦτο; ἀπόκριναι.

\* Ὡς μὴ πεφυκυῖα, εὐθὺς, μὴδὲ παντελῶς ὑποστειλάμενος, ἔφη.

+ Οὐκοῦν, ἔλεγον, ταῦτό δὴ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνάγκη σε πάντως ὁμολογεῖν. περὶ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν συνημμένως ὁ προφήτης ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ  
25 Σωτῆρος εὐχαριστῶν, τὸ μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην μὴδὲ τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν ἀνεφώνησεν.

[B] \* Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔφη, τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ ἴσον εἴποιμ' ἂν, ὅτι φύσιν οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν ᾅδου καταλιμπάνεσθαι.

+ Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφην, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην αὐτὴν καταπεφοιτηκέναι δώσομεν;

30 \* Ὁ δὲ, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀρνηθεῖν, ἔλεγεν, κρατεῖσθαι γε μὴν οὐ πέφυκε παντάπασιν.

1-2 Acta 13.34; cf. 2. 31 f.

18-19 Ps. 15.10 (LXX)

|                              |                       |                                    |                   |                  |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| VO 1 τῇ om. V <sup>opt</sup> | post ὅτι add. δὲ O    | 4 ἄρα O                            | οἷη O             | 7 πού om. O      |
| τυγχάνοιεν: τύχοιεν O        | 9 κάλε τε: κάλλιστε V | καὶ ἀγαθὲ: κάγαθὲ V <sup>opt</sup> | 10 ἡμῖν           |                  |
| om. O                        | 11 καὶ om. O          | 15 παρεισκυκλείσῃ O                | εἴτε: εἰ O        | 16 ἑμαυτοῦ:      |
| ἑαυτοῦ O                     | 18 ἴδεν V             | 20 ἴδεν V                          | 21 ἡ om. O        | 22 μὴδὲ: μὴδὲν O |
| παντελῶς om. O               | 23 πάντως om. O       | 25 τὸ: τῷ O                        | ἐγκαταλελειφθαι O |                  |
| τὸν om. O                    | 28 ἐν: εἰς V          | 29 αὐτὴν iter. O                   | δώσωμεν O         |                  |

speaking very seriously to those who refuse to believe in the resurrection of the Savior and saying that [God] 'raised him so that he would never return to corruption'; and this 'never returning to corruption' shows that the one of whom he says these things was not invulnerable to decay. Don't you think that this is contrary to what you argued before, and that it involves us in the bonds of still greater perplexity?"

\* "In truth," he said, "this is full of obscurity, unless it can find someone to interpret and straighten out the seeming discrepancy in these texts, with an eye towards the truth."

D + "Come on, then, my excellent fellow," I said: "you open up the darkened meaning of these texts accurately and reveal the truth to us, whether you have it on your own or have borrowed it from someone else."

\* "You don't seem to have found a good or plausible reason," he said, "for wrapping the truth in greater obscurity by your contradictory texts, so that the difficulty leads to ambiguity and the ambiguity quietly smuggles in the confession of falsehood. As for me, whether some argument explains the confusion between the texts or not, I will not abandon my own opinion, since the inspired Scripture cries out in clear terms that his soul was not abandoned to Hades, and that his flesh did not see corruption."

+ "Was it as one naturally capable of corruption," I said to him, "that he did not see corruption? Tell me if this is not right."

\* "As one not capable of it," he said, right away and with no reservations.

+ "Well," I said, "surely you must affirm this same thing about his soul; for the prophet gave thanks for both together, in the person of the Savior, when he said that his soul would not be abandoned to Hades, nor his body see corruption."

\* "Indeed," he said, "I would say the same about the soul of the Lord, because it was not naturally suited to remain in Hades."

+ "Well," I said, "do we not concede that his soul descended to Hades?"

\* He replied, "I would not deny that, but he was not at all capable of being held there."

+ Παραλλάττει γοῦν, ἔφην, τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχῇ;

\* Οὐχ ὅτι παραλλάττει, ἔφην, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ Κυρίῳ συγκεκραμένη, τῆς τοῦ ἁδου κατοχῆς ὑψηλοτέρα καὶ κρείττων ἐτύγχανεν.

5 + Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν (ταύτην γὰρ ὁμοίαν εἶχεν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ψυχαῖς) ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου θεότητα, μεθ' ἧς [C] καὶ εἰς ἁδου καταβέβηκεν, οὐ τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι μόνον ἐξήρητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκείσε κεκρατημένων, καὶ πιστευσάντων αὐτῷ, τὰ δεσμὰ λέλυκεν.

\* Οὕτως, εἶπεν, ἔχει.

10 + Τὰ παραπλήσια δέ, ἐγὼ εἶπον, καὶ περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου νοεῖν ἔξεστιν. ὅτι ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοφυεῖ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα, ὥσπερ τέθηκεν, οὕτω καὶ φθαρῆναι ἡδύνατο· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐφθάρθαι αὐτὸ οὐ τῆς φύσεως τὴν παραλλαγὴν δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας ῥοπῆς τὴν πανσθενῆ τε καὶ δραστήριον δύναμιν—ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ 15 πελάγους πεζεύειν οὐ δήλωσις ἦν τῆς φύσεως τοῦ σώματος, [D] ἀλλὰ γνῶρισμα τῆς θεότητος. Ὡστε τὸ μὲν τεθνηκέναι τῆς φύσεως τοῦ σώματος ἴδιον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐφθάρθαι αὐτὸ τῆς θεότητος τὴν δύναμιν σημαίνει.

\* Οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ αὐτὸς οἶμαι.

+ Καὶ τί δή ποτε, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον, “ὀρθῶς προσφέρων, μὴ ὀρθῶς καὶ 20 διαιρεῖς,” κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἀποδιδούς τῇ σαρκὶ μὲν τὰ τῆς φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ὑπερουσίῳ δυνάμει; Ταύτη γὰρ ἔση καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνωτέρω ῥητῶν διαφωνίαν ἐπιλυσάμενος, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας καταστοχάσῃ, “συνειληφθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς ἡμῶν” τὸ πεφυκέναι λέγων καὶ “κατεληλυθέναι εἰς διαφθορὰν”, ἐν τοῖς 25 [1344 A] φθοροποιοῖς γενόμενον καὶ τόποις καὶ πράγμασι, “μὴ ἰδεῖν δὲ διαφθορὰν,” τὴν ταύτης πείραν τοῦ Λόγου κωλύσαντος, ἵν' ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν χάριτος τὸ ἐξαίρετον δώρημα—ἀρξαμένης μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, διαβάσης δὲ καὶ διαβησομένης μέχρι παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου φυράματος, οὐ καὶ ἀπαρχῇ 30 γεγωνῶς, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνεξύμωσεν καὶ τὸ ὅλον φύραμα.

\* Τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν, ἔφην, πεπονθέναι, τῆς θείας ἡκούσαμεν λεγούσης Γραφῆς, καὶ τὸ παθητὸν εἶναι κατὰ σάρκα τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ Παύλου μεγαλόνοια

16 cf. Gen. 4.7      23–4 Lam. 4.20 (LXX)      24 Ps. 29.10 (LXX)      25–6 Ps. 15.10 (LXX)      29–30 (ἀπαρχή ... φύραμα) cf. Rom. 11.16; 1 Cor. 5.6–7; Gal. 5.9      32 (παθητὸν ... Χριστὸν) cf. Acta 26.23

VO 1 ἔφην O 4 κατοχῆς: μετοχῆς O 9 ἔχειν V 10 δ' O  
15 παιζεύειν V<sup>ac</sup> 17 σημαίνειν V 19 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. O 20 μὲν om. O  
21 ante ὑπερουσίῳ add. τῇ O 24 λόγων O 26 ἵνα V<sup>ac</sup> 29 ἀνθρωπίου O  
ἀπαρχῇ V<sup>ac</sup> 31 τὸν: τὸ O 32 ante σάρκα add. τὴν O om. τὸν O

+ “Does the soul of the Lord differ in nature from our souls?” I asked.

\* “It is not that it differs,” he said, “but that when it was united with the Lord it became superior to the power of Hades to retain it, and stronger [than Hades].”

+ “So then,” I said, “it was not through its nature (for he had a like nature to all other souls) but through the divinity of the Word, with which he descended into Hades, that he was not only exempt from being retained there, but even broke the bonds of those who were detained there, and who believed in him.”

\* “So it was,” he said.

+ “We can make similar conclusions,” I said, “about the flesh of the Lord: namely, that as far as the likeness of nature between his flesh and the bodies of all other men and women is concerned, as he died, so he was capable of corruption; but the fact that he was not corrupted is a sign not of a change in nature but of the almighty, effective power of the divine influence—just as his walking on the sea was not a revelation of the nature of his body, but a sign of his divinity. So that dying is proper to the nature of the body, but not being corrupted indicates the power of the divinity.”

\* “I think this is true myself,” [he said].

+ “Why on earth,” I said to him, “do you ‘draw straight and not also cut straight,’ as the saying runs, by attributing the characteristics of nature to the flesh, but what is above nature to the ineffable and supernatural power of the Word? For in this way you will have solved the discrepancy of these texts we have seen and strike the truth itself, by saying that he was in his natural constitution ‘involved in our corruption’ and that he ‘descended into corruption,’ by being born in places and circumstances that cause corruption, but that he ‘did not see corruption,’ because the Word prevented him from experiencing this, in order that incorruption, along with other blessings, might be the choice gift of the grace of resurrection. Incorruption began with him and in him, after all, but was extended and will be extended to the whole of the human mass, since he, being its first fruit, has fermented the whole mass into himself.”

\* “That Christ suffered,” he said, “we hear from the testimony of holy Scripture, and that Christ is passible in his flesh, the lofty thoughts of Paul

διαγορεύει· τὸ μέντοι φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν οὐδεμία Γραφή τρανῶς οὕτω, καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ φωνῇ, παραδέδωκεν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ “συλληφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν διαφθορᾷ” πάντως τοῦτο δηλοῖ.

[B] + Ἀρ' οὖν, πρὸς ἐκείνον εἶπον, τὸ πεπονθέναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἢ Γραφῇ διηγόρευσεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ Παρθένου;

\* Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐστὶ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως νοήσαιμεν τὸ “βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ”;

+ Οὐκοῦν, εἶπον, πρὸς τὸ πεπονθέναι καὶ γενέσεις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς καταγγέλλεται;

10 \* Σύμφημι, ἔφη.

+ Τί δέ; Οὐχὶ καὶ αὖξιν αὐτοῦ σωματικὴν, εἶπον, ἐκ τῆς Γραφῆς παρελήφαμεν;

\* Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

+ Τὴν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐξωθεν λεγομένην ἀλλοίωσιν, εἶπον ἔγωγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐκ παθητικῆς οἷοι δυνάμεως τίκτεσθαι, ἢ οὐ;

[C] \* Καὶ ποῦ τῆς Γραφῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον εὔρομεν;

+ Πρὸς αὐτοῦ γε, εἶπον, τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου μυσταγωγούμεθα, “Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενὴς” ἀντικρὺς λέγοντος· καὶ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος, “Εἰ καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ.” Ἀσθενεία δὲ τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ τῆς καθ' ἑξῆς δυνάμεως ἀλλοιώσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς; Καὶ ὁ μέγας δὲ Ἡσαΐας φησὶν, «Ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν, καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν»· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα, «Καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ δόξαν· ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, ἐκλείπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.» Ἀρ' οὖν ἄλλο τί ποτὲ ἐστὶν 20 καλεῖν ἐκλείψιν [D] καὶ μαλακίαν ἢ τὴν ἐκ πάθους ἀλλοίωσιν, ἣν τὸ σῶμα πέπονθεν, ἄχρουν τε γενόμενον καὶ τὸ φυσικῶς ἐπανθῶν τῷ σώματι χρῶμα μὴ διασφῶζον, ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ βάθος συννεῦσαι τὴν θερμότητα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, διὰ τὴν τοῦ αἵματος συστολήν, κατεψύχθαι τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὥχρὸν μεταχρῶσαι;

30 \* Ὅρθότατα, ἔφη, λέγεις· καὶ μοι δοκεῖς ἐν τούτοις τὸν μέγαν ἐκμιμῆσθαι Βασίλειον, τὰ τοῦ σώματος φυσιολογοῦντα πάθη.

2-3 Lam. 4.20 (LXX) 7 Matt. 1.1 17-18 Matt. 26.41 19-20 2 Cor. 13.4 21-2 Isa. 53.3 (LXX) 22-4 Isa. 53.2-3 (LXX var.) 24-9 cf. Basilus (?), *De Creatione Hominis Sermo I* (ed. H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nyssensis Opera, Supplementum*, 10, l. 9-11, l. 11; PG 30, 16 C3-D6)

VO 4 αὐτὸ O 5 ἢ καὶ: ἢ om. O 6 ἂν om. O 8 τὸ: τῷ O 8-9 παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς om. O 15 οἷη V τίκτεσθαι: γίνεσθαι O ἢ οὐ om. O 16 ἠύρομεν O 17 μὲν om. V 22 μετ' ὀλίγα: μεθέτερα O καὶ om. V ἴδομεν V 24 ante ἐκλείπον add. καὶ V ποτ' O 26 πεπόνθει O ἄχρουν: ὥχρὸν O 29 μεταχρῶσαι V

tell us. But no passage of Scripture so clearly hands on to us that Christ was corruptible, in so many words; nor does his being ‘involved in corruption,’ surely, mean this.”

+ “Well, then,” I said to him, “does the Scripture say only that he suffered, or also that he was begotten of the Virgin, according to the flesh?”

\* “This, too,” he said, “is part of what we confess. For how else could we understand the phrase, ‘The Book of the Ancestry of Jesus Christ’?”

+ “Well, then,” I said, “in addition to his having suffered, you agree that his birth is proclaimed by the Scriptures?”

\* “I agree,” he said.

+ “What else? Do we not also learn of his bodily growth from the Scripture?” I said.

\* “Surely,” he said.

+ “And do you think,” I said to him, “that what those outside our community call ‘alteration’ stems from the ability to suffer, or not?”

\* “Where do we find that in the Scripture?”

+ “We are guided,” I said, “by the Savior’s own words when he says openly, ‘The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak;’ and again the divine Apostle says of him, ‘If he was crucified from weakness, yet he lives from the power of God.’ What else is weakness but an alteration and change of a habitual power? And the great Isaiah says, ‘A man living in suffering, and knowing how to bear weakness;’ and a little later on, ‘We saw him, and he did not possess form or glory; but his form was dishonorable, lacking in comparison with the children of men and women.’ Is it possible to call this deficiency and weakness anything else than alteration arising from suffering, which the body undergoes, becoming pale and no longer preserving the color which naturally blooms on the body, all because the warmth has withdrawn to the innermost depths and because its appearance has become cool and changed from color to pallor, because of the contraction of the blood-supply?”

\* “You speak correctly,” he said; “and you seem to me, in all this, to be imitating the great Basil, when he gives a physiological description of the passive experiences of the body.”



+ Οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰρημένων, εἶπον, ἔστιν ἐμὸν, πάντα δὲ ἐκ Πατέρων λαβὼν ἔχω. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξ ἧς, εἰ βούλει, συνδιασκεψώμεθα.

\* Τὸ ποῖον; ἔφη.

[1345 A] + Γεννήσεως, εἶπον ἐγὼ, καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ ἀλλοιώσεως σαφῶς  
5 ἐκ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν δεδομένης, ζητοῦμεν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς συζυγίας, εἴ γε καὶ ταύτας ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς θείοις λόγοις εὐρεῖν.

\* Τοῦ ἐντεῦθεν, ἔφη, κατασκευαζομένου συνήμι· τὴν γὰρ μεταβατικὴν ὁμολογουμένην ἔχων, τὴν ἀπὸ τόπων εἰς τόπους, τοῦ Κυρίου κίνησιν, τὰ  
10 περὶ μειώσεως καὶ φθορᾶς ἀποδεικνύειν ἐπιχειρεῖς—ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, συμπεραίνεις.

+ Ὅρθως μὲν λέγεις, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἀφορῶν· ἡ δέ γε ἀλήθεια συμμαχομένη συμμαχεῖ τοῖς ὑπερμαχοῦσιν αὐτῆς. Δοκεῖ σοι οὖν τὸ πεινῆν τε καὶ διψῆν βρώσεώς τε καὶ πόσεως ἔφεις εἶναι;

\* Δοκεῖ, ἔφη.

15 [B] + Συμβαίνειν δὲ τὰς ἐφέσεις οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐνδείας, ἔφην, ὑπέιληφας;

\* Ναὶ· τί γάρ ἐστιν ἕτερον ὁρεῖς ἢ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἐλλείποντος, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὑπεκρεύσαντος;

+ Κάλλιστά γε τὸν τῆς ὁρέξεως ὄρον ἀποδέδωκας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος πεινῆσαι λέγει τὸν Κύριον, “τῆς στερεᾶς αὐτῷ τροφῆς  
20 διαπνευσθείσης” ἐν τῷ σώματι. Καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις σαφῶς ἐπίστασαι. Ὑπνου δὲ συστολὴν οὐχ ἕτερον ὑπάρχειν φαμέν ἢ τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ πνεύματος ἀτονίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ κόπον τὴν τῶν μυῶν καὶ νεύρων ὑπέρτασιν· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἐνδεῖ καὶ μειοῦται τὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ δεῖται ὕπνου μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν ζωτικὴν τε καὶ αἰσθητικὴν δύναμιν, ἀνέσεως δὲ ἵνα  
25 χαλασθῶσιν οἱ τόνοι τῶν εἴτε ποδῶν, εἴτε χειρῶν, εἴτε καὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, [C] ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας τινὸς ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων συντονίας ἀπειρηκότος. Τροφὴν δὲ καὶ ποτὸν ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, τῶν στερεῶν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑγρῶν, ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, διαπεφορημένων καὶ τῆς ἀντεισαγωγῆς προσδεομένων τοῦ κενωθέντος ἤδη καὶ ρεύσαντος.

30 \* Ταύτη μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, σωμάτων, ὧ βέλτιστε· οὐ μὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκὸς οὕτω ταῦτα.

+ “Nothing else of what I said is my own, either,” I said; “but I have taken everything from the Fathers. But if you wish, let us examine what follows.”

\* “What?” he said.

1345A + “If [his] birth,” I said, “and growth and alteration are clearly given in holy Scripture, let us examine the other things which are connected with them, to see if we can find them, too, in the divine writings.”

\* “I understand what you are working up to,” he said; “for having reached agreement on the Lord’s power of movement from place to place, you are now trying to prove something about [his] diminution and corruption—which is not, in my opinion, a correct conclusion.”

+ “You are right,” I said, “for you spot our weakness; but when we support the truth, it supports us against the powers that seek to overwhelm her. Do you think that hungering and thirsting are an appetite for food and drink?”

\* “I think so,” he said.

+ “Do you not assume that appetites happen to be for things that are lacking?” I asked.

\* “Yes. For what else is an appetite, but the desire for something missing, to fill up what has been depleted?”

+ “You have defined appetite very well. For the great Basil says that the Lord was hungry, when solid food evaporated in his body. And you know clearly what follows from this. For we say that the respite of sleep is nothing else than the relaxation of the perceptive spirit, just as exertion is the tension of the muscles and nerves. Natural powers are diminished and used up in these parts of the body, and need sleep to reacquire the vital and perceptive powers, and relaxation, so that the sinews of the feet or the hands or of the whole body may be loosened, when the body is worn out from walking or from the strain connected with other kinds of work. Nature seeks after food and drink, when the solid and liquid elements, from which we are composed, are dissipated and need replenishment of what has been spent and has flowed away.”

\* “It is so in our bodies, my friend,” he said; “but these things do not hold for the flesh of the Lord.”

19–20 Basilius, *Homilia de Gratiarum Actione* 5 (PG 31, 228 C14–299 A1); cf. Flor., Test. 9

VO 1 οὐδ' Ο ἐμὸν ante ἔστιν transp. Ο 2 συνδιασκεψόμεθα V 3 τὸ ποῖον: ὅποιον V 7 ἔφη post κατασκευαζομένου transp. Ο 8 τὴν τῶν Ο 10 συμπερανεῖς V 13 τὸ om. Ο πεινεῖν ... διψεῖν V 15 συμβαίνει Ο 20 ἐπίσταται Ο 22 κόπων Ο 23 μὲν om. Ο 25 εἴτε<sup>3</sup> om. Ο 28 ἡμῶν V 29 προσδεομένων: δεομένων Ο

+ Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ οὕτω ταῦτα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφην, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκὸς, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἴσον συνέβαινε τρόπον, εἵπομι' ἂν θαρρούντως ὡς οὐδ' ὅλως γεγέννηται. Ἐπεὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἡμῖν παράστησον τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν φαντασίαν εἵποις ἂν πώποτε;

5 [D] \* Μηδὲ γάρ ποτε οὕτω μανείην, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα συνέβαινε, ἀλλὰ βουλομένου τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ἐφιέντος τῇ σαρκί.

+ Εὐῆφης, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον· μηδὲ γὰρ τύχοι τῆς κρείττονος ἀλλοιώσεως, ὃ μὴ τῇ παραχωρήσει τοῦ Λόγου τὰ φυσικὰ τῇ σαρκὶ συμβῆναι πάθη λέγων τε καὶ φρονῶν.

10 \* Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, πιστεύομεν· Θεὸς γὰρ ἄληπτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ἣν τε θελήσῃ.

+ Δεδομένης τοίνυν, εἶπον, ὦ θαυμάσιε, γεννήσεως, ἀλλοιώσεως, αὐξήσεως, μεταβατικῆς κινήσεως τῷ σώματι τοῦ Κυρίου, τί τὸ κωλύον, εἰπέ μοι, μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν αὐτῷ συζυγίαν διδόναι;

15 \* Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τοὺς σοὺς, ἔφη, λόγους, καὶ ἔφθαρται;

[1348 A] + Μὴ γένοιτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρινάμην.

\* Πῶς τοῦτο, ἔφη, λέγεις;

+ Ὅτι μὴδὲ θέμις, εἶπον.

\* Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν; εἶπεν.

20 + Ἐπειδὴ περ, ἔφην, ἀπογεύσασθαι ἔδει τῶν ἡμετέρων παθῶν μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ θανάτου πείρας, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατ' ἐνέργειαν γενέσθαι φθορᾷ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πᾶσιν ἔσχε τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, οὕτω καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν θάνατον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τεθνηκέναι ἡμέτερον, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας νεκρότητος ἴαμα· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐφθάρθαι, τῆς κρείττονος τοῦ Λόγου δυνάμεως, ὃς γε τὴν πείραν κεκώλυκεν, ἥκιστα φθαρῆναι συγκεχωρηκῶς τῇ [B] σαρκὶ, ὡς ἂν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαβαίῃ, καὶ γένηται τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἡμῶν ἀρχή. Τὸ τοίνυν μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν φθορὰν τῆς ἀνικητοῦ ἐστὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ λόγῳ θαύματος, ἀλλ' οὐ νόμῳ φύσεως.

30 \* Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, καὶ νέος Ἀδὰμ ὠνομάσθη ὁ Κύριος. Πῶς δ' ἂν τοῦτο ἐλέγετο, εἰ μὴ τὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου φορέσας σῶμα; Ἀφθαρτος δὲ ἦν ὁ πρωτόπλαστος πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως· ἀφθαρτον ἄρα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα· καὶ γὰρ ἀναμάρτητον πάντῃ διαμεμένηκεν.

+ Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀφθαρτον, ἔφην, ἢ μὴ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου τὸ σῶμα ἐτύγχανεν, οὐπω λέγω, ἕως ἂν μὴ τὸ ἀθάνατον αὐτοὺς καταιδεῖ τοῦ  
35 πρωτοπλάστου

VO 2 θαρούντως V<sup>sc</sup> 3 γεγέννηται V<sup>sc</sup> O τρόπον ante ἡμῶν transp. O  
4 εἵποι O 6 ἀλλὰ: ἀλλ' οὐ O 7 εὐῆφης: εὐφήμει O 11 ἣν τε:  
εἴτε O 12 ὦ om. O γενέσεως V 15 οὐκοῦν om. O post κατὰ add. γε O  
21 τῆς om. O 22 ἔσχε: εἶχεν O 27 ἀρχή: ἀπαρχή O 33 τὸ ante τοῦ  
πρωτοπλάστου transp. O

+ "But if these things do not hold," I said to him, "also for the flesh of the Lord, and in the same way, I would say confidently that he was not born [human] at all. For imagine him in a different way from us: you wouldn't say he was ever purely a fantasy, would you?"

\* "I would never be so insane," he said; "these things were truly his qualities, but at the consent of the Word, who imposed it upon his flesh."

+ "You speak rightly," I said to him; "for if one were to say or to think anything else than that natural possibilities were experienced by his flesh with the permission of the Word, one [still] could not hit upon a superior form of change."

\* "So we believe, too," he said; "for God is incomprehensible to human beings, if he wishes to be."

+ "If you grant, then, my good man," I said, "birth and alteration and growth and physical motion to the body of the Lord, tell me what prevents you from granting it the rest of what follows?"

1348A \* "You mean," he said, "according to your argument, that he was corrupted?"

+ "Not at all," I answered him.

\* "What do you mean?" he said.

+ "That would be irreverent," I said.

\* "Why?" he said.

+ "For the reason," I said, "that he had to taste of our sufferings, even as far as the very experience of death, yet not actually take part in corruption, but as he possessed in all things both what is ours and what is above us, so also in death. For dying belongs to us, and is the cure of our mortality; but not being corrupted belongs to the superior power of the Word, who prevented the experience [of corruption], not at all permitting the flesh to be corrupted, so that this might also be transferred from his flesh to us, and become the cause of our incorruption. For non-corruption is proper to his unconquerable power, and happened in virtue of a miracle, not by the law of nature."

\* "But," he said, "the Lord is also called 'the new Adam.' How could he be called this, if he had not borne the body of the first man? The first man was incorruptible before the fall; therefore the body of the Lord, too, was incorruptible, for it always remained sinless."

+ "Whether the body of the first man," I said, "happened to be incorruptible or not, I for one will not say, as long as they feel no shame in not attributing the immortality of the first man

μὴ διδόμενον τῷ Κυρίῳ. Τεθνηκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν πάντως δώσουσιν, [C] εἰ μὴ μέλλοιεν τὸ τῆς φαντασίας ὅλον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφέρεισθαι ἔγκλημα. Τὸ δέ γε σῶμα τὸν Κύριον ἀνελήφεναι τοιοῦτον, ὅποιον οὐχὶ τὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον—οὐ γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον  
 5 ἦλθεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς—καὶ σφόδρα θαρρύντως ἂν διατεινοίμην. κοινῆς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς νόσου, πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἐνὶ μὲν εἰκέναι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πάντων ἀπεμφαίνειν, οἷ γε τῆς αὐτοῦ διὰ πάντων ἐμφερείας εἰς τὸν τῆς ἰατρείας ἐδέοντο λόγον.

Πόθεν δέ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὅτι περ ἄφθαρτον τὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου σῶμα  
 10 ἐτύγχανεν; Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ εἶχεν τὸ ἀθάνατον· μὴ τί γε δὴ καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρτον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῷ προσεδέχεν, οὐ τῆς μεταλήψεως αὐτὸν ἢ παράβασιν ἀπεστέρησεν, καθὼς οἱ Πατέρες [D] φασίν, ὡς τῇ τῶν ζωτικῶν καρπῶν μεταλήψει ἀπαθανατισθσόμενος. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἐστὶ καιροῦ, ὅτι μὴδὲ δόγμα τὸ  
 15 κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ τυγχάνει. Τὸ γὰρ νῦν ἐν ζητήσῃ προκειμένον ἐστὶν ὅτι σάρκα τοιαύτην ὁ Κύριος ἤνωσεν ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ὁποῖαν ἔχων ἐφάνη μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ὁ κατάκριτος, ἡμεῖς τε πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος. Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ἀναμάρτητον Ἀδὰμ ἦλθεν σῶσαι, ἵνα ὁμοιωθῇ ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ πεπτωκότα, ἵνα δὴ συμπεπονθῶς  
 20 αὐτῷ καὶ συναναστήσῃ. Πῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέτεισε χρέος, ἢ τὴν ἡτταν ἀνεκαλέσατο, ἢ ὑπογραμμὸς ἀρετῆς γέγονε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ὅρον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν τελεώτατον προῦθηκε βίον;

\* Καὶ πῶς ἂν τις, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, δυνήσεται τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου μιμεῖσθαι ζωὴν;

[1349 A] + Ἡ ἀπαράλλακτος, εἶπον, τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὴν  
 25 ἡμετέραν ὁμοίωσιν δυνατὴν πεποίηκε τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφομοίωσιν, ἵν' ἐξῇ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν λέγειν, "Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ;" αὐτῷ τε τῷ Κυρίῳ, "Μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ." Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ θάνατος, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου νεκρώσεως τεθνηκώς, τῶν ἐξῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπέσχετ' ἂν πώποτε, μὴ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῷ πάλαι  
 30 καταπεσόντι προσβαλὼν, οὐ ἐπειδὴ γευσάμενος ἔτυχε, τοσοῦτον "ἡμωδίασαν" αὐτῷ "οἱ ὀδόντες," κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι μὲν

11-13 (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ... ἀπαθανατισθσόμενος): cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 44, *In Novam Dominicam* (PG 36, 612 A14-B3); Flor., Test. 12 21 ὑπογραμμὸς: cf. 1 Pet 2.21 26-28 1 Cor. 11.21-2 Matt. 11.29 31 ἡμωδίασαν οἱ ὀδόντες: Jer. 38.29 (LXX)

VO 3 ἀνελήφεναι ante τὸν Κύριον transp. O 5 διατεινοίμην O 8 λόγον ante ἐδέοντο transp. O 10 καὶ om. V 13 ἀπαθανατισθσόμενον O 14 τούτων: τῶν V καιροῦ ante ἐστὶ transp. O 15 ἐστὶν om. O 20 ἐξέτεισε VO 23 δυνήσεται V 25 ἵνα O 26 γίνεσθαι V\* 29 ἀπέσχετο V ὁμοίως O 31 ὡμωδίασαν VOac; αἰμωδίασαν Ocorr; txt. Mai αὐτῶν O τὸ λόγιον O

to the Lord, too. For surely they will concede that he died, unless they are ready to bear the whole charge of making him a fantasy. I would maintain very boldly that the Lord took on the same kind of body, not only as the first man's, but also as ours—for he did not come for his sake only, but also for ours. Since the sickness is common, it would be very illogical to resemble one but differ from all the others, who need his similarity in all things, for the sake of their healing.

"And how, my friend, did the body of the first man get to be incorruptible at all? For it did not have immortality as part of its constitution; much less, then, did it have incorruptibility, since I assume it would not have needed the tree of life—of whose use sin deprived it, as the Fathers tell us, because humanity would have become immortal by partaking of its life-giving fruit. But now is not the time to discuss these things, since Adam's constitution is not a matter of dogma. What lies before our investigation now is that the Lord hypostatically united such flesh to himself, as the condemned [Adam] was seen to have after the fall, and as we all [have] who come from the same mass. For he did not come to save a sinless Adam, that he [i.e., Adam] might become like him, but the one who had sinned and fallen, that by suffering with him he might raise him up with himself. How else did he pay the debt for us, or revoke our downfall, or become a paradigm of virtue and present to all the definition of the best way of behavior in himself, the most perfect life?"

\* "And how," he said, "could anyone imitate the life of the Lord?"

1349A + "The unchanging likeness," I said, "of the Lord's flesh to ours, make possible our imitation of him, so that it is possible for Paul and his adherents to say, 'Become imitators of me, as I am of Christ,' and for the Lord himself to say, 'Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart.' Nor indeed would death, having died through the Lord's death, ever have kept its distance from the rest of us, if it had not attacked one completely like him who long ago succumbed to it; once it happened to taste of him, its 'teeth were so much set on edge,' as the saying goes, that it never

- ἀφασθαι τολμᾶν τῶν ἐοικότων αὐτῷ, προσεξεμέσαι δὲ καὶ οὓς πρῶην καταπεπώκει. Ἡ γὰρ ἐνέργεια σαφῶς, οἶμαι, τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν φύσιν ἐνδείκνυται. [B] τὸ γὰρ ὁμοφυές ἅπαν ἐξεμέσαι τὸν λαφύξαντα κατηνάγκασεν. Πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ τῆς συμπλοκῆς νόμος ἐν τῇ προσαχθείῃ
- 5 πείρᾳ πεφύλακται, μὴ τῷ πεπτωκότι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης ἐμφέρειαν τῆς πειραζομένης φύσεως; Οὐ γὰρ νικᾶν ἀλλ' ἐπηρεάζειν ἐστὶν τὸ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγωνίας συμπλέκεσθαι. νόμος δὲ ἀγωνίας τὸ διὰ τοῦ πάλαι καταπεπτωκότος καταπαλαίειν τὸν ἤδη νενικηκότα, καὶ ταύτῃ γε δὴ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἦτταν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι.
- 10 Πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀργάνου διαφορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντα μιμησάμεθα, ἐν παθητῷ καὶ φθαρτῷ σώματι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον ὁμοίωσιν ἀπαιτούμενοι; Παραπλήσιον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτο εἶναι δοκεῖ, καθάπερ εἴ τις ἐν τεκτονικοῖς σκεύεσι τὴν χαλκευτικὴν ἐκπληροῦν [C] τέχνην νομοθετοίῃ. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο ἦν, καὶ τὸ τῆς θεομιμησίας
- 15 διαμαρτεῖν ἀνέγκλητον πάντῃ ἐτύγγχανεν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐγγὺς τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ τοῖς ταύτην ἐκμιμουμένοις τὸ τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπερβάλλεσθαι περιεγένετο, ἐν ἀσθενεστέρᾳ τῇ φύσει πεπολιτευμένοις καὶ διηθληκόσιν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι μηδὲ πρακτικῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς νόμους ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ σώματι, ὧς γε, διὰ τὸ ἄνω κείσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
- 20 παθῶν, οὐδὲ πείνα ὅτι μηδὲ ἐγκράτεια, οὐδὲ πόνος ὅτι μηδὲ ὑπομονή, οὐδὲ ὕβρις ὅτι μηδὲ ταπείνωσις, οὐδέ τι τῶν τοιούτων πρόσσεστιν (ἵνα μὴ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διεξιόντες ἐνδιατρίβοιμεν). Οὐ μέγα δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀνευδεοῦς φύσεως ἐπιδεῖν. Ἀλύπου [D] γὰρ φύσεως ἀγὼν οὐκ ἔστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀγὼν, οὐδὲ νίκη· εἰ δὲ μὴ
- 25 νίκη, οὐδὲ στέφανοι. Εἰς τοῦτο δὴ τῆς ἀτοπίας τὸ μέγεθος τὸ κομψὸν ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀπήγαγεν ὄνομα.
- \* Κομιδὴ γοῦν, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τὸ μέγα τῆς ἐνώσεως ἐκταράττει μυστήριον, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ὁ Λόγος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ οἰκίῳ δεδωρηται σώματι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς ὕστερον
- 30 ἀφθαρσίαν ἐταμιεύσατο.
- + Μείζονος δ' ἂν εἴη τῆς εὐλαβείας ἄξιον, εἶπον, τὸ μετὰ τινα λέγειν γεγενῆσθαι καιρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἀνάληψιν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἰδρυσιν,

VO 1 προσεξεμέσαι O 2 καταπεπόκει O 3 λαφύξαντα: φυλάξαντα O  
 5 μὴ: μήπω O ἐμφέρειαν τῆς: ἐμφέρει αὐτῆς O 6 ἐπηρεάζειν V<sup>ac</sup> 8 ταύτην O  
 16 ὑπερβάλλειν V 17 περιεγένετο O 19-20 ἄνω κείσθαι: ἀνωκίσθαι O  
 20-21 οὐδὲ πείνα ... ταπείνωσις: meliorem sensum haberet οὐδὲ ἐγκράτεια, ὅτι μηδὲ  
 πείνα, οὐδὲ ὑπομονή, ὅτι μηδὲ πόνος, οὐδὲ ταπείνωσις, ὅτι μηδὲ ὕβρις μὴδὲ: μὴ V  
 24 post ἀγὼν add. δὲ O 25 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς V 26 ὄνομα: νόημα O 27 ante  
 ἐκταράττει add. ἡμᾶς O 29 ante κατὰ add. καὶ O 32 Κυρίου: καὶ O

dared to seize those who resembled him, and vomited forth those whom it had digested before. For the action of a drug, I think, clearly demonstrates its nature: and it was those of a completely like nature whom he forced the devourer to vomit forth. How could the law of combat have been observed in the contest which was undertaken, if the nature being tested was not naturally similar to him who fell? For to fight contrary to the laws of the match is not to conquer but to abuse; and the law of the match is to throw him who formerly won, through him who formerly fell, and so to label the former victory defeat.

"And how are we to imitate him who possessed the summit of virtue proportionate to the very difference of his instrument, if we are required to be like the incorruptible in a passible and corruptible body? This would seem to be similar to someone's being required by law to carry out the metalworker's art with carpenters' tools! For if this were the case, our failure to imitate God would be completely blameless. The model would not be a near one, and as a result those who imitated it would surpass the master, having lived and struggled in a weaker nature. I will not even mention the fact that one cannot find the laws of practical human virtue in an incorruptible body, which, because it is above human passions, does not have hunger and therefore needs no temperance, has no labor and therefore needs no patience, has no pride and therefore needs no humility, nor is anything else like this a trouble for it—lest we waste time prolonging such details. It is no great assertion to say that it is impossible to find a demonstration of virtue in a nature which is incorruptible and lacking nothing. For there is no struggle for a nature which cannot suffer; and if there is no struggle, there is no victory; and if no victory, there are no crowns. This is the magnitude of silliness to which the fine concept of incorruptibility has led you!"

\* "It would completely upset the great mystery of the union," he said, "if the Word did not bestow the gift of incorruptibility on his own body from the beginning, but, in the same way as [he gives it] to us, stored incorruptibility up for later."

+ "It would be worthy of greater reverence," I said, "to say that the exaltation of the Lord and his being seated at [God's] right hand

[1352 A] ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ πρώτης ἐνώσεως· οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἔμοιγε ἄλλῃ πως αὐτόν ποτε μεγαλύνειν.

\* Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γεγενῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν, εἶπεν, οὐδ' ἂν ᾦν τι ἐντεῦθεν πλεόν ἡμῖν.

5 + Τοῦ δὴ χάριν; εἶπον ἐγώ.

\* Διότι περ, ἔφη, μὴδὲ οὕτως οἰκονομούμεθα, μὴδὲ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τὴν πρώτην γέννησιν, εἴτε τὴν φυσικὴν, εἴτε τὴν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἢ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἡμῖν δίδονται βασιλεία.

+ Ταύτη μοι δίδου, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἔχειν  
10 μυστήριον. Τίς γὰρ ᾦν καὶ χρεία τὴν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς αὐτὸν πολιτείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐχόντων ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην διάπλασιν τὴν τοῦ παντός μυστηρίου τελείωσιν; Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως, οὐδὲ πᾶσαν γεγενῆσθαι δι' [B] ἡμᾶς τὴν οἰκονομίαν εὐρίσκομεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου προοίμιον.

15 \* Πῶς, ἔφη, τοῦτο λέγεις; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ ῥηθέντος συνίημι.

+ Ὅτι γε δὴ κατὰ τοὺς σοὺς, ἔφη, λόγους, σαρκωθείς μὲν ἔσται δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἀφθαρσίαν, πεπολιτευμένος δὲ παθὼν τε καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν ᾦν ὅτου. Εἰ δὲ σκοπὸς μὲν ᾦν τὸν πεσόντα ἀναστήσαι καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσασθαι καὶ εἰς ζωὴν καλέσαι καὶ ἀναβίωσιν,  
20 ἀφθάρτω τε καταλαμπρῦναι σώματι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν οὐχ ἑτέρως περιεγίνετο, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἐπιδειξαμένον· ταύτη δὲ πάντα καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐκ πρώτης ἐνώσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου τετέλεσται, τὸ [C] ἑαυτοῦ σώμα πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν μετακεράσαντος· ἔχομεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅρα τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
25 μυστηρίου, καὶ περιττὴ λοιπὸν ἡ ἐξῆς οἰκονομία. Ὡς περ γὰρ εἰ διὰ πρώτου φαρμάκου τελεία τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὑγίεια προσγίνοιτο, περιττὴ λοιπὸν ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐπιτετηδευμένη κατὰ τῆς ἁπαξ νενικημένης ἀρρωστίας σπουδὴ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, εἰ ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς πρὸς τὴν σάρκα τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐνήκεν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν, περιττὴ πᾶσα  
30 ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ μυστηρίου περίοδος.

Ἀλλ' οἶμαι τοῦτο πάσχειν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι ἄλλος μὲν ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσιώσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐνώσεως τρόπος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος παρουσίας καὶ ἐνδημίας, δημιουργικῶς [D] αὐτὸ διαπλαττούσης, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου  
35 ἐνεργείας, ἀλλ'

VO 1 ἄλλῃ πως: ἐλλιπῶς O 3 γενέσθαι V 6 εὐθὺς O 7 εἴτε<sup>1</sup> fortasse  
secludendum 9 ταύτη: τοῦτο O 17 δὲ om. O τε: δὲ O  
18 οἶδα O 21 περιεγίνετο V<sup>c</sup> 22 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς O 24 ἅρα om. O  
25 ἐξῆς: δι' ἡμᾶς O γὰρ: οὖν O 26 ὑγεία O προσεγίνετο V  
34 δημιουργικῶς O αὐτῷ O

happened after some time, but not from the first moment of union; for to me, at least, it would be wrong to magnify his praise any other way."

\* "Well," he said, "if this is how it happened, there is no further benefit for us."

+ "Why is that?" I asked.

\* "Because," he said, "we too are [then] not graced in this way, nor is the Kingdom of heaven given to us directly with the first moment of birth, either our natural birth or the birth of baptism."

+ "Let me," I said, "have my share in the mystery of incorruptibility in this way. For what need would there be for him to continue to share our life, if we possessed, through him, the perfection of the whole mystery at the moment of our creation? For if this is not so [i.e. that he continued to share our life], then we find that the whole dispensation of grace did not take place for our sakes, but only the beginning of the mystery."

\* "Why do you say that?" he asked. "I do not understand what you have said."

+ "Because according to your arguments," I said, "he will have been made flesh for our sakes, and for the incorruptibility resulting for us from that, but I don't know what purpose will have been served by his having shared our sufferings and having risen. If his aim was to raise up him who had fallen and redeem him from death, and to call him to life and renewal and adorn him with an incorruptible body, these things would not have happened for us any other way, if the Lord had not exhibited each of these in his own flesh. But this way, according to you, everything has been accomplished by the Lord from the first moment of union, when he changed his body into incorruptibility; therefore from the very first beginning of the mystery we have the whole of the mystery, and the rest of the divine plan after that is superfluous. Just as if complete health were to be afforded the sick through the first dose of medicine, all the efforts expended after this by the surgeons against the malady, which had been overcome at once, would be superfluous; in the same way, if from the union with the flesh he had implanted in us the gift of incorruptibility, all the rest of the course of the mystery would be superfluous."

"But I think you are allowing this to happen, unaware that the principle by which the body is formed is one thing, and the manner of union another, and that the one occurred for him from the presence and indwelling of the Spirit, who formed the body as creator, while the other was due not to the activity of the Word, but



ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀλικῆς καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνώσεως. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ γόνιμον τῇ Παρθένῳ ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμις ἐχορήγησεν, ὥς τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἶρηκεν, καὶ λίαν καλῶς, καὶ ἡ οὐσίωσις τοῦ σώματος ἐκ Πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου κατὰ τὴν δημιουργικὴν αὐτοῦ συστάσα ἐνέργειαν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 5 Θεοτόκου ἢ ὕλη τῆς οὐσίας προσείληπται. Ὁ δὲ Λόγος τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος κτιζόμενον αὐτῷ ναὸν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν πρώτην ἐνοικεῖ διάπλασιν, οὐδὲ ἀναμείνας, ὥς εἰπέ ποῦ τις ὀρθῶς λέγων, τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ νεῶ, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρρήτου οἰκονομίας ἀρχῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ [1353 A] συναφθεῖς, τὴν οἰκοδομὴν πᾶσαν ἑαυτῷ  
 10 περιτέθεικεν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ γενομένου τοῦ σώματος, οὕτω θύραθεν αὐτὸς ἐπεισῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν περιπλάσας, ἀγαλματοφορεῖ τὸ ἡμέτερον.

Τὴν τοίνυν ιδιότητα τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου γνωρίζειν ἔστιν ἐνώσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δυνάμεως, διαπλαττούσης αὐτὸ καὶ διαμορφούσης, δίχα τῶν πρωτουργῶν τῆς φύσεως ὀργάνων· τὴν  
 15 δὲ ἀναμαρτησίαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἁγιότητα, τὴν τε ὀλικὴν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν εἰληφότα ἔνωσιν καὶ ἀνάκρασιν, καὶ τὸ ἓνα τε εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν Υἱὸν καὶ ὅλης τῆς υἱικῆς ιδιότητος τοὺς χαρακτήρας φανοτάτους ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἢ τοῦ Λόγου συμφυῆς ἔνωσις κατειργάσατο—ὦν ἀναφαίρετος ἢ μακαριότης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις ἀδιαίρετος. Ὡστε τὴν μὲν σύστασιν καὶ  
 20 τὴν ιδιότητα [B] τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας γενέσθαι τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔγνωμεν· τὴν δὲ ἔνωσιν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου ψιλῆς ἐνεργείας, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου οὐσιώδους ἀνακράσεως.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἐντυχόντα πρώην ἡμῖν διελέγμεθα, τὰς δοκούσας αὐτῷ ἀμάχους εἰς ἡμετέραν δύναμιν λελυκότες διαπορήσεις.  
 25 Ἀξιούμεν δὲ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ μετρίῳ συντάγματι πρὸς τὰς τῶν Πατέρων ἱερὰς ἀναδραμεῖν πραγματείας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότες ταῦτα γεγραφήκαμεν, καὶ τὰς χρήσεις πρὸς τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων βεβαίωσιν παρεθέμεθα. Δοίη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι, φιλαλήθως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ βούλημα ζητοῦσι καὶ διερευνωμένοις,  
 30 [C] ἐμφανιζομένην αὐτοῖς εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ "Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός," ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

1-3 (τὸ μὲν ... εἶρηκεν): fontem non repperi; cf. autem Leont. Hier., *Adv. Nest.* 4.19 (PG 86.1684 B1-C3). 7-10 (οὐδὲ ... περιτέθεικεν): fontem non repperi. Cf. autem Proclum Constantinopolitanum (ACO I, 1.1.103.13); Sev. Ant., *Ad Neph.* 2 [CSCO 120.33.176], A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus*, II/2, 240, n. 137 30-31 Rom. 9.5

VO 1 αὐτὸ O 2 ἐχορήγησεν O 4 συστὰν O 5 προσείληπται: προσεφῆπται O 6 ἐνοικεῖ: κατ'οικεῖ O 8 οἰκοδομίας O 17 υἱικῆς O φανωτάτους VO; txt. Mai ἐπιφέρεσθαι O 18 ante συμφυῆς add. πρὸς αὐτὴν O 23 διηλέγμεθα V<sup>sc</sup> 26 ἀναδραμεῖν ante ἱερὰς transp. O 27 γεγράφαμεν O 28 ὁ om. V 31 post κράτος add. ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι O

to the complete and essential *union* of the Word with him. For the power of the Spirit provided fertility to the Virgin, as one of our party said very elegantly, and the formation of his body was achieved by the Holy Spirit, through his creative activity, while the material of its substance was taken from the Mother of God. But the Word dwelt in the temple made for him by the Spirit from the beginning of its formation, not waiting—as someone once rightly put it—for the completion of the temple; but being joined to it in the workshop of nature at the first beginning of the ineffable work of God, he built the whole edifice up around himself. He did not enter from outside into a body already made, but formed it around himself, and so bore our image.

"One cannot, then, recognize the peculiar character of his body from its union with the Word, but from the power of the Spirit, which shaped and formed it, apart from the organs that engender nature; but his sinlessness and all his holiness, his complete union and identification with the whole [personality] of the one who assumed him, and his being and being called one Son, and exhibiting the glorious signs of a Son's peculiar character: these things his organic union with the Word accomplished—things which are unalterably blessed, because the union is inseparable. So that we recognize the subsistence and character of his body from the action of the Spirit, but we know the union not from the simple activity of the Word, so much as from the substantial identification [of the body] with the Word himself."

All this is what we said to the one who recently met us, in the attempt to solve, as far as we could, difficulties which seemed to him insuperable. We ask those who read through this little treatise of ours to turn to the sacred works of the Fathers, from which we too took our start in writing these things, and excerpts from which we now append, in support of what we have said. And may the Lord grant to both parties, who search and question in their love of truth and in compliance with his will, to find the truth as it is shown them, [the truth] which is "Christ, the God over all," to whom be glory and power for all ages. Amen.

## ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΝ

Ἐπειδήπερ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν προτάσεων πιθανότηας εἰς δύναμιν λελύκαμεν, ὑπεσχόμεθα δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίαις τὸ πιστὸν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπάξειν, αὐτόθεν δέχου τῶν μαρτυριῶν τὸν ἐσμὸν  
 5 σύμφωνον καὶ μεμουσωμένον, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνακρουόμενον τὸ μέλος. Εἰ δέ τις, τὴν οἰκείαν συνείδησιν πατεῖν μεμαθηκώς, τὰς μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθείσας μαρτυρίας παρακρούεται, ἄλλας δέ τινας προφέρει τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν οἴηται, μαχομένας, ἐκεῖνο πρὸς αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, [D] ὡς ἄρα τοὺς Πατέρας συγκρούων καὶ εἰς ἀντίφασιν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτῶν  
 10 [1356 A] ἄγειν πειρώμενος, προφανῶς τὸν κατ' ἐκείνων ἥρατο πόλεμον, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνέτρεψεν ἢ οὐδὲ τὰ ἴδια ἐβεβαίωσεν. Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, ὡς οἱ ὄντως Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ χαρίσματος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι τὸν λόγον δεξάμενοι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὔτε μὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διηνέχθησαν. οὐ μέγα μὲν γὰρ  
 15 εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴδὲ ἐν ἄλλοις, ἥκιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν κινουμένῳ προβλήματι, καὶ οὕτω δοκῇ τοῖς ὅλον ἐκπεπωκόσι τῆς ἀμαθίας τὸν ἄκρατον, καὶ τὸν τῆς σφετέρας μέθης ἱλιγγον ἐπὶ τὸ πεπηγὸς καὶ νηφάλιον τῆς πατρικῆς ἀληθείας μεταβιβάζειν τολμῶσιν. Πειστέον γὰρ ὡς "οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς". οἱ  
 20 γὰρ [B] μὴ τοιοῦτοι ψευδώνυμοι καλεῖσθαι διδάσκαλοι εἰσιν ἄξιοι, κατ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μάχεσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, οὐ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ τῇ στάσει φίλον ἔχειν ἐλεγχόμενοι.

Πῶς οὖν εὐρίσκομεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, φήσει τις, καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτον τὸ σῶμα εἰρηκότας; Οὐκ ἄλλως φήσαιμι ἂν ἢ κατὰ δύο τρόπους: ὅτι τε τὸ  
 25 ἀφθαρτον, κατὰ τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ἰδίωμα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου καὶ καθαροῦ καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ κακίαν κηλίδος ἀπηλλαγμένου τάσσειν εἰώθεσαν. καὶ πάλιν ἀδιαφόρως καὶ ἀπαρατηρήτως κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκάλουν καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτον, καὶ ὅτε μὲν αὐτὸ φθαρτὸν ὠνόμαζον, πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἀπέβλεπον τῆς κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίας, ὅτε δὲ  
 30 ἀφθαρτον, πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς ἄπειρον αἰῶνα. Εἰ δέ τις [C] εἴποι καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ἀφθαρσίαν,

## Preface to the Excerpts

Since, by the grace of Christ, we have solved the most plausible of the propositions, as well as we could, and we have promised, too, to add a level of conviction to what we have said by the witness of the ancients, receive now from that source this harmonious and skillful swarm of witnesses, humming the tune of truth. And if anyone dares to trample on his own conscience and reject the witnesses we put forward, offering others by the same authors which, he thinks, conflict with them, we have this to say to him, first of all: by bringing the Fathers onto a collision course and trying to make them contradict each other, he has openly declared war on them; he does not overturn our arguments, any more than he strengthens his own. Next we want to say this: that the true Fathers of the Church, those who have received the word of graced teaching in the same Spirit, neither differ from each other nor indeed from themselves. For it is no great thing to say that they do not differ on other issues, and least of all in this problem which is now under discussion, even if it seems so to those who have swallowed the unmixed draft of ignorance whole, and who dare to transfer the giddiness of their own drunkenness to the solid and sober structure of traditional truth. For we must believe that "it is not they who spoke, but the Spirit of their Father speaking in them" (Matt. 10.20); those who are not of this sort are worthy to be called false teachers, because they fight and quarrel among themselves, and can be accused of not having the spirit of peace, but the opposite spirit, who loves discord.

How shall we find the same authors, someone may ask, saying that his body is both corruptible and incorruptible? I would say that this is only possible in one of two ways: they tend to equate "incorruptible," according to the usage of Scripture, with "sinless" and "pure" and "free from every stain of evil"; and secondly, they tended to call the same being both corruptible and incorruptible, without making distinctions or being careful about temporal sequence, but when they called him corruptible they were looking towards the time of his incarnation in the flesh, and when they called him incorruptible, to the time beginning from the resurrection and continuing endlessly thereafter. If anyone should say that, by the foretaste of incorruptibility, the [body of Christ] already possessed the incorruptibility

18-19 Matt. 10.20

VO 1 ante ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ add. ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΔΟΚΗΤΩΝ V 2 Χριστοῦ: Θεοῦ O 6 οἰκείαν: ἰδίαν O 12 ὄντες V<sup>sc</sup> 14 ἀλλήλους: ἄλλους V οὔτε: οὐ V γὰρ om. O 15 ἄλλοις: ἀλλήλοις O ἥκιστα: μᾶλλον O 16 ἐκπεποκόσι O 18 πίστεον V<sup>corr</sup> 23 τοὺς αὐτοὺς om. V 24 εἰρηκότας ante τὸ σῶμα transp. O ante δύο add. τοὺς O τε om. V 24-25 τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ V 26 κηλίδος V<sup>sc</sup> 27 εἰώθησαν O ἀδιαφόρως O 30 τὸν: τὸ O

δι' ἣν, καίπερ φύσιν ἔχον φθαρτὴν, φθαρῆναι οὐκ ἐπετράπη, οὐ διαφέρομαι.  
Ὡς δέ εἰσι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ αἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι αὐτῶν δείξουσιν μαρτυρίαι, οὐκ  
ἀδιαρθρώτως οὐδὲ συγκεχυμένως ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα σαφῶς τε καὶ τετρανωμένως  
διευκρινοῦσαι ἡμῖν τοὺς χρόνους καθ' οὓς παθητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν  
5 γεγενῆσθαι εἶπον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ὥς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὸ τῆς  
ἀφθαρσίας καταπεπλουτήκαμεν ἐν αὐτῷ χρήμα καὶ ὄνομα.

[1] ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ἈΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ  
ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΙΩΝ ὀΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ

Φθορὰ δὲ φύσεως ἀσθένεια, καὶ ἔλλειψις τῶν φυσικῶν ἔξεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν  
10 καὶ δυνάμεων.

[2] ΤΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ  
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΘ' ἙΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Πλάσας ὁ Θεὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς  
φύσεως ἀπηώρησεν, ἐντολῇ μιᾷ ποιησάμενος τὴν διάπειραν· φυλάξαντα  
15 μὲν γὰρ ταύτην τῆς ἀθανάτου λήξεως πεποίηκεν ἔσεσθαι, παραβάντα δὲ  
τῆς ἐναντίας. Οὕτω γεγονώς ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρὸς τὴν παράβασιν εὐθὺς  
ιδὼν, τὴν φθορὰν φυσικῶς εἰσεδέξατο· φύσει δὲ τῆς φθορᾶς προσγενομένης,  
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν σῶσαι βουλόμενον αὐτὴν τὴν φθοροποιὸν οὐσίαν  
ἀφανίσει. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἑτέρως γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ περ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ζωὴ  
20 προσεπλάκη τῷ τὴν φθορὰν δεξαμένῳ, ἀφανίζουσα μὲν τὴν φθορὰν,  
ἀθάνατον δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ δεξάμενον διατηροῦσα· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Λόγον  
ἔδεδωκεν ἐν σώματι γενέσθαι, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἡμᾶς  
φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ.

[1] Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De Divinis Nominibus* IV, 25 (ed. B. R. Suchla: *Corpus Dionysiacum* 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 173, ll. 6–7; PG 3, 728 B8–10)

[2] Justinus (?), *Frag.* 5, hic primo ex integro inventum (ed. J. C. Th. Otto, *Corp. Apol.* III, 256; PG 6, 1596 C1–1597 A9). Cf. etiam: ll. 13–16 (πλάσας ... ἐναντίας): Joan. Dam. (?), *Sacra Parallela* I, 9 (PG 95, 1112 C1–5; cf. etiam K. Holl, *Fragmente vornicänische Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela*: TU XV, 2 (1899), 51–2, no. 118); ll. 16–21 (οὕτω ... διατηροῦσα): Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, Test. 1 (71, ll. 89–96)

VO 1 φύσιν ἔχον φθαρτὴν· ἔχων φθαρτὴν φύσιν O 2 δείξουσιν· διδάξουσιν O  
[1] 7 ἈΡΕΟΠΑΓΗΤΟΥ VO 7–8 ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ om. O  
[2] 11 ἈΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ· ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ O 14 ἀπεώρησεν O, Joan. Dam. codd. OA;  
ἀπεώρισεν Joan. Dam. (Holl) ἐντολὴν μίαν Joan. Dam. διάπειραν· διὰ πείρας Joan. Dam.  
(Holl); διὰ πείραν Joan. Dam. (Lequien) 15 ἔσεσθε Joan. Dam. codd. AOcorr 16 ὁ om.  
V 17 ιδὼν· ἐλθὼν conj. Otto 18 τὸν ... βουλόμενον· τῷ ... βουλομένῳ Joan. Caes.  
18–19 τὸν σῶσαι ... ἀφανίσει· ὅτι σῶσαι βουλόμενος ἦ (ἦν conj. Otto) τὴν φθοροποιὸν οὐσίαν  
ἀφανίσει O 19 περ om. Joan. Caes. 21 τὸ· τὸν Joan. Caes. 22 καὶ addidi

of the Word, by which—though he has a corruptible nature—he had not been delivered to corruption, I would not disagree. That this is true, the testimonies of the Fathers below will show: not inarticulately or confusedly, but very clearly and accurately distinguishing for us the times at which they said the body of the Lord was passible and corruptible, and [showing] that after the resurrection we have all been enriched with the reality and the name of incorruptibility in him.

1. BY DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE,  
A CONTEMPORARY OF THE APOSTLES,  
FROM HIS WORK ON THE DIVINE NAMES

Corruption is weakness of nature, and a failure of natural states and activities and powers.

2. BY JUSTIN, A PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR,  
FROM HIS TREATISE AGAINST THE GREEKS

When God formed the human person in the beginning, he let all that belonged to his nature depend on his choice, and put him to the test by a single command; by keeping this, God brought it about that he would share in the lot of immortality, but by transgressing it he would have the opposite fate. So when man came into being, and immediately turned his sights toward transgression, he naturally became subject to corruption; and when corruption was added to his nature, it was necessary for the One who willed to save him to make the corrupting substance disappear. This could not come about in any other way but that what is life by nature should be woven into the one who had received corruption, causing corruption to vanish and preserving that which had received it immortal, from then on. For this reason, it was necessary for the Word to come to be in a body, that he might free it from death and from our natural corruption.

Εἰ γὰρ, ὥς φατε, νεύματι μόνον τὸν θάνατον ἡμῶν ἀπεκώλυσεν, οὐ προσήει μὲν διὰ τὴν βούλησιν ὁ θάνατος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον φθαρτοὶ πάλιν ἡμεν, φυσικὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν φθορὰν περιφέροντες.

[3] ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ Β' ΛΟΓΟΥ

5

Ἐν δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενομένη ἐν αὐτῷ μορφῇ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐκεῖ διέγραψε θάνατον, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀρμόσῃται ἀνάστασιν· ἐξ ἧδου μὲν ψυχὴν, ἐκ τάφου δὲ σῶμα ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὅπως ἂν ἐν θανάτῳ καταλύσῃ τὸν θάνατον ἐν ἐπιδείξει ψυχῆς, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάφῳ καταργήσῃ τὴν φθορὰν ἐν ταφῇ σώματος· ἐξ ἧδου καὶ ἐκ τάφου τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἐν μορφῇ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁδεύσας ὁδόν.

[4] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ἘΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΗΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Πάσchon μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν ἀπέθνησκεν· εἶχε δὲ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τὴν πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ συνοικήσαντος αὐτῷ Λόγου. Οὐ γὰρ  
15 ἀποθνήσκοντος τοῦ σώματος ἐνεκροῦτο καὶ ὁ Λόγος, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀθάνατος, οἷα δὲ Θεοῦ Λόγος ὑπάρχων, συνῶν δὲ τῷ σώματι μᾶλλον ἐκώλυεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τῶν σωμάτων φθορὰν· ἥ φησι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς αὐτὸν, "οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὁσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν."

[4] 18-19 Ps. 15.10 (LXX)

[3] Athanasius (?), *Contra Apollinarem* II, 17 (PG 26, 1161 B8-C1). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 3 (480, l. 22); ll. 8-11 (ὅπως ... ὁδόν); Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, Test. 2 (71, ll. 97-72, l. 101)

[4] Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* 24, recensio brevior (ed. C. Kannengiesser, SC 199, 353, in apparatu). Cf. etiam, Thdt., *Eran.* III, Test. 35 (238, ll. 17-23); Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 3 (480, l. 19); Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, Test. 62 (47, ll. 1-6; ↓); "Sermo maior de fide," Test. 86 (33, ll. 7-15; †); ll. 13-14 (πάσchon ... Λόγου); ibid., Test. 10 (7, ll. 1-3)

VO [3] 4 ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ om. O 6 post γενομένη add. ἡ V 8 ante ψυχὴν add. τὴν O ante σῶμα add. τὸ O ἂν om. Athan. ἂν ἐν om. Joan. Caes. 9 ἐν<sup>1</sup> om. O ἐπιδείξει V<sup>c</sup> καταργήσει O 10 ante σώματος add. τοῦ O, Niceph.

[4] 12 ΛΟΓΟΥ om. V 13 διὰ: κατὰ Athan., *Sermo*, Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431 ἀπέθνησκεν: ἔπασχεν *Sermo* Test. 10 14 πίστιν: φύσιν *Sermo* Test. 10 15 καὶ ὁ Λόγος om. Vat. Gr. 1431; καὶ om. O, Thdt. cod. J 16 ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀφθαρτος Athan., *Sermo*, Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431 17 μᾶλλον ante τῷ σώματι transp. Thdt. Vat. Gr. 1431 διεκώλυεν Athan., *Sermo*, Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431

For if, as you say, he had warded death off from us simply by a command, death would no longer approach because of [God's] will, but we would none the less still be corruptible, bearing about corruption within ourselves.

3. BY ATHANASIIUS THE BISHOP,  
FROM HIS SECOND BOOK AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

In the form like ours which he made his own, he there cancelled out our death, so that he might also prepare in it the resurrection which lies above us. He brought his soul to light from Hades, his body from the tomb, so that in death he might destroy death by revealing his soul, and in the tomb he might conquer the corruption of bodily burial. Revealing immortality and incorruptibility from Hades and from the tomb, he walked our way in a form like ours.

4. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
WORK ON THE INCARNATION

The body [of Christ], after suffering, died because of the nature of bodies. But it had the assurance of incorruptibility, from the Word which dwelt within it. For the Word did not experience mortality when the body died, but it was incorruptible in itself and free from suffering and death, since it existed, after all, as the Word of God; but being joined to the body, it warded off from it, rather, the corruption which is natural to bodies. So the Spirit says to him, "You will not allow your holy one to see corruption" (Ps 15.10).

## [5] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ὅθεν ἵνα δειχθῇ νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μίαν ὑπέμεινε μέσῃν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τριταῖον τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀφθαρτον. Ἐνεκα μὲν οὖν τοῦ δειχθῆναι τὸν θάνατον ἐν τῷ σώματι, τριταῖον ἀνέστησε τοῦτο· ἵνα δὲ μὴ, ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 5 διαμείναν καὶ φθαρὲν τέλειον, ὕστερον ἀναστήσας ἀπιστηθῇ, ὥς οὐκ αὐτὸ ἀλλ' ἕτερον σῶμα φέρων—ἔμελλε γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπιστεῖν τῷ φαινομένῳ, καὶ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῶν γενομένων—διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πλείων τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἡνέσχετο.

## [6] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ἘΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΝ

10 Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σῶμα, φύσιν ἔχον θνητὴν, ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀνέστη, διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ Λόγον, καὶ πέπαυται μὲν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν φθορᾶς, ἐνδυσάμενον δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον οὐράνιον Λόγον, γέγονεν ἀφθαρτον.

## [7] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ἘΙΔΩΛΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν θνητὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἅτε δὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων  
 15 γεγονώς· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ὁμοιότητα, ἣν εἰ ἐφύλαττε διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν κατανοήσεως, ἡμβλυνεν ἂν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰν καὶ ἔμεινεν ἀφθαρτος.

[5] Athanasius, *ibid.* 26 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, SC 199, 360, ll. 19–27; PG 25, 141 A13–B8). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 3 (480, ll. 25–6); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I, 3 (157, ll. 20–8; tr. 122, ll. 5–15; ↑); Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* V, 22 (f. 34<sup>v</sup>; ↑); “*Sermo maior de fide*,” Test. 87 (34, l. 1; cf. H. Nordberg, *Athanasiana I* (Helsinki, 1962), 64, ll. 7–13; ↑)

[6] Athanasius, *Epistola ad Epictetum* 10 (PG 26, 1068 A5–9). Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 3 (480, l. 28); Thdt., *Eran.* III, Test. 26 (285, ll. 24–7; ↑); Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* V, 26 (f. 35<sup>v</sup>; ↑); ll. 9–10 (αὐτὸ ... Λόγον): Vat. Gr. 1431, *Flor.* II, Test. 9 (34, ll. 1–2)

[7] Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* 4 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, SC 199, 278, ll. 30–4; PG 25, 104 C3–8). Cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (30, ll. 12–16; tr. 22, ll. 29–33; ↓); *ibid.* (291, ll. 4–8; tr. 224, ll. 19–23; ↓); Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* III, 2 (f. 27<sup>v</sup>; ↓)

VO [5] 2 ὑπέμεινε ante καὶ μίαν transp. Ps.-Leont. Byz. 3 τοῦτο ante τριταῖον transp. *Sermo*; om. Athan. cod. D 5 διαμείνη *Sermo* ἀπιστηθῇ: διαπιστηθῇ Niceph. 8 τῶν om. V

[6] 9 ΤΗΣ: ΤΩΝ V 10 ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτοῦ Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431 11 φθορᾶς: διαφθορᾶς V 12 ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον οὐράνιον: ὑπερουράνιον Niceph. οὐράνιον om. Ath., Thdt., Ps.-Leont. Byz.

[7] 14 γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν om. Ps.-Leont. Byz. θνητὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος: ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς Athan. recensio longior (txt. recensio brevior); ὁ ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς Ps.-Leont. Byz. 15 post τὴν add. σὴν Sev. Ant. 14 ὁμοιότητα: ὁμοίωσιν Ps.-Leont. Byz. 16 τὸν Θεόν: αὐτὸν Athan. rec. long. (txt. rec. brev.) ἔμεινεν V, Athan. rec. brev.

## 5. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME WORK

So, in order to show his body was dead, the Word remained a day [in the tomb] in between, and on the third day showed his body incorruptible to all. In order then, that death might be revealed in his body, he raised it on the third day; but lest he should cause unbelief if he raised it later than this, remaining [in the tomb] longer and becoming completely corrupted, [and acting] as if he then had not this body but another one—for someone might well mistrust what they saw because of the lapse of time, and miss what had happened—for this reason he did not remain longer than the three days.

## 6. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS LETTER TO EPICTETUS

But the body itself, which had a mortal nature, rose in a way above its own nature because the Word was in it, and was released from its natural process of decay; rather, having put on the heavenly Word, which is above humanity, it became incorruptible.

## 7. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS TREATISE AGAINST IDOLS

The human person is by nature mortal, because he has come to be from what is not; but because of its likeness to the one who is, if it preserved this through knowledge of God, it would blunt the effect of natural corruption and remain incorruptible.



## [8] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Εἰ δὲ παραβαίησαν καὶ στραφέντες γένοιτο φαῦλοι, γινώσκοιεν ἑαυτοὺς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ φθορὰν ὑπομένειν, καὶ μηκέτι μένειν ἐν παραδείσῳ ζωῆς.

5

## [9] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ὡς οὖν κατεδέξατο τὴν πείναν ὁ Κύριος, τῆς στερεᾶς τροφῆς διαπνευσθείσης αὐτῷ, καὶ δίψαν προσήκατο, τῆς ὑγρότητος ἀναλωθείσης τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἐκοπίασε, τῶν μυῶν καὶ τῶν νεύρων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ὑπερταθέντων, οὐ τῆς θεότητος τῷ καμάτῳ δαμαζομένης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματος τὰ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐπακολουθοῦντα συμπτώματα δεχομένου, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δάκρυον προσήκατο, τὸ φυσικὸν τῇ σαρκὶ σύμπτωμα ἐπιγίνεσθαι συγχωρῶν.

## [10] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΩΖΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

15 Σαρκὸς μὲν ἴδιον τὸ τέμνεσθαι καὶ μειοῦσθαι καὶ διαλύεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν σαρκὸς ἐμφύχου τὸ κοποῦσθαι καὶ ὀδυνῆσθαι καὶ πείνη καὶ δίψη

[8] Athanasius, *ibid.* 3 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, SC 199, 274, ll. 35–8; PG 25, 103 C7–10)

[9] Basilus, *Homilia de Gratiarum Actione* 5 (PG 31, 228 C14–229 A1). Cf. etiam: Vat. Gr. 1431, Flor. II, 27 (37, ll. 1–6); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I, 3 (134, ll. 3–8; tr. 103, ll. 23–30); Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* V, 47 (f. 37<sup>v</sup>); Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 31 (121, l. 26–122, l. 4; tr. 88, ll. 14–20; ↑); Syn. Lat. (130, ll. 13–19; apud excerptum c. Theodoro Faranitano); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 15; Gelasius, *De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 51 (555; ↓); ll. 7–11 (ὡς οὖν ... δεχομένου); Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* III, 5 (76, l. 234–77, l. 240); Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 38 (166, ll. 6–11; ↓). Cf. etiam periphrasim in Syn. Sel. Ctes. (326–327)

[10] Basilus, Ep. 261, *ad Sozopolitanos*, 3 (ed. Y. Courtonne III, 117–18; PG 32, 972 A8–B11). Cf. etiam Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* II A (137, l. 18–138, l. 2; tr. 115, ll. 5–21; ↑); *ibid.* II B (278, ll. 2–15; tr. 244, ll. 13–29; ↑); Ps.-Leont. Byz., *Flor. de Corr. et Incorr.* V, 46

VO [8] 1 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ om. O 2 παραβαίειν Athan. (txt. cod. D) 3 κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ: ἐν θανάτῳ κατὰ φύσιν Athan. (txt. cod. D) μένειν: μὲν Athan. 4 παραδείσῳ ζωῆς: παραδείσου ζωῆ V; παραδείσῳ ζῆν Athan.

[9] 6 ΛΟΓΟΥ om. O 7 ὡς: ὥσπερ Joan. Caes. post Κύριος add. ἡμῶν Sev. Ant. *Antijul.* 8 αὐτῷ om. Joan. Caes. ante δίψαν add. τὴν Basil. Thdt., Joan. Caes. καὶ δίψαν ... ἀναλωθείσης τῆς om. Gelasius post σώματι add. αὐτοῦ O, Syn. Lat. ἀναλωθείσης post σώματι transp. O, Syn. Lat. 9 ἐκ om. Vat. Gr. 1431 ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας: διὰ ταλαιπωρίας Joan. Caes. ὑπερταθέντων om. Joan. Caes. 10 δαμαζομένης: πειζομένης Thdt. τῆς<sup>2</sup> om. Basil., Joan. Caes., Ps.-Leont. Byz. 11 ἐπακολουθοῦντα: παρακολουθοῦντα Joan. Caes. 12 σύμπτωμα post ἐπιγίνεσθαι V transp. Basil., Thdt., Vat. Gr. 1431, Ps.-Leont. Byz. ἐπιγενέσθαι V

[10] 15 post μὲν add. οὖν Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz. καὶ<sup>1</sup> ... καὶ<sup>2</sup>: τὸ ... τὸ Ps.-Leont. Byz. καὶ<sup>3</sup> om. V 16 πεινῆν Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz. διψῆν Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz.

## 8. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE SAME WORK

But if they should transgress [the command], and turn away and become degraded, they would know that they must undergo natural corruption in death, and no longer remain in the Paradise of life.

## 9. BY ST BASIL, FROM HIS ORATION ON GIVING THANKS

That the Lord accepted hunger, when his solid nourishment was digested, and let thirst affect him when the moisture in his body was consumed, and grew tired when his muscles and nerves were overstrained by travel, not because his Godhead was overmastered by his toil but because his body accepted the characteristic signs that followed on its nature, so he accepted the need to weep, permitting this natural manifestation to affect his flesh.

## 10. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF SOZOPOLIS

It is a characteristic of flesh to be divided and lessened and destroyed, and again of ensouled flesh to labor and suffer pain and be worn down by hunger and thirst

καὶ ὕπνῳ κρατεῖσθαι· ψυχῆς δὲ σώματι κεκρημένης λύπαι καὶ ἀδημονίαι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

Τούτων τὰ μὲν φυσικὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ ζώῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐκ προαιρέσεως μοχθηρὰς, διὰ τὸ [δυσ]ανάγωγον τοῦ βίου καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀγύμναστον, 5 ἐπεισαγόμενα. Ὅθεν φαίνεται ὁ Κύριος τὰ μὲν φυσικὰ πάθη παραδεξάμενος εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐνανθρωπήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ κακίας πάθη, ὅσα τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐπιρρυπαίνειν οἶδεν, ὡς ἀνάξια ὄντα τῆς ἀχράντου θεότητος ἀπωσάμενος. Διὰ τοῦτο εἴρηται “ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας” γεγενῆσθαι· οὐ γὰρ 10 “ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς,” ὡς τούτοις δοκεῖ, ἀλλ’ “ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας,” ὥστε σάρκα μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνέλαβεν μετὰ τῶν φυσικῶν αὐτῆς παθῶν, ἁμαρτίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

[11] ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΑΖΙΑΝΖΟΥ.  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

15 Ἀπεστάλη μὲν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνθρωπος· διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκοπίασεν

[10] 9 Rom. 8.3

[10] (cont.) (ff. 37<sup>v</sup>; 1); Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 16; ll. 5–8 (ὅθεν ... ἀπωσάμενος): Sev. Ant., Antijul. II A (57, ll. 12–16; tr. 48, ll. 32–6); ll. 5–9 (ὅθεν ... ἁμαρτίας): ibid. II B (274, ll. 12–17; tr. 241, ll. 3–8); ll. 5–12 (ὅθεν ... ἐποίησεν): Doctr. Patr. 11, VI (68, l. 9); Niceph., Antirr. II, Test. 26 (355, ll. 3–4); ll. 5–12 (φαίνεται ... ἐποίησεν): Flor. Marc. 573 (ff. 32<sup>v</sup>–v)

[11] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 38.15 (ed. C. Moreschini, SC 358, 138, 15, ll. 1–3; PG 36, 328 C11–14). Cf. etiam: Thdt., Eran. II, Test. 45 (168, ll. 2–4); Leo, Tomus I, Test. 5 (II, 1, 1, 22, ll. 5–7); Tomus II, Test. 13 (II, 4, 124, ll. 28–30); Joan. Caes. Apol. Conc. Chal., Frag. 105 (42, 1031–4); Sev. Ant., Ctr. Gram. III, 37 (233, ll. 22–4; tr. 171, ll. 28–30); Ad Serg. II (115, ll. 22–4; tr. 86, ll. 24–6); Leont. Byz., CNE, Test. 24 (supra, p. 43); De Sect IX, Test. 2; Flor. Vat. 1455, Test. 19; Doctr. Patr. 7, X (52, l. 2; ↓); l. 15 (ἀπεστάλη ... ἦν):

VO [10 cont.] 3 τούτων· ὡν Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz. post τούτων add. γὰρ O 4 [δυσ]ανάγωγον· δυσάγωγον O, ἀνάγωγον (recte) Basil., Sev. Ant., Ps.-Leont. Byz. 5 ἐπεισαγόμενον O 6 παραδεξάμενος· παραδεχόμενος Basil. codd. plurimi; καταδεξάμενος O εἰς· πρὸς Doctr. Patr., Niceph. 7 post ὅσα add. πάντα Sev. Ant. Antijul. 57 et 274 8 ἐπιρρυπαίνειν οἶδεν· ἐπιρρυπαίνει, ταῦτα Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz., Flor. Marc. 573; καταρρυπαίνει, ταῦτα Doctr. Patr., Niceph. ὄντα om. Basil., Doctr. Patr., Niceph., Ps.-Leont. Byz., Flor. Marc. 573 9 γεγενῆσθαι ante σαρκὸς transp. Basil., Ps.-Leont. Byz.; ante ἐν ὁμοιώματι transp. Doctr. Patr., Niceph.; om. Doctr. Patr. cod. B 9–11 οὐ γὰρ ... ἁμαρτίας om. Basil. codd. LCPcorr, Sev. Ant., Doctr. Patr., Ps.-Leont. Byz. 10 ἐν om. V 12 παθῶν· παθημάτων V

[11] 13 ante ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ O 13 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΑΖΙΑΝΖΟΥ· ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ O 15 διπλοῦς ... ἐπεὶ· διπλῇ γὰρ ἦν ἡ φύσις αὐτοῦ (ἐν αὐτῷ: Leo, Tomus I), ἀμέλει τοι ἐντεῦθεν Thdt. (sed txt. cod. P; διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν, ἀμέλει τοι ἐντεῦθεν cod. I) Leo, Joan. Caes.

and sleep; and grief and dismay and worries and all such things are characteristic of a soul that makes use of a body.

Some of these things are natural, necessary features in any living being; others are the result of a bad choice, and are results of the unmanageable character of our way of life, our lack of training in virtue. From this it seems that the Lord accepted natural possibilities as a way of confirming that he had truly, and not simply in appearance, become human; but the possibilities that result from evil, insofar as they customarily stain the purity of our life, he rejected as unworthy of the spotless Godhead. For this reason Scripture says he came to be “in the likeness of sinful flesh” (Rom. 8.3); it does not say, “in the likeness of flesh,” as these people think, but “in the likeness of *sinful* flesh,” to show that he took on our flesh with the possibilities that befit it, but he did not commit sin.

11. BY GREGORY, BISHOP OF NAZIANZUS;  
FROM HIS ORATION ON THE NATIVITY

He was sent, but as a human being; for he was twofold. So, too, he labored

καὶ ἐπέινησεν καὶ ἐδίψησεν καὶ ἡγωνίασεν καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ.

[12] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΦΩΤΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμείναμεν ὅπερ ἦμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐφυλάξαμεν, ἐγινόμεθα  
5 ἂν ὅπερ οὐκ ἦμεν, τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς προσελθόντες μετὰ τὸ ξύλον τῆς  
γνώσεως· καὶ τί γεγονότες; ἀπαθανατισθέντες καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάσαντες.

[13] ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΝΥΣΣΗΣ·  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤ' ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ Γ'

Οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἐγκειμένης τῇ σαρκὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος  
10 πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἀναδραμούσης, καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν σὰρξ συνεπήρθη, ὑπὸ τῆς  
θεϊκῆς ἀθανασίας ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς συνανωσθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφθαρτον.

[14] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ Δ'

Τὸ γὰρ πάντων ἴδιον, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς σαρκὸς ὡμολογήθη· ὅτι ἄρτω  
κάκεινο τὸ σῶμα διεκρατεῖτο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῇ ἐνοικίῃσι τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου  
15 πρὸς τὴν θεϊκὴν ἀξίαν μετεποιήθη.

[11 cont.] Joan. Caes., *Apol. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 58 (24, 550–1); Sev. Ant., *Ad Neph.* I (2, ll. 29–30; tr. 2, ll. 21–2); *Ad Neph.* II (42, ll. 17–18; tr. 31, ll. 28–9); Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 22 (1821 B13–14); *Doctr. Patr.* 4, IV (30, l. 7); ll. 2–4 (ἐπεὶ ... νόμῳ); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (133, l. 16; tr. 103, ll. 10–12); p. 396, l. 15–p. 398, l. 2 (καὶ [ἐπέινησεν] ... νόμῳ); Anast. Sin., *Hod.* X, 2.5.51–3 (173)

[12] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Orat.* 44, *In Novam Dominicam* 4 (PG 36, 612 A14–B3)

[13] Gregorius Nyssenus, *Contra Eunomium* III, 3, 67 (ed. W. Jaeger II, 132, ll. 3–7; PG 45, 708 A7–11). Cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* II A (18, ll. 24–7; tr. 14, ll. 26–9; ↑)

[14] Gregorius Nyssenus, *Oratio Catechetica Magna* 37, 9 (ed. E. Mühlenberg, GNO III/4, 96, ll. 18–22; PG 45, 96 D4–8). Cf. etiam: Euth. Zig., *Pan.* XXV (1264 C10–14; ↑); Theor., *Disp.* II (261 B6–10; ↑).

VO [11 cont.] 1 καὶ ἐπέινησεν om. *De Sect.*; ἐπείνασε Anast. Sin. καὶ ἡγωνίασεν om. *De Sect.*, Anast. Sin. ἀνθρωπείου V 1–2 ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ: νόμῳ φύσεως O, Greg. Naz. cod. Colb. 2696, Leont. Byz. CNE, Anast. Sin.; νόμῳ σώματος Greg. Naz. codd. cett., Thdt. codd. SD, Sev. Ant., *Doctr. Patr.*

[12] 3 ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΦΩΤΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΕΙΣ ΝΕΑΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΝ (recte) V<sup>cont</sup> (Σ3)  
4 ἐγενόμεθα Greg. Naz.

[13] 7 ante ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Ο 8 Γ' ante ΛΟΓΟΥ transp. O  
9 ante τῇ σαρκὶ add. ἐν V 9–10 πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ante μετὰ τὸ πάθος transp. Greg. Nyss.  
11 συνωσθεῖσα O

[14] 12 ΚΑΤΑ ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ Δ': ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΥΝΟΜΙΟΥ Ο; Δ'  
om. V 15 ἀξίαν: δόξαν O

and felt hunger and thirst and struggled and wept, according to the law of a human body.

12. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
ORATION ON THE LIGHTS

If, then, we had remained what we were, and had kept the command, we would have become what we were not, approaching the tree of life after the tree of knowledge. And what would we have become? We would have been made immortal, and have drawn close to God!

13. BY GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA,  
FROM HIS TREATISE AGAINST EUNOMIUS, BOOK 3

So, after the Passion, the true life which lay embedded in the flesh returned to itself, and the flesh that surrounded it was raised along with it, having been lifted up from corruption to incorruptibility by the immortality that belongs to God.

14. BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
FROM HIS TREATISE AGAINST EUNOMIUS, BOOK 10

What is proper to all is confessed in the case of that flesh, too; for that body also was maintained by bread, but the body was transformed into divine dignity by the indwelling of God the Word.

[15] ΤΟΥ ὉΣΙΟΥ ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΥ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Εἰ μῆδαμῶς ἐπιγινώσκεις τὸ παθητὸν, ἀνεσκεύασας τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ  
εὐσεβές, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡρνήσω τὴν σὴν· ὅθεν ἄφρονας δεῖ τούτους ἡγείσθαι.

## 5 [16] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΝ

Ἄλλη γὰρ σαρκὸς ἀσθένεια, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς θεότητός ἐστιν αἶδιον· καὶ  
σαρκὸς μὲν ὁ θάνατος, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως τὸ ἀθάνατον. Εἰ δέ γε τοῦτο  
πεποίηκεν ἡ θεότης, ὥστε “μὴ ἰδεῖν τὴν σάρκα διαφθορὰν,” ὑποκειμένην  
δηλονότι τῇ κατὰ φύσιν φθορᾷ, πῶς αὐτὴ τελευτᾷ ἡ θεότης ἡδύνατο;

10 [17] ΤΟΥ ὉΣΙΟΥ ἸΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ· Εἰς τὸ “ΔΟΞΑΣΘΩ  
ΜΕ ΣΥ, ΠΑΤΕΡ, ΠΑΡΑ ΣΕΑΥΤῶ”

Τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα φησὶν; Περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ λόγος, ἐπεὶ οὐπω δεδόξαστο  
τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ φύσις, οὔτε ἀφθαρσίας ἀπολαύσασα οὔτε τοῦ θρόνου  
15 κοινωνήσασα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ.

[16] 8 cf. Ps. 15.10 (LXX)

[15] Ambrosius, *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento* 5, 44 (ed. O. Faller, CSEL 79, 246,  
ll. 104–6; PL 16, 864 D9–865 A1). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 107 (f. 22<sup>v</sup>)

[16] Ambrosius, *De Fide ad Gratianum* III, 3, 21 (ed. O. Faller, CSEL 78, 116, ll. 53–7; PL 16, 594  
A10–15). Cf. etiam: Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 6 (72, ll. 117–21); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 106 (f. 22<sup>v</sup>)

[17] Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia 80 in Joannem*, 2 (PG 59, 435, ll. 52–5). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len.  
131, Test. 100 (f. 22<sup>v</sup>); Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 11 (73, ll. 146–9; ↓); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (43,  
ll. 6–10; tr. 32, ll. 14–17; ↓); ibid. (295, ll. 5–8; tr. 227, ll. 24–27; ↓); ll. 13–15 (ἐπεὶ ... βασιλικοῦ); ibid.  
(50, ll. 18–20; tr. 38, ll. 6–8); ibid. (70, ll. 1–2; tr. 53, ll. 16–18)

VO [15] 1 ὉΣΙΟΥ: ΑΓΙΟΥ Ο 2 ΛΟΓΟΥ om. V 3 post τὸ παθητὸν add.  
καὶ τὸ ἀπαθές Flor. Len. 131 4 ante σωτηρίαν add. σὴν V τὴν σὴν om. V δεῖ  
δὴ V<sup>sc</sup>

[16] 5 ante ΠΡΟΣ add. ἘΚ ΤΗΣ V 6 τὸ om. O ἐστιν om. Joan. Caes.  
7 δυνάμεως: θεότητος Flor. Len. 131 γε om. Joan. Caes. 8–9 ὑποκειμένην ... φθορᾷ  
om. Flor. Len. 131 9 τῇ om. O, Joan. Caes.

[17] 10 ὉΣΙΟΥ: ΑΓΙΟΥ Ο 12 ΣΥ om. V 13 ante ἐπεὶ add. καὶ Flor. Len.  
131 δεδόξασθαι Flor. Len. 131

15. BY ST AMBROSE, FROM HIS TREATISE  
AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

If you do not recognize his ability to suffer at all, thus destroying pious  
understanding of the Lord, you are denying your own salvation. So we must  
consider these people to be unreasonable.

## 16. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, TO GRATIAN

Weakness of the flesh is one thing, the eternity of the Godhead another. Death  
belongs to the flesh, immortality to [divine] power. If the Godhead had brought  
it about that flesh “should not see corruption,” although it obviously was subject  
to the corruption that is natural, how could the Godhead itself not have been  
able to achieve this [sc. in the case of Jesus]?

17. BY ST JOHN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE;  
ON THE TEXT, “GLORIFY ME, FATHER, IN YOUR PRESENCE”

What, then, is he saying here? The passage concerns the Incarnation, since the  
nature of the flesh is not yet glorified, has not tasted incorruption, nor shared in  
the royal throne.

[18] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ  
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΝ ΊΩΑΝΝΗΝ

Ὡς περ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων περιπατοῦντα θεωροῦντες πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ,  
οὐ λέγομεν ἄλλης φύσεως τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, οὕτως μετὰ  
5 τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἡλῶν ἔχοντα, οὐκ ἐροῦμεν  
αὐτὸ φθαρτὸν εἶναι λοιπὸν· διὰ γὰρ τὸν μαθητὴν ταῦτα ἐπεδείκνυτο.

## [19] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΝ

Ὡς περ γὰρ τὸ πεινῆν οὐκ ἐγκλημα, οὐδὲ τὸ καθεύδειν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς  
παρούσης ζωῆς ἐφίεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς σῶμα καθαρὸν ἀναμάρτητον  
10 εἶχεν, οὐχὶ δὲ φυσικῶν ἀναγκῶν ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν σῶμα ᾗν.

[20] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ  
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἐφάνη γ' οὖν τὴν ἑσπεραν καὶ ἀπέπτη, εἶτα μετὰ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας πάλιν  
ἦπαξ καὶ πάλιν ἀπέπτη, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πάλιν

[18] Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia 87 in Joannem*, 1 (PG 59, 474, ll. 27–32). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 101 B, cum 101 A (hic Test. 20), coniunctum (f. 22<sup>v</sup>); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (193, l. 25–194, l. 6; tr. 149, ll. 27–32; †)

[19] Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia 67 in Joannem*, 2 (PG 59, 371, ll. 56–60). Cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* II B (203, ll. 11–15; tr. 174, l. 34–175, l. 4); ibid. I (54, ll. 15–19; tr. 41, ll. 4–7; †); ibid. (92, l. 22–93, l. 1; tr. 71, ll. 22–6; †); ibid. (228, l. 22–229, l. 1; tr. 177, ll. 13–17; †); ibid. (293, ll. 9–13; tr. 226, ll. 9–13; †); Fac. Herm., *Def. Tr. Cap.* III, 3, 29 (85, ll. 219–23; †); Syn Lat. (288, ll. 27–9); Conc. Const. III, Actio X (407 D12–E3; †); ll. 8–9 (ὥς περ ... ἐφίεσθαι): *Doctr. Patr.* 18, X (120, l. 6; †); ll. 8–9 (ὅ δε Χριστὸς ... ᾗν): Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (135, ll. 4–6; tr. 104, ll. 19–21); ibid. II A (66, ll. 10–12; tr. 56, ll. 30–1)

[20] Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia 87 in Joannem*, 2 (PG 59, 475, ll. 5–10). Cf. etiam: Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 10 (73, 141–5); Flor.

VO [18] 1–2 ΕΙΣ ... ΊΩΑΝΝΗΝ: ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΊΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ Ο 4 ἀλλὰ: ἄλλη V; ἀλλ' εἰ Flor. Len. 131 5 τοὺς om. Flor. Len. 131 τῶν ἡλῶν om. O, Joan. Chrys., Flor. Len. 131 (txt. Sev. Ant.) ἔχοντας Flor. Len. 131 6 αὐτὸν Joan. Chrys., Sev. Ant. τῶν μαθητῶν V<sup>4</sup>; τοὺς μαθητὰς Sev. Ant. ἐπιδείκνυται V; ἀπεδείκνυτο Flor. Len. 131

[19] 7 ΕΙΣ ... ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΝ: ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ Ο 8 πεινῆν VO; πινεῖν (bibere) Fac. Herm. 9 ἀναμάρτητον: ἀμαρτημάτων Joan. Chrys. Sev. Ant., Fac. Herm., Sn. Lat., Conc. Const. III 10 δε om. Joan. Chrys. οὐχὶ δὲ: οὐ Syn. Lat., Conc. Const. III οὐδ': οὐκ Syn. Lat. οὐδ' ἂν ᾗν σῶμα V; οὐδὲ σῶμα ἂν ᾗν Conc. Const. III

[20] 11–12 ΕΚ ... ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΟΥ (ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ Ο) ΛΟΓΟΥ VO 13 γ' om. Joan. Caes. τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ Joan. Chrys., Joan. Caes. ἀπέστη V 13–14 πάλιν ἦπαξ om. Joan. Caes. 14 ἀπέστη VO p. 402, l. 14–p. 404, l. 1 καὶ πάλιν ... φόβου om. Joan. Caes. πάλιν om. Sev. Ant.

18. BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
FROM HIS HOMILIES ON THE EVANGELIST JOHN

Just as when we gaze at him walking on the waves before the cross, we do not say that that body has another nature, but ours, so after the resurrection, when we see him bearing the marks of the nails, we do not say his body is still corruptible. For this was revealed because of the disciple.

## 19. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON THE SAME EVANGELIST

For just as being hungry is not reproach, nor falling asleep, neither is an eager desire for this present life. Christ had a pure, sinless body, but it was not yet released from natural necessities, since then it would not have been a body.

20. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
WORK ON THE SAME EVANGELIST

He appeared, then, in the evening and then vanished; then, after eight days, he appeared once again and again vanished; then after this, he appeared by the sea, and again



μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ φόβου· τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “ἐφάνερωσεν”; Ἐκ τούτου δῆλον ὅτι οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο, εἰ μὴ συγκατέβη, διὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφθαρτον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀκήρατον.

[21] ΤΟΥ ὉΣΙΟΥ ἘΦΡΑΙΜ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ

- 5 Ἀφθαρσία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐλὰς οὐκ ἠφάνισεν, ἵνα γένωνται μάρτυρες Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐνήργησεν· οὐ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἐνυβρίσας τῇ τῶν οὐλῶν παραμονῇ, τούναντίον δὲ δοξάσας τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ φθαρτοῦ σώματος τὴν φθορὰν ἐφυγάδευσεν.

[22] ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ· ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ἙΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ἘΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΝ ἨΣΑΪΑΝ

10

- Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, πατήσας τὸν ἄδην, ἀνεβίω τριήμερος, εἶτα τεθέαται τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ μεταμορφωθείσαν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς εὐδοκίαν, πάσης ἤδη κατευρυνομένην τῆς γῆς, μέλλουσάν τε καταφωτίζεσθαι τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν πληθύν καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαίας  
15 καὶ συντρόφου πλάνης ἀποφοιτᾶν, καλεῖσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀποβέβληκε τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ παθεῖν πόνον.

[23] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΥ

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν ἀνέλαβε σῶμα καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πάθεσιν ὑποκείμενον, ἀναγκαίως μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἰδιοποιεῖται

[20] 1 Joan. 21.1

[20 cont.] Len. 131, Test. 101 A, cum 101 B (hic Text. 18) coniunctum (f. 22<sup>v</sup>); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (194, ll. 8–13; tr. 149, l. 35–150, l. 3; ↑); *ibid.* II A (146, ll. 21–5; tr. 123, ll. 17–21; ↑)

[21] Ephraem Syrus (?), fragmentum primo apud Joannem Caesariensem, *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 7 (72, l. 122–73, l. 126), inventum. Cf. etiam: Niceph., *Antirrh.* III, Test. 78 (370, l. 6); *Antirrh.* IV, 72, Test. 40 (468, ll. 18–19); Flor. Len. 131, Test. 102 (22<sup>v</sup>)

[22] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Isaiam* V, 1 (PG 70, 1188 B5–12)

[23] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate* 24 (PG 75, 396 C11–15). Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Test. 103 (f. 22<sup>v</sup>); Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* I (233, ll. 7–11; tr. 180, ll. 24–7; ↓); *ibid.* (287, ll. 17–20, tr. 221, ll. 23–7; ↓); *ibid.* II A (85, ll. 1–4; tr. 71, ll. 13–16; ↓); *Phil.*, Test. 221 (351, ll. 25–9; tr. 287, ll. 2–6; ↓); *Antijul.* III (120, ll. 11–15; tr. 99, l. 36–100, l. 3; ↓)

VO [20] 2 εἶναι ante λοιπὸν transp. O

[21] 5 ἀφθαρσία Joan. Caes. (ed. Richard) ἡ om. Flor. Len. 131 6 φθαρτὸν· ἀφθαρτον O 7 δέ om. O τοῦ om. Flor. Len. 131

[22] 9 ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ... ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ· ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ O 11 ἄδην· θάνατον O 14 τε· δέ O 15 πρὸς· εἰς O

[23] 18 δέ· γὰρ Cyr., Sev. Ant. ἀπέλαβε Cyr. τοιούτοις om. Sev. Ant.

accompanied by great wonder. What does “he appeared” mean? From this it is clear that he would not have been seen if he had not permitted it, because from now on his body was incorruptible and undefiled.

21. BY ST EPHRAEM, FROM HIS SERMON ON LOVE

The resurrection took place in incorruption, but it did not make the wounds disappear, that they might become witnesses that God was active. By enduring the wounds, he did not show contempt for the corruptible [body]; rather, by glorifying it with incorruptibility, [he revealed] that he had banished corruption from the corruptible body.

22. BY CYRIL, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, FROM HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

After trampling down Hades, he came back to life again in three days; then he contemplated human nature transformed to incorruptibility in himself, and the favor of God the Father, spread out already over the earth, preparing to become the light of the nations in its fullness and to turn [humanity] away from the ancient error that had grown along with it, calling it to know him and his Father. So he drove away the sorrow that comes along with suffering.

23. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM THE THESAURUS

Since he took up a mortal and corruptible body, one subject to passibilities of this kind, he necessarily made its weaknesses his own

πάθη, καὶ αὐτῆς ὑπομενούσης αὐτὰ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπομένων λέγεται.

[24] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Α' ΤΟΜΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ

Πῶς οὖν ἀπέθανεν, ἀθάνατος ὢν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγερθῇ καὶ νεκρώσῃ τὸν θάνατον,  
5 εἰ μὴ προσέλαβε σῶμα τὸ τοῖς τοῦ θανάτου νόμοις ὑποκείμενον; Ἡ πῶς  
ἂν κατέλυσε τὴν φθορὰν, ἐξελὼν αὐτῆς τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῇ πράττον τε καὶ  
κείμενον γένος, εἰ μὴ ἔλαβε τὸ φθείρεσθαι πεφυκὸς καὶ εἰς ἰδίαν ἐμόρφωσε  
ζωήν;

[25] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΟΥΚΕΝΣΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

10 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ πεπονθὸς, πλὴν οὐκέτι  
τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἀσθενείας ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πείνης ἢ κόπου ἢ  
ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων δεκτικὸν εἶναι φαμέν αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν  
ἄφθαρτον· καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωοποιόν. Ζωῆς γὰρ σῶμά  
ἐστὶ, τουτέστι τοῦ Μονογενοῦς.

15 [26] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ Σ'  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Ἐφῆκε μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα παθεῖν τὸν θάνατον οἰκονομικῶς, “ἵνα καὶ  
νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.” ἐπειδὴ δὲ σῶμα ζωῆς ἦν, ἀνεβίω  
παραχρήμα, νενικηκὸς τὴν φθορὰν· τῶν οὕτω δὲ σεπτῶν τὴν κατόρθωσιν  
20 οὐ φύσει σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου δυνάμει προσνέμοντες, εὐσεβήσωμεν.

[26] 17–18 Rom. 14.9

[24] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Matthaeum* I: fragmentum primo apud Joannem Caesariensem, *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 19 (75, ll. 198–202), inventum. Cf. etiam: Flor. Len. 131, Text. 104 (f.22')

[25] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Ep. I ad Succensum*, 10 (ACO I, 1, 6, 155, l. 27–156, l. 4; PG 77, 236 B7–13). Cf. etiam: Flor. Cyr., Test. 46 (127, l. 22–128, l. 2; ↓); Sev. Ant., *Phil.*, Test. 46 (29, l. 23–30, l. 3; tr. 23, ll. 21–8; ↓); ll. 10–11 (μετὰ ... ἑαυτῷ): Niceph., *Antirr.* IV, 66, Test. 6 (484, l. 30); ll. 10–13 (μετὰ ... ζωοποιόν): Joan. Caes., *Adv. Aphthart.* II, 20 (76, ll. 203–7)

[26] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Ep. ad Hebraeos*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VO [23] 1 post αὐτὸς add. ὁ Λόγος Sev. Ant. *Antijul.* I (233)

[24] 2–3 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ... ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ: ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ Ο  
4 ἐδερθῇ Flor. Len. 131 5 τοῦ om. Flor. Len. 131 νόμοις ante ὑποκείμενον transp. V  
6 αὐτῆς om. Joan. Caes. 7 κείμενον: ὑποκείμενον Joan. Caes. 7–8 καὶ ... ζωὴν  
om. Joan. Caes. 7 ἰδίαν: ἰδίον Ο

[25] 10 δὲ om. Niceph. post δὲ add. γε Cyr., Flor. Cyr. 11 ἔχων Cyr. 12 τῶν  
... αὐτὸ: τοιοῦτον Joan. Caes. 13 post ἀλλὰ add. γὰρ Cyr. (txt. cod. V), Flor. Cyr. cod. S

[26] 15 Σ' om. V 18 ἦν om. V 19 δὲ om. V

along with the flesh, and when it endured these things he himself is said to endure them.

24. BY THE SAME AUTHOR,  
FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF HIS  
COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW

Being immortal, how, then, did he die, in order to be raised and to put death to death, if he had not taken on a body which was subject to the laws of death? Or how could he have driven out corruption, removing from it the whole range of activities and passivities within its sphere, if he had not taken on what was naturally corruptible and transformed it to his own life?

25. BY THE SAME AUTHOR, FROM HIS  
LETTER TO SUCCENSUS

After the resurrection, it was the very body which had suffered, except that it no longer had human weaknesses within itself. We say that it no longer was able to undergo hunger or fatigue or anything else of this sort, but from now on was incorruptible—and not only that, but life-giving. For it is the body of life—that is, of the Only-begotten.

26. BY THE SAME AUTHOR;  
FROM THE SIXTH BOOK ON THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

For he permitted his own body to suffer death as part of the divine plan, “so that he might be Lord of the dead and the living.” Since it was the body of life, he raised it immediately, having won victory over corruption. And let us show reverence by attributing the accomplishment of these august mysteries not to the nature of flesh, but to the power of the Word.

[27] ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ.  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΦΩΤΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἐπειδὴ καθαρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα φέρειν οὐ τῆς ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ φύσεως, διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἄμικτα μίγνυται· οὐ γενέσει μόνον Θεὸς, οὐδὲ σαρκὶ νοῦς, οὐδὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἄχρονον, οὐδὲ μέτρῳ τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθενία γέννησις, καὶ ἀτιμία τῷ καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ὑψηλοτέρῳ, καὶ πάθει τὸ ἀπαθές, καὶ τῷ φθαρτῷ τὸ ἀθάνατον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὥς εἶτο ἀήττητος εἶναι τῆς κακίας ὁ σοφιστὴς, θεότητος ἐλπίδι δελεάσας ἡμᾶς, σαρκὸς προβλήματι δελεάζεται, ἵν' ὥς τῷ Ἀδὰμ προσβαλῶν, τῷ Θεῷ περιπέσῃ, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νέος Ἀδὰμ τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνασώσῃται καὶ λυθῇ τὸ κατὰκριμα τῆς σαρκὸς, σαρκὶ τοῦ θανάτου θανατωθέντος.

ἈΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ. Τούτων συμφώνως παρὰ τῶν διαφανῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰρημένων, πάντως που καὶ οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτοῖς πεπληρωμένοι τὰ αὐτὰ πάντως καὶ αὐτοὶ φρονούντες εὐρίσκονται. Ἡβουλόμεν μὲν οὖν τὰς πάντων καὶ πάσας, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, ὑποτάξαι μαρτυρίας· τοῦ δὲ χάριν μὴ ἀποκνήσαι τῷ πλήθει τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, τινῶν καὶ ὀλίγας, τύπον ἐχούσας καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐν πάσιν αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας, παραθεῖναι ἐσπουδάσαμεν, τὸν φιλόπονον πρὸς τὰς ὀλικὰς αὐτῶν συντάξεις παραπέμποντες, ἐν αἷς τὸ ἀκριβές πάντως τοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐρήσει λόγων.

Probatio calami, ut videtur, in calce O, f. 151<sup>v</sup> (Σ<sup>48</sup>) post conclusionem Leontii: τῷ ἐντιμοτάτῳ ἐγγ[ενεστάτῳ] (?); cf. p. 118 supra

[27] Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. 39, *In sancta lumina*, 13 (SC 358.178–80; PG 36, 349 A7–B5). Cf. etiam: ll. 3–7 (ἐπειδὴ ... ἀθάνατον): Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 5 (344, ll. 7–14); ll. 4–7 (διὰ τοῦτο ... ἀθάνατον): Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* II A (19, ll. 23–7; tr. 15, ll. 16–22); ll. 4–11 (διὰ τοῦτο ... θανατωθέντος): Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 41 (301, ll. 1–13; tr. 222, ll. 7–16)

|                              |                                   |                            |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| VO [27] 3 γεννήσει Niceph.   | 6 πάσης V                         | 10 ἀνασώσῃται: ἀνανεώσῃται |
| Sev. Ant. Conclusio Leontii: | 12 ἈΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ: supplevi             | διαφανῶν: διαφόρων O       |
| 13 οἱ om. V                  | 15 μὲν om. O                      | τ' V                       |
|                              | 17 ἀληθείας ante αὐτοῖς transp. O |                            |

27. BY ST GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN,  
FROM HIS ORATION ON THE LIGHTS

Since it was not possible for the nature that belongs to becoming and corruption to sustain his Godhead in a pure state, for this reason what was unmixed became mixed: not only [was] God [mingled] with becoming, nor mind with flesh, nor the timeless with time, nor the uncircumscribed with measure, but also begetting with virginity, and dishonor with what is above all honor, and the impassible with suffering, and the deathless with the corruptible. For since the deviser of evil thought he could not be overcome, and lured us with the hope of divinity, he himself was deceived by the screen of flesh, and as he had assaulted Adam, so he might fall before God. So the new Adam might save the old, and the condemnation of flesh might be destroyed, death being put to death in the flesh.

<Leontius:> Since this is the unanimous teaching of the illustrious Fathers of the Church, surely those who are filled with the same Spirit as they are will be found to agree with them completely. We did not want to set out all the testimonies of all authors, even if that were possible; but in order not to make the reader shrink back at their sheer number, we have striven to offer only a few texts, from certain authors, which contain the form and measure of the truth that is in them all; and we send the diligent reader on to their complete works, in which he will surely find the accurate version of what has been held long before what we ourselves have written.

ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ.  
 ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ'.  
 ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΡΧΟΕΙΔΕΣΤΕΡΑΣ  
 ΤΩΝ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ,  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ,  
 ΦΩΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΙΑΜΒΟΣ

By the Same Author:  
 An Unmasking and a Triumphant  
 Defeat of the Unspeakable and  
 Fundamental Impiety of the Nestorians,  
 and of the Fathers of this [Heresy]  
 (Book III. *Deprehensio et  
 Triumphus super Nestorianos*)

VOP 1 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ: ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΔΟΚΗΤΩΝ V; om. P 2 ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ':  
 ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ Ο; om. P 4 ΑΡΧΑΙΟΕΙΔΕΣΤΕΡΑΣ Ο 6 ΤΑΥΤΗΣ:  
 ΑΥΤΗΣ Ο 7 ΦΩΡΑ ΟΡ post ΘΡΙΑΜΒΟΣ add. ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ' Ο

[PG 5 1357 B] Τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσί μοι δυσι λόγοις τοῦτον συντάττων, τῷ τε Θεῷ χαριστήριον καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν στήλην καὶ θρίαμβον, εὐξαίμην ἂν τὸν Κύριον παρῆναι καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸν τῆς ἐννοίας, καὶ λόγῳ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν ἀπευθύναι ἐν Πνευματοκινήτῳ χάριτι. Εἰ γὰρ, ἐκ  
 5 Θεοῦ βοηθούμενοι, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ τῆς ἐν χεροῖν ὑποθέσεως ἐφαπόμεθα, ἡμῖν τε ἔσται μισθὸς αὐτοτελῆς τῶν πόνων ἢ συμμαχία, τοῖς τε ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ δι' οὓς οἱ λόγοι ὠφελείας ἐνέχυρον, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀξίᾳ, τῇ γε δυνάμει παραμετρούμενον. Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφοσιοῦται τὰ νῦν·  
 10 παλαιὸν γὰρ χρέος εἰσφέρομεν, πάντων χρεῶν εἰς ἕκτισιν δικαιοτάτον, πάλαι μὲν ἀποδοθῆναι ὀφειλόμενον, διὰ δὲ πολλὴν καὶ μακρὰν πενίαν, [C] νῦν καὶ μόλις καὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἄξιον ἐκτίννυσθαι ἀρχόμενον.

Καθ' ὧν γὰρ στήλην, ἔφην, ἐγείρει τῷ Θεῷ ἄρτι προήρημαι, θρίαμβόν τε αὐτοῖς περιστῆσαι, μηκέτι τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐν κρυπτῷ ταμειομένοις καὶ τῷ ἀφανεί καὶ ἀγνώστῳ πολλοὺς δελεάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν  
 15 φαινομένοις, καὶ ταύτῃ γινομένοις φευκτοῖς καὶ ἀποτροπαίοις, ἦν ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχον τοῦ θιάσου μέρος. Νέον γὰρ τότε ὄντα με, τόν τε χρόνον καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἠρπάκεισαν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ τῶν τῆς κακίας ὀργάνων εἰς τοῦτο κινήσαντες—προθέμενον γὰρ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν· [1360 A] ὧν ἐπειδὴ γευσάμενος—τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου—ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ, λίχνος  
 20 τ' ἐγενόμην καὶ προθυμίας εἰς μέτρον οὐδὲν ὅ τι ἐνέλιπον. Οἱ δὲ, λαβόμενοι ὥσπερ τυφλὸν ὁδοῦ τινος ἐφιέμενον, εἰς τὸ τῆς σφετέρως ἀσεβείας κατασπᾶσαι βάραθρον ἐπεχείρησαν. Ἀλλ' ἄνωθέν μοι τις ἐπιφανείσα χάρις ἐκ μέσου τῶν ὁδόντων ἤρπασεν, ἐτοιμότατον ἥδη γενόμενον

VOP 1 τουτονὶ V 2 τῷ: το V 4 ἀπευθύναι: κατευθύναι V 5 πάντων  
 om. O χερσὶν V<sup>corr</sup> (Torres) 7 ὑπὲρ ... οὓς: δι' ὧν καὶ ὑπὲρ οὓς O 12 καθ' ὧν:  
 καθὼς O ἔφην om. V ἄρτι προήρημαι: ἀντιπροήρημαι P 13 τε: γε O  
 14 δελεάζοντας VO 15 φαινομένους VO γινομένους VO φευκτοὺς VO  
 ἀποτροπαίους VO 16 με om. OP 19 τούτῳ δὴ τῷ V ante δακτύλῳ add.  
 τῷ O λίχνῳ P 20 τε V 21 τυφλὸν ... ἐφιέμενον: τυφλοῦ ... ἐφιέμενου P  
 22 μοί: μέντοι P; post ἐπιφανείσα transp. O

As I add this third book to the two that have preceded it, as a thank-offering to God and a monument and triumph against the faithless, I should like to pray the Lord to be with us now, too, as a support to our mind, and to direct our words with his Word, in the grace that is moved by the Spirit. For if we have undertaken all other things with God's help, and especially this project in hand, his help will be itself a sufficient reward for our labors, and a guarantee of benefit for those about whom and for whose sake these words [are written]—if not a benefit worthy of his dignity, at least one proportionate to our power. For us, this present task has another justification as well; for we are paying an old debt, of all debts most deserving of payment: one which ought to have been paid off long ago, but which—because of our great and deep poverty—is only now beginning to be paid off, in a small and unworthy way.

For those against whom I said just now I had chosen to raise a monument to God, and to surround with a triumphal procession, because they no longer store up their iniquity in hiding and deceive the masses with things unseen and unknown, but are visible from afar, and so become a warning for us and a signal to flee—there was a time when I myself formed part of their company. They captivated both my time and my reason then, young as I was, and they left no instrument of wickedness untried, to achieve this purpose; for I prized accuracy of doctrine, and once I had tasted it with the tip of my finger—as the saying goes—I became avid and omitted nothing that might curb my eagerness. They took hold of me, like a blind man groping after his way, and tried to pull me down into the pit of their own wickedness. But some kind of grace appeared to me from above and snatched me from between their teeth, where I had already become a ready victim;



θήραμα, πόθον τε θερμότατον ἀρετῆς ἐμβαλοῦσα καὶ τῆς διὰ ταύτην  
 ξενιτείας ἐπάξιον. Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤμελλεν ὁ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἐρήμῳ  
 καθοδηγήσας κάμου συνέμπορος γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκδημίας; Φέρων τε οὐπω  
 πρότερον ἀνήκεν, ἕως με θείων ἀνδρῶν ἐγκατέθετο παλάμαις, οἳ γε οὐ  
 5 μόνον πάσης ἐκείνης τῆς λήμης τὸ ὄμμα τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεκάθηραν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ [B]φωτὸς ἱεροῦ ἀπέπλησαν, ταῖς τῶν θεοσόφων βίβλοις, παρ' ὧν  
 αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ ἀρετὴ, τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ χεῖρας καὶ φρένας  
 ἀγνίσαντες.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀσεβείας ἐσχάτης γραφὴν ἂν παρὰ τῶν εὐγνωμόνων  
 10 ἐνδίκως ἀπηνεγκάμην, εἰ ταῦτα σιωπῇ παντελεῖ παραδοῦναι ὑπέμεινα;  
 Ὅτι δὲ μὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μηδὲ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν ὥραν, καθ' ἣν  
 ἀναβλέψαι ἠξίωμαι, τὸν εὐχαριστήριον συντέταχα, παραιτείσθω μὲν  
 Θεὸς, παραιτείσθω δὲ καὶ τῶν θεοφιλῶν ἕκαστος. Οὐ γὰρ δι' ἀγνωμοσύνην,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δόξαι τὴν περὶ τούτων εὐχαριστίαν προπετοῦς  
 15 συγγραφῆς ποιεῖσθαι πρόφασιν, φόβῳ τὸν λόγον ἐχαλίνωσα. Νῦν δ' ἅτε  
 δικαίας καὶ οὐδὲ συγχωρούσης ἡρεμεῖν ἀνακινήσας ἡμᾶς αἰτίας,  
 ἀφοσιώσασθαι [C]τό τε χρέος καὶ τὸν πόθον ἐσπούδακα. Ἀξιοπιστότερος  
 δὲ πάντων ἂν εἴην, εἷς τε πίστιν τῶν λεχθησομένων καὶ εἰς τὸ καταιδέσαι  
 τοὺς ἀθέους, ἂν ἄρα βούλωνται. Πείρα γὰρ, ἡ φασι, τῶν λόγων βεβαιότερα.  
 20 Χριστὸς δέ μοι παρίτω μάρτυς, καὶ ὁ τούτου Πατὴρ, ὅτι μὴ ἀπεχθεία  
 τινῶν ἢ τῇ πρὸς ἐτέρους χάριτι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰμι λέξω. ἀλλὰ πρῶτους  
 μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους κατοικτιζόμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν ἡπατημένων τὸ πλήθος  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε μὴ ὀλοφυρόμενος, καὶ τρίτον προφυλακτήριόν τι βοήθημα  
 τοῖς ὅσον οὐπω ἐμπεσουμένοις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ τι ἀλεξητήριον  
 25 φάρμακον, συγκεράσαι ἐσπούδασα—προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κρίμα δεδιώς, εἰ  
 μήτε τὸ πάθος ἡμᾶς συμπαθεῖς κατεσκεύασεν—ἵν' εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, τοῦτο δὴ  
 καρποφορήσω τῷ λυτρωσαμένῳ καὶ σώσαντι τὴν ἐτέρων προφυλακὴν.  
 Μηδ' αὐτοὶ [D]δὲ ἡμῖν χαλεπαινέτωσαν, εἰ ἐξείπειν ὑπέμεινα ἅπερ αὐτοὶ  
 φρονεῖν οὐ πεφρίκασιν.

30 Ἄγε δὴ οὖν, εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν παρειαυκλήσωμεν τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἐπινοίας, αἷς κέχρηται κατὰ τῶν ἀθλίως ταῖς φονικαῖς αὐτῶν ἄρκυσιν  
 ἀλῶναι ἀρχομένων.

VOP 1 θερμότατον: θερμότερον O ἀρετῆς om. O; ἀρετῶν P εἰσβαλοῦσα P  
 2 δέ: γὰρ O ἔμελλεν P 3 καθοδηγήσας ante ἐν ἐρήμῳ transp. O κάμοι O  
 ξυνέμπορος P 4 ἀνῆκει V ἐγκάθετο V; ἐνεκατέθετο O 5 ἀπάσης P ἐμῆς  
 om. O ἀπεκάθαρων P 7 λοιπὴ om. P καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. O 8 ἀγνοήσαντες O  
 10 ἀπηνεγκάμην P παραδοθῆναι O 11 μὴ om. O ἀπ' ἀρχῆς: ἀπαρχῇ P  
 ἐκείνην post εἰπεῖν transp. O 12 παρητείσθω OP 13 παρητείσθω OP  
 14 μὴ om. O εὐχαριστήριον P 15 δ' ἅτε: δὲ αὐτὲ P; τε αὐτὲ O 16 οὐδὲ: οὔτε  
 δὲ O ἡμᾶς ante ἡρεμεῖν transp. P 17 τε om. O 18 ἂν om. P εἴην: ἦν V  
 20 παρήτω OP 21 πρῶτους: fort. πρῶτον 23 ὅτι P 24 ἀλεξητήριον VO  
 25 ἐσπούδακα P δεδειώς V 26 δὴ om. O

it filled me with a burning desire for virtue, a longing worthy of a solitary life  
 [undertaken] for its sake. How could he who led Israel in the desert fail to be my  
 companion, too, on my exodus? And when carrying me, he did not let me go,  
 until he put me into the hands of godly men, who not only cleansed the eye of  
 my soul from all that rheumy matter, but filled it with holy light, cleansing my  
 hands and my internal organs with the books of holy and wise men, from whom  
 they themselves had drawn truth and the rest of the virtues.

Would I not, then, justly incur the charge of the ultimate impiety before  
 right-minded people, if I dared to commit these events totally to silence? May  
 God and each God-loving person pardon the fact that I did not compose this  
 work of thanks at the very beginning, or at that very moment when, so to speak,  
 I was found worthy to see the light. I restrained my words, not through  
 ingratitude but out of fear, because I did not want to seem to make my gratitude  
 for these things the occasion of a rash broadside. But now, since there is a just  
 cause, and one which will not allow us to be silent, spurring us on, I have taken  
 pains to acquit myself of both need and desire. I should be more credible than  
 anyone, as far as the confirmation of what I shall say and the shaming of the  
 godless is concerned, if they were only willing [to listen]: experience, as they  
 say, is more reliable than words. May Christ and his Father come forward as  
 witnesses that I am not going to say these things out of spite towards anyone, or  
 out of favor towards others. First of all, I pity them [= the Nestorians]; secondly,  
 I always lament the number of those who have been deceived [by them]; and  
 thirdly, I have endeavored to prepare this work as a preventive help, like a  
 protective medication for those who have not yet succumbed. Besides, I am  
 afraid of the judgment, if the disease had not made us more able to sympathize  
 [with other sufferers]. If for nothing else, [I write this] to produce one fruit for  
 him who redeemed and saved [us]: the protection of others. And may they [the  
 Nestorians] not be resentful at us, if I have dared to speak out what they  
 themselves have not shrunk from thinking.

Come, then: let us wheel out on center-stage their arguments against the  
 truth; which they use against those who unfortunately are beginning to be  
 caught in their lethal snares.

α' Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν τοῦτο δράμα τῆς πονηρίας ἐπάξιον, ὅτι μὴδ' ὅλως τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ θεοσδότους δεχόμενοι διδασκάλους, πλὴν ὅτι μὴ Θεόδωρον καὶ Διόδωρον, τὰς πρώτας αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας πηγὰς, δέχεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ ὑποκρίνονται.

5 β' Καὶ μὴν ὅτι τὴν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον σύνοδον, καὶ ἀντ' ἄλλου [1361 Α] τινὸς δελεάσματος, τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις προτείνουσιν, οὐ φρονούντες μὲν κατ' αὐτὴν (οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ εἴ τινα ἄλλω τῶν πρωτείων τοῦ φρονεῖν κατ' αὐτῆς παραχωροῦσιν), ὅμως δ' αὐτὴν ὡς σεμνὸν προσωπεῖον τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δράματος ὑπείσερχόμενοι, λανθάνουσι τὰ πρῶτα τῆς  
10 ἐγχειρήσεως· ἀπαξ δὲ πείσαντες δέχεσθαι δῆθεν τὴν σύνοδον, ἣ δεχομένου γέ τινος λαβόμενοι; διαπυνθάνονται ὅποιον αὐτῷ σὺνηθές τε καὶ φίλον τῶν Πατέρων ἀσκεῖν· εἶτα, εἰ τύχοι, φήσας ὁ ἐρωτώμενος ἢ τὸν μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἰωάννην ἢ τοὺς δύο μεγάλους φωστῆρας—τοὺς Καππαδόκας φημί—ἢ τὸν φανότατον ἑωσφόρον Ἀθανάσιον, οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ  
15 γὰρ ὑπομένουσιν οὐδὲ αὐτὴν γε τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπαγγελίαν) ἀλλοιοῦσι μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅμως γε μὴν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐντυχίαν [Β] πλήξαι τὸν θηρώμενον καὶ ταύτη ἀποφοιτῆσαι, “Καλοὶ μὲν,” φασί, “καὶ οἱ Πατέρες οὗτοι, ἀλλ' οὐπω ἀμείνους τῶν ἡμεδαπῶν.” εἰ δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα διαπυνθάνοιτο, “Ἀνάγνωθι πρῶτον,” φασί, “καὶ τότε γνώσῃ τίνες  
20 τε καὶ ἡλίκοι τυγχάνουσιν, ὧν, ἄθλιε,” λέγοντες, “οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορίας εἴ τι μεμάθηκας.”

γ' Πολλὰς τε ἄλλας ὑπισχνούμενοι δωρεὰς καὶ συνάρσεις, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ βασιλέως, εἰ τύχοι χρήζων, εἰσόδους, τῶν ἐν τέλει τε τὴν πρώτην τιμὴν καὶ τῶν λογίων παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν συνδιαίτησιν (ὡς τῆς τῶν κακῶν  
25 ἀμετρίας!), οὐ πρότερον ἀπέχονται πρὶν αὐτοῖς ὑποπεσεῖν τὸν εἴτε ἀμαθίαν, εἴτε χρεῖαν, εἴτε κολακείαν, εἴτε ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν ὅσα παγιδεύειν οἶδε τοὺς μὴ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τηροῦντας καρδίαν.

[C] δ' Εἶτα ἐπειδ' ἂν ὑπὸ χεῖρα λάβοιεν καὶ πειθόμενον σχοῖεν ἐν οἷς βούλονται, εἰ μὲν μοναχὸς εἴη αὐτῶν τὸ θήραμα, ἐπὶ τε Ἑλληνικοὺς λόγους  
30 προτρέπονται, εἴ γε πρὸς τούτους ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων εὐρεθείη, καὶ

1. Their first act of wickedness worth mentioning is this: that though they do not accept any of the holy, God-given doctors of the Church at all, except for Theodore and Diodore, they pretend in words not to accept the first springs of their impiety [i.e. Paul of Samosata and Nestorius].

2. Then they hold out the great and well-attended Synod [Chalcedon], even before any other bait, to the simple, even though they do not think according to it (for I do not know if they yield first place in thinking *against* it to anyone else!), but they slip it on as a pious mask for their drama, and at the beginning of the charade they escape unnoticed. Once they have persuaded [their hearers] that they do accept the synod or they meet someone who does, they cross-examine him as to which of the Fathers he habitually and by preference studies. Then if perchance the one questioned should say the great “eye of the Church” John [Chrysostom], or the two great stars (I mean the Cappadocians), or the bright dawn-star Athanasius, they immediately alter their faces (for they cannot endure even the mention of these names), but nevertheless—so that the quarry might not be terrified at first meeting and so wander away—they say, “These Fathers are excellent too, but no better than ours.” And if their names are requested, they say, “Read [them] first, and then you will learn who they are and when they lived—these men,” they say, “of whom you, poor fellow, have never heard!”

3. Promising other gifts and forms of assistance, even access to the emperor, if one should need it, and the first rank in magistracies and contact with learned members of their company (Oh, the extent to which the wicked will go!), they do not stop until the victim falls before them, either through ignorance or poverty or flattery, or any other of the things that can trap those who do not guard their hearts with every precaution.

4. Then when they have taken him in hand and made him obedient in the way they wish, if the victim is a monk they turn him towards Greek literature, if he is considered apt for it; and

Scholion ad 18, ἡμεδαπῶν: ἐγχωρίων Ο (Σ<sup>π</sup>)

VOP 1 οὖν om. P ἐπάξιον: ἄξιον P 3 μὴ: μὴδὲ V; omittendum esse conj. Richard (REByz 5 [1947], 43, n.4) 5 καὶ<sup>3</sup> om. O 8 παραχωρήσουσιν O δὲ P 9 ὑπείσερχόμενοι P 10 δεχόμενοι P 14 φανώτατος V; φανώτατον O 15 ἐπαγγελίαν O 17 πλήξαι: fort. πηγήναι 19 διαπυνθάνοιτο: πυνθάνοιτο O 20 τε om. O 21 εἴτε om. O 22 ante ἄλλας add. καὶ V εἴτε<sup>2</sup>: ἢ O 28 σχοῖεν: ἔχοιεν V σχοῖεν ἐν om. O 29 τε om. O 30 post εὐρεθείη add. ὅτι εἰσὶ μισομόναχοι καὶ μισόκαλοι P

πόλλα τὴν τοῦ τάγματος ἀφέλειαν σκώψαντες, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ νηστεία, ἢ ἀγρυπνία, ἢ ἀναχώρησις (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν πρακτικὴν διαβάλλουσι, καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος πρὸς αὐτὴν δυσχεραίνουσιν), ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείψαι τὸ σχῆμα προτρέπονται, ὡς ἐμπόδιον τυγχάνον πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας.  
 5 κλήρω δὲ ἐγκαταλέγειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνούνται, ἢ ἄλλως πως συγκροτεῖν, μόνον εἰ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν γένοιτο μέτοχος. Εἰ δὲ κοσμικὸς εἴη, τὰς αὐτῷ ἀρμοττούσας ὑπισχνούνται δωρεὰς, οὐκ ἀληθεύοντες μὲν (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν κακοῖς μακάριον), ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀποβουκολοῦντες ταῖς ἐλπίσι, [D] κεχηγνέναι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζουσιν. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν εἰ  
 10 καὶ βραχὺς ὁ ἔλεγχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπεύγων ὁ χρόνος.

ε' Ἐνὸς δ' οὖν ἢ δευτέρου τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιμνησθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀμαθίας τετράψομαι διδάσκαλον. Θεωρήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὁσημέραι τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἀθῶν αὐτῶν δογμάτων καὶ τοῦ πρωτάρχου τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐν τοῖς πιστοῖς αὐξόμενον δίκαιον μῖσος, ὡς πικρόν τι  
 15 διανοοῦνται κατὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ζωῆς. Δράματι γὰρ δὴ φασὶ καὶ προσώπῳ ἡμῖν, "Ἐρρέτω Νεστόριος! Δογμάτων δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔσται πατήρ, ὁ κακείνου πατήρ γεγονώς." [1364 A] Ταῦτα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς στήσαντες, καὶ ἀρίστην ταύτην σφίσι καταθέμενοι βουλὴν, Θεόδωρον ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς πιστοῖς προῖσχονται.

20 σ' Τὸ δὲ τούτων θαυμασιώτερον, καὶ περ παρελθεῖν θέλων, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομαι. Τὴν γὰρ τῶν Μανιχαίων ἐξηλωκότες πανουργίαν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξήν), ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους "ἐκλεκτοὺς" καὶ "ἀδιαφόρους," οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι καταδιεῖλον ἑαυτοὺς εἰς  
 25 πολλοῦ ποιουμένους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνον μὲν ἀναθεματίζοντας, ὑποκρινομένους δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κοινωνίαν. Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐ πέπλασταί μοι, μαρτυρεῖ ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν ἔφορος. Καὶ γὰρ τινος τῶν γνησίων ἀναγκαζομένου παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐγγράφεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ οὕτω φρικτὸν τόλμημα  
 30 ὀκνηρότερον εἶδον, "Τίλυπῃ," φασίν, [B] "εἰ τῇ μὲν Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς πραιτωρίῳ χρήσαιο καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς στρατιᾷ, τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἔχοις τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀσπάζοις;" Ἐκείνου δὲ εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ διαπορουμένου, καὶ ἀδύνατον

VOP usque ad 22 (ἐκείνοι); deinde VP (lacuna in O) 1 τάγματος: πράγματος O  
 3 μέχρι P 4 τυγχάνον: ὄν O 5 ἐγκαταλέγειν: καταλέγειν O πως  
 συγκροτεῖν: ἐπισυγκροτεῖν P 7 τοῦτο: τοῦ O 9 κεχηγνέναι P 10 ὁ  
 om. O καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. O 11 ἐνός: ἐν P δευτέρον P τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς om. O  
 ἐπιμνησθεῖς: μνησθεῖς P 12 αὐτοί: οὗτοι P 13 τὸ: τὰ P 14 αὐξόμενον:  
 αὐξούμενον O 15 αὐτῶν: ἑαυτῶν V ζωῆς. Δράματι γὰρ: ζωῆς δράμα. τί γὰρ O  
 προσώπου O 16 ἔρρέτω: αἰρέτων O 17 ὁ κακείνου πατήρ om. O  
 21 ἐξηλωκότες: ζηλώσαντες P 22 βιοτεύειν O 30 ἴδον V 31 στρατεία P  
 ἔχεις V 32 τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν om. P

they make much ridicule of the simplicity of monastic life, and urge that fasting and watching and solitude are worth nothing (for they calumniate the life of practical virtue, and are disgusted even with the name of it), and urge him to change his habit, as something which stands in the way of this world's wisdom; and they promise to enroll him in the clergy or help him along in some other way, if only he becomes a participant in their impiety. But if he is a layman, they promise him gifts that suit his station, not speaking the truth (for that, to them, is the real bliss of wickedness), but still leading him astray with hopes, and [so] they force him to gape at them in amazement. If my indictment on these charges has been brief, it is because time is pressing.

5. Having recalled one or the other fact about them, I turn now to the great teacher of their foolishness. For since they see day by day the growing and justified hatred of their godless teachings and of the originator of their impiety among the faithful, they contrive a bitter blow against their way of life. For they say to us, in a kind of stage drama, "Away with Nestorius! He who was his father shall be father of the same teachings." And when they have agreed on this among themselves, and have made what they think is the best plan in this way, they offer the faithful Theodore in his place.

6. Although I would like to pass over a point yet more remarkable than these, I may not do so. They imitate the villainies of the Manicheans (for they cannot live any other way), and just as they [are divided] into the so-called "elect" and the "indifferent," so these divide themselves into the party which admires Nestorius and highly values communion with him, and those who anathematize him and pretend to be in communion with the Church. The ruler of all that is hidden will bear witness that this has not been fabricated by me. For when a friend of mine was pressed by them both to be in communion with them and to be admitted into the clergy of the [Orthodox] Church, and they saw he was reluctant to do such a fearful and bold thing, they said: "What harm can there be, if you use the Church as your Praetorium and the clergy as your army, but share our faith and welcome communion with us?" When he continued to be in doubt about this, and said it was impossible

εἶναι φάσκοντος καὶ αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν καὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, “Οὐ δεῖ σε,” φασί,  
 “τῇ τοιαύτῃ δυσχεραίνειν οἰκονομία· τοῦ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς πιπρασκομένου  
 ἄρτου, καὶ ὧν οἱ Φιλομαριαμίται προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Μαρίας,  
 πλείονος τετύχηκεν εὐλογίας ὁ εἰς τύπον τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 5 προκείμενος ἄρτος;”

ζ' Καιρὸς δὲ ἤδη τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτῶν διδασκάλου Θεοδώρου  
 διεξελθεῖν ἐγκώμια· τοῦτον γὰρ φασιν εἶναι ἐκείνον, ὃν ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης,  
 [C] ἄτε καὶ τῆς προθέσεως ἐκπεπτωκότα καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν  
 ἐξομολογούμενον, δυσὶν ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς περὶ κάλοις ἰσχυροῖς τε καὶ εὐμήκεσιν,  
 10 εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ἐμπεσόντα τῆς ἀκολασίας ἀνασπάσαι ἐσπούδασεν.

η' Τοῦτόν φασιν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα καὶ οὐ πλείονας ἄγοντα χρόνους  
 κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παροινῆσαι Γραφῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως καλέσαιμι ἂν τὰς  
 αὐτοῦ ἐρμηνείας, τὰς εἰς τὰς θείας συντεθειμένας Γραφάς.

θ' Τοῦτον ὡσαύτως φασιν, ἀρπάσαι θελήσαντα τὸν τῆς Κιλικίων  
 15 ὀφθαλμὸν τὴν Ταρσὸν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας  
 ἀρχηγέτης γενόμενος καὶ πατὴρ Διόδωρος τὸν τῇδε μετήλλαξε βίον, ὁ  
 τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων Θεόφιλος κωλύει τοῦ τολμήματος· πρὸς αὐτὸν γὰρ  
 ἐστείλαντο πρεσβεῖαν οἱ τυραννοῦμενοι.

[D] ι' Οὗτος ὁ βδελυρὸς ἐν τῇ μεγαλυνύμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς πάλαι μὲν  
 20 Ἀντιόχου, νῦν δὲ Θεοῦ πόλεως καλουμένης ἐξηγησάμενος, ἐτόλμησεν  
 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, καὶ τὴν “Θεοτόκος” δυσφημῆσαι φωνήν· ὥς ὅλον ἐντεῦθεν  
 καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ συγκινῆσαι τὸν δῆμον.

ια' Οὗτος ὁ μιαρὸς, ἐπὶ πάσης παρεξηγήσεως τῶν θείων Γραφῶν,  
 σκώπτων καὶ διασύρων τοὺς πόρους τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς κεκμηκότων ἱερῶν  
 25 διδασκάλων [1365 A] οὐκ ἐπαύσατο. Ἔοικα δὲ γελοῖον πάσχειν, ὡς ὁ  
 μέγας ἔφη Βασίλειος, ἐκ ῥαπίσματος διευθύνων τὸν ἀνδροφόνον. Ἀλλ’ ἄγε  
 δὴ μετάβηθι, καὶ τὸν ἔσω κόσμον ἄεισον, καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατον, τὸν τῆς ἀσεβείας λέγω μυχόν, ἐπόπτευσον. Οὐκ  
 30 ἐξορχήσομαι μὲν, ἦ φασιν, ἀνακαλύψω δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀθεότητος μυστὰ  
 δόγματα. Δυσχεραίνεται δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις μηδεῖς, ὅτι μὴ τῶν  
 κακῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἀρχηγοί,

3 Φιλομαριαμίται: cf. Epiphanius, Panarion 79.1 (GCS Epiphanius 3.475f.)  
 7-9 Ἰωάννης ... ἐσπούδασεν: Joannes Chrysostomus, Ad Theodorum I-II (SC 117)  
 25-6 (ἔοικα ... ἀνδροφόνον): Basilios Caesariensis, Contra Eunomium 2.4 (SC 305.104)  
 29 ἐξορχήσομαι: cf. Lucianus, De saltatione 15; Piscator 33

VP usque ad 12 (κατὰ); deinde VOP 2 πιπρασκομένου: πωλουμένου P 3 ὧν: ὃν V  
 12 ἂν om. P 13 συντεθειμένας: συντεταγμένας P 16 γενόμενος ante  
 ἀρχηγέτης transp. P 18 ἐστείλαντο: ἐπεστείλαντο O 17-18 πρὸς ...  
 τυραννοῦμενοι om. P 20 ἐξηγούμενος V Θεοτόκον O δυσφημεῖν V  
 23 παρεξηγήσεως τῶν θείων Γραφῶν: ἀγίων Γραφῶν παρεξηγήσεως P 25 γελοῖον:  
 γε λοιπὸν V ὡς om. P 27 αἶσον O αὐτοῖς: αὐτῷ OP πολλοῖς: λοιποῖς O  
 28 μυχόν: μοιχόν O 29 μυστὰ V; μιστὰ P 30 ἐπὶ: ἐν O

to be in communion both with them and with the Church, they said, “You mustn’t be dissatisfied with this sort of arrangement. Does the bread which is offered as a symbol of the body of Christ obtain any greater blessing than the bread sold in the market, or the loaves that the Philomarianites offer in Mary’s name?”

7. Now it is time to recount the praises of their “great teacher Theodore”: for that is what they say he is, whom the great John, after he [Theodore] had fallen away from his commitment and forsworn his profession, tried to draw up from the pit of lawlessness where he had fallen by two letters, like strong, long ropes.

8. They say that he was only eighteen years old, and no more, when he began his drunken insults of the holy Scriptures; for I would not refer to his interpretations composed about the sacred Scriptures in any other way.

9. Similarly, they say that when he wanted to capture Tarsus, the “eye of Cilicia,” after Diodorus, who had been the leader and father of his evils and impiety, had departed this life, it was Theophilus of Alexandria who prevented him from [achieving] this daring act; for those who were about to live under his tyranny had sent an embassy to him.

10. This villain, when he was expounding the Scriptures in the renowned Church of that city once called after Antiochus, but now after God, dared—among many other things—to attack the title “Theotokos”; as a result, he stirred up the whole populace against himself.

11. In all his misconceived exposition of the holy Scriptures, this defiled creature did not stop mocking and disparaging the labors of those holy doctors who had toiled over them. “I would seem to be in a ridiculous state,” as the great Basil said, “if I tried to correct a murderer with a slap in the face.” But come, change course, sing the praises of the inner world, and cast an eye on what is unmentionable to them [i.e., the Antiochene party] and inaccessible to the masses; I mean their inner chamber of irreverence. I shall not “dance secrets out,” as they say, but I shall reveal the execrable teachings of godlessness. Let no one blame us for what we say, for we are not the originators of the evil you are about to hear,

μηδὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἡμεῖς τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις δεδώκαμεν· πολλὰ γὰρ βίβλοι φέρουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄθεα τελεστήρια, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ Θεῷ σιγῇ καὶ σκότῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκαλυφθῆναι τῆς ἀσεβείας μυστήρια. Νῦν δ' οὐ γὰρ ἵνα κακῶν μαθητὰς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν δεινῶν  
 5 ἀπαλλάξαιμι, εἰς τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἐμαυτὸν καθήκα, [B] αὐτὸς τε προτροπάδην αὐτοὺς φεύγων καὶ πᾶσι μέγα βοῶν· “Φεύγετε, ὦ οὗτοι, φεύγετε, κρημνῶν καὶ βαράθρων τῇλε φεύγετε, τῶν πάσῃ μεμολυσμένων αἰρέσει ἀθέων διδαγμάτων τὰς βίβλους φεύγετε!”

ιβ' Οὗτος ὁ σοφὸς, ὡς ἂν οἱ τοῦτον ζηλοῦντες φαῖεν, καὶ μέγας Θεόδωρος, ἐπειδὴ μικρὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγώνισμα, κατ' αὐτῆς ἐγχειρεῖ καὶ τολμᾷ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δόξης, πάσας μὲν τὰς κατ' ἔμπνευσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν θεηγόρων ὑψηλὰς ταπεινῶς ἐκλαμβάνων Γραφὰς, ἀποκρίνων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοκρίτου τῶν ἱερῶν βίβλων ἀριθμοῦ.

ιγ' Τόν τε μέγαν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεράποντα καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἔμψυχον καὶ [C] δι' αἰῶνος ἀνάγραφτον στήλην, τὸν Ἰώβ, δυσὶ περὶ πονυρίασι στίχων πλύνων καὶ διαγραφόμενος τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος συγγραφὴν, ἦν ὁ μέγας Ἰάκωβος ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν καθολικῇ Ἐπιστολῇ βεβαιῶν ἔλεγεν· “Τὴν ὑπομονὴν Ἰώβ ἡκούσατε, καὶ τὸ τέλος Κυρίου εἶδετε.” Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν οὐδὲ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἡκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τέλος  
 20 ἱστορήσαμεν, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν Γραφῆς.

ιδ' Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν αὐτὴν τε, οἶμαι, τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰακώβου τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκηρύττει Καθολικὰς. Οὐ γὰρ ἔρκει αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς Παλαιᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν Γραφῆς, τὴν Μαρκίωνος ἐξηλωκὸτι ἀσεβείαν, ἀλλ' ἔδει καὶ κατὰ τῆς Νέας αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήσασθαι, ἵν' ἡ  
 25 περιφανέστερα αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ τοῦ παρακλήτου Πνεύματος ἀγωνία.

[D] ιε' Τὰς τε ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ἱερωτάτων Ὑμνων καὶ Ψαλμῶν καὶ Ὡδῶν πάντῃ ἐκβαλὼν, τοὺς πάντας Ψαλμοὺς Ἰουδαϊκῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ζοροβάβελ καὶ Ἐζεκιάν ἀνέθηκε, τρεῖς μόνους τῷ Κυρίῳ προσρίψας.

ισ' Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἁγιώτατον τῶν Ἀσμάτων Ἄσμα παρὰ  
 30 πάντων μὲν θεοσόφων, παρὰ πάντων δὲ ὑμνούμενον Χριστιανῶν, ταῖς δὲ

nor have we given cause for what will be said; for many books tell of their godless mysteries, although I myself would pray to God that such mysteries of impiety as these be covered with silence and darkness. But now I have set myself to relate these things, not to make you disciples of evil, but to deliver you from terrors, that I may set them headlong in flight and cry out loudly to all: “Flee, all of you, flee, flee far from the cliffs and the pits—flee the books of godless teaching, defiled with every heresy!”

12. This “wise and great Theodore,” as his admirers call him, since it means little to him to struggle against men, attempts and dares [an attack] on the glory of the Spirit, understanding all the exalted writings of the inspired sacred writers in a lowly way, and separating them from the providentially assigned number of the sacred books.

13. The great servant of God and the living, eternally famous monument of courage, Job, he has scrubbed clean of about twenty thousand lines, and crossed out the writing of the Spirit about him, which the great James confirms in his catholic Epistle when he says, “You have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the purpose of the Lord.” For we have not heard of his patience or learned of his end, except from the book about him.

14. For this same reason, I think, he bans the epistle of the great James and the rest of the other catholic epistles. For it was not enough for him to fight against the Old Testament, in imitation of Marcion's impiety, but he had to fight also against the New, so that his struggle with the Spirit, our Advocate, might be more notable still.

15. Completely rejecting the inscriptions of the holy hymns and psalms and odes, he attributes them all—in Jewish fashion—to the circles around Zerubbabel and Hezekiah, allowing the Lord only three.

16. Even the Canticle of Canticles, the holiest of holy songs, praised by all godly men and all Christians,

VOP 2 τελεστήρια: μυστήρια V<sup>ac</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς P 3 εὐξαίμην: ηὐξαίμην O  
 4 δὲ P 5 αὐτὸς τε: καὶ αὐτὸς P 7 κρημνῶν... φεύγετε om. O τῇλε: μακρὰν V<sup>ant</sup>;  
 τῶνδε P 8 αἰρέσεις V<sup>ac</sup> 9 οὗτος: αὐτὸς O ἂν om. V φαίην P 10 ante  
 ἀνθρώπων add. τῶν O 12 ταπεινὰς O 14 τε: δὲ O ἀνδρίας P 15 μυριάσι:  
 χιλιάσι V<sup>ant</sup> (Torres), fort. recte 18 ἴδετε VO οὐ: οὐδὲ O 19 οὐδὲ: ἢ P  
 αὐτὸν: αὐτῇ O 20 ἱστορήκαμεν P 24 ἐγχειρήσασθαι: ἐγχειρήσαι P;  
 ἀγωνίσασθαι V ἵνα V 25 παρακλήτου: ἁγίου V 26 ἱερωτάτων: ἱερατικῶν P



ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις γνωριζόμενον, θαυμαζόμενον δὲ καὶ πρὸς “τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ” Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ τὴν πορνικὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμην καὶ γλώσσαν, ἐκλαβὼν ὁ θρασὺς καὶ ἀμέτρητος τὴν τόλμαν, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων βιβλίων ἀπέτεμεν.

- 5 [1368 A] ἰζ' Καὶ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλε δράσειν ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεργήσας, τῆς ἀσεβείας εὐρετής τε καὶ πατήρ; Τὰς γοῦν Παραλειπομένας ὡσαύτως, κακῶ κακὸν προστιθεὶς, πρῶτην τε καὶ δευτέραν, Ἑσδραν τε πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις, ἐξέβαλεν.

- 10 ἡ' Ἀρ' οὖν ταῖς μὲν θείαις Γραφαῖς ἐγχειρεῖ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτέρων κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ εὐδόκιμον ἀποφέρεται, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων ἀπέχεται, καὶ παραχωρεῖ ἄλλοις τῆς γοῦν ἐν τούτοις πάλης καὶ νίκης; Οὐ μένουσιν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, ὡς ᾤετο, ὁ κατὰ τῶν θεοπνεύστων αὐτῷ Γραφῶν ἄθλος ἐκτετέλεστο καὶ διήνυστο, δεύτερον ἐξανύει διάυλον, τῷ πρῶτῳ παρισούμενον· καὶ ἵνα τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐγχειρῶν μὴ κάμνη, πρὸς 15 τὴν πρῶτην στοιχείωσιν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἴσταται καὶ τὸ θεοποιὸν σύμβολον [B] τῶν ἀναγεννωμένων διαγράφεται—τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ φημι πίστιν—οὐκ ἀκρωτηριάζων αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν καὶ τέλεον ἀποσκευαζόμενος, καὶ παραδιδούς παρ' ἐκείνην ἑτέραν, μηδὲν λογισάμενος τοὺς τηλικούτους φωστήκας, οὐδὲ φρίξας πρὸς τὸ τολμηρὸν 20 τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως. Ἅτερον γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐκτίθεται πίστεως (μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστίας!) σύμβολον, μετὰ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πίστιν πιστεύειν γράψας “καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,” τέταρτον πρόσωπον ἐπεισάγων τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι καὶ καταδιαίρων εἰς δύο πρόσωπα τὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀληθινῷ 25 Υἱῷ τὰ θεία προσνέμων καὶ τὴν ἄνω γέννησιν, τῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ Χριστῷ τὰ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, [C] καὶ πρό γε τούτων τὴν ἐκ Παρθένου γέννησιν.

- 30 ἰθ' Τολμᾷ καὶ ἕτερον κακὸν, τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ δεύτερον· ἀναφορὰν γὰρ σχεδιάζει ἑτέραν παρὰ τὴν πατρώθεν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παραδεδομένην, μήτε τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων αἰδεσθεὶς, μήτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι συγγραφείσαν, λόγου τινὸς κρίνων ἀξίαν· ἐν ᾗ ἀναφορᾷ βλασφημιῶν (οὐ γὰρ εὐχῶν) τὴν τελετὴν ἀπεπλήρωσεν. Ἀρ' οὖν τίς

recognized by the churches throughout the inhabited world, admired even by the Jews, the “enemies of the cross of Christ”—[even this] he has seized on in his adulterous thought and language, bold and boundlessly daring as he is, and excised from the holy books.

17. And what would the inventor and father of wickedness, who acts in him, not do? Adding crime to crime, he has similarly thrown out the first and second books of Paraleipomenon, and the book of Ezra, in addition to the aforesaid books.

18. Well, then, does he attack the holy Scriptures and destroy the good reputation of the most celebrated achievements of the Spirit, but hold back from secondary things and leave the fight and the victory in such things to others? Not a bit! For since, as he thinks, his struggle against the inspired Scriptures is finished and over, he begins a second contest, equal to the first; and so that he should not tire himself by attacking the details one by one, he takes a stand against the first teaching of Christianity and writes off the God-given Symbol of the reborn—I mean the creed of Nicaea; he does not simply mutilate it, but does away with it totally and utterly, offering another one in its place, taking no account of the venerable luminaries [who composed it], nor shrinking from the daring of such an attack. He proposes, as I say, another Symbol of Faith—rather, of unbelief!—writing, after belief in God the Father and the Only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, that he believes “also in the Lord Jesus Christ.” [Thus] he introduces a fourth person into the Holy Trinity and divides the characteristics of our one Christ and God into two persons, and attributes divine actions and supernatural birth to the true God, while attributing human things and things befitting a man, and first of all birth from the Virgin, to Christ as a separate individual.

19. He dares another outrage, too, which does not take second place to those we have mentioned. For he has improvised a Eucharistic prayer, different from the one handed down to the churches from the Fathers, neither respecting the anaphora of the Apostles nor considering that of the great Basil, which is written in the same Spirit, as worthy of account. With this anaphora of blasphemies (not of prayers, after all!), he has carried out the sacraments of initiation. Well, is it worth

## 2 Phil. 3.18

|                                    |                                  |                            |                           |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| VOP                                | 1 post γνωριζόμενον add. θαῦμα O | 2 πρὸς: πρὸ P              | τοῦ Χριστοῦ om. O         |
| 3 γλώτταν OP                       | 4 ἄμετρος V                      | βιβλίων P                  | 5 δράσειν: πράττειν O     |
| 9 θείαις om. P                     | 10 κατὰ om. P                    | 12 θεοπνεύστων: θεοσόφων P | 13 ἄεθλος V               |
| 14 κάμνει O                        | 17 ἀκρωτηριάζων V <sup>cop</sup> | 19 οὐδὲ: οὐ P              | 22 καὶ <sup>3</sup> om. P |
| 24 ante δύο add. τὰ P              | τὰ om. O                         | 25 ἰδίως P                 | 26 ἀνθρωπρεπῇ P           |
| ante ἀνθρώπινα add. τὰ O           | τούτων: τούτου V                 | ante Παρθένου add. τῆς O   | 28 οὐ                     |
| δεύτερον: οὐδέτερον O <sup>c</sup> | 30 δὲ om. O                      |                            |                           |

ἕτερος Ἀντίχριστος προσδοκᾶσθαι ἔτι ἄξιός ἐστι, οὕτω τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μισῶν τε καὶ παρακινεῖν πειρώμενος; Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. Ἀπόχρη γὰρ, φημί, καὶ οὗτος ἐν πᾶσι τὸν ἐκείνου ἀποπληρῶσαι τόπον καὶ τρόπον.

κ' Ἄκουε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἕτερα, ὧν μήτε ἀκοῦσαι καλὸν τε καὶ  
5 εὐκταϊότατον [D]ήν. Τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀγίαις  
δοξαζομένην Γραφαῖς καὶ διαβεβοημένην, ἧς οὐδ' οἱ μακρὰν τῆς  
Χριστιανῶν θεοσοφίας ἀπεριήχρητοι μεμενήκασιν, τὴν μόνην καὶ τῶν  
ἐστώτων ἰδρυσιν καὶ τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀνόρθωσιν, τῶν τε ἡμαρτηκότων  
10 φάρμακον καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἄξιον τέλος καὶ ἐντελὲς ἀνταπόδομα, ἣν οὐδὲ  
ὁ διάβολος καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἀρνήσασθαι ὑπέμειναν, λέγοντες τῷ Σωτῆρι,  
"Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ἥλθες πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;"  
τὴν τε γέενναν καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τὸν βρυγμὸν τῶν ὀδόντων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
ὅσα ἡπείληται καὶ ἡτοίμασται τοῖς ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς, γελᾷ ὁ  
δεῖλαιος, οὗτ' αὐτὸς αὐτὴν προσδοκῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκελευόμενος  
15 [1369 A] μὴ δεδιέναι φόβον, ὡς αὐτὸς μόνος οἶεται, ἀπειλὴν μόνον ἔχοντα.  
Αἶ, αἶ! Ἡ πείρα δ' αὐτὸν πείσει, ἐπειδὴ ἀπειλὴ μὴ πεφόβηκε, καὶ ταῦτα  
γραφῇ παραδοῦναι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ὄντως ἄφοβος, ὁ καταγελῶν σεισμῷ  
πυρφόρου—οὗ "ἀντανήρηται," κατὰ τὸν διάβολον, "τὰ κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ἀπὸ προσώπου"—τετόλμηκεν.

20 κα' Διὰ ταῦτά σε ἀγαπῶσιν, ὦ δέιλαιε, οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς σοι μερίδος· τοῦτο  
αὐτοῖς τοῦ θείου φόβου ἀνταναιρετικὸν φάρμακον, πικρὸν ὄντως καὶ  
δακρῶν ἄξιον, συγκεκέρakas. Αὕτη ἡ Εὐνομίου δυσσέβεια ἦν ἐξήλωσας,  
περὶ οὗ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν ἄπιστα, ἕως (ὡς μή ποτε ὠφελε) ταῖς σαῖς βίβλοις  
ταῦτα ἐνετάγη· καὶ τὸν εἰπόντα Εὐνόμιον διδόναι τόπον τοῖς πάθεσι, [B]  
25 καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τῷ νῦν πράγματα, ἢ σὴ διδασκαλία ὑπερηκόντισεν.

κβ' Σὺς μαθητὴς Βαρσουμάς, ὃς τὴν Περσῶν ἐκδεδιήτηκε τοῖς τε  
δόγμασι τῆς ἀθεότητος καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ἀδιαφορίᾳ, νομοθετήσας μὴδὲ  
τῶν ἱεραρχουμένων τινὰ, μὴ ὅτι λαϊκῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι κοίτης ἀθέσμου καὶ  
πολυγαμιῶν. τὰς γὰρ μέθας καὶ τοὺς κώμους δῶρα εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε  
30 Θεοῦ.

11 Matt. 8.29 18-19 Ps. 9.26 (LXX) 24-5 cf. Eunomius, *Apologeticus* 17 (SC 305)

VOP 3 οὗτος: αὐτὸς O ἅπασιν V ἀποπληρῶσαι: πληρῶσαι O 6 δοξαζομένην  
Γραφαῖς καὶ διαβεβοημένην: διαβεβοημένην Γραφαῖς VO 8 ἀνόρθωσιν: ἔγερσιν O  
9 τέλος καὶ om. O καὶ ἐντελὲς ἀνταπόδομα om. V οὐδὲ: δὲ O 11 σοί: σὺ VO  
Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ om. O 12 τὰ ἄλλα: τὰλλα O 13 καὶ ἡτοίμασται om. V  
15 δεδεῖναι V μόνος: μὲν V; μόνον O μόνον: μόνην P 16 αἶ, αἶ: αἶ, αἶ O; ἀλλ' P  
δ' om. P 17 ὁ: καὶ ὄντως VO 18 ἀνταναιρεῖται O 19 τετόλμηκεν om. V  
20 ὦ δέιλαιε: οἱ δέιλαιοι O οἱ om. O 23 ποτε: πώποτε V ὠφειλε O  
24 ἐνεπάγη O ante διδόναι add. δεῖ P 26 ὃς om. O 28 post ὅτι add. γε P  
λαϊκῶν V post ἀθέσμου add. νομοθετήσας P 29 τὰς κώμας P εἶναι om. O  
ὑπολαμβάνει P

waiting for any other Antichrist, who so hates the interests of Christ and tries to overthrow them? I don't think so. He is sufficient, I say, to fulfill that person's place and role in every way.

20. Hear the other things about him, which it is neither good nor desirable to hear. The judgment of God, proclaimed in all the holy Scriptures, which even those who are far from the divine wisdom of the Christians have heard of—the single act of establishing those who stand and raising up those who have fallen, the medicine of sinners and the just end and complete requital of the devil, which neither the devil nor the demons dared to deny, saying to the Savior, "What is there between us and you, Jesus, Son of God? Have you come before the time to torture us?" Gehenna and darkness and the gnashing of teeth, and all the things which are threatened and prepared for the wicked and sinners—these the wretch scoffs at, not expecting it for himself, and telling the rest not to fear a terror which is, as he alone supposes, a mere threat. Alas! Alas! Experience will teach him, since the threat has not struck him with terror, and since the impious, truly fearless one who laughs at the fiery earthquake—from whose face, like the devil's, God's judgments are removed—has dared to put these things in writing.

21. These are the reasons, you wretch, why those who belong to your faction love you! You have prepared for them this drug that destroys the fear of God—truly a bitter medicine, worthy of tears. This is the impiety of Eunomius which you emulate; reports about him seemed unbelievable until (as never should have happened!) these things were set out in your books. And your teaching has even outdone Eunomius, who taught that we should give place to the passions but not trouble the mind with practical things.

22. Your disciple was Barsaumas, who led the Persian kingdom astray with the teachings of godlessness and the promiscuity of his life, legislating that no member of the clergy, to say nothing of the laity, need abstain from illegitimate sexual union or polygamy; for he held orgies and drinking-bouts to be gifts of God.

κγ' Τὰς σὰς μεταβαλόντες συντάξεις εἰς τὴν Χαλδαίων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων φωνὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν, οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς σοι φατρίας τῆς Ἀρείου ἀσεβείας ἀθεωτέραν τοῖς ἔθνεσι παραδεδώκασιν αἵρεσιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ζηλῶσαι ἐσπουδάκασιν οἱ τῶν Ἀρείου θιάσων, πλὴν ὅσον οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐσπερίους  
5 βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἑώους, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἕκαστος ἀσέβειαν [C] προσηγάγετο.

κδ' Μικρά σοι ταῦτα; Σὺ δέ μοι προστίθει καὶ τὴν πεπλασμένην Ἀδὰμ παράβασιν, ἣν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔπαθεν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος αὐτῷ εὐπροφάσιστον ἀρχὴν ἔχων, τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἡμαρτηκότος μὲν,  
10 σεσυκοφαντημένου δὲ, ἀδικωτάτην καὶ δίκην καὶ ἔξοριαν. Οὐ γὰρ ταύτης σοι ἔνεκεν τῆς τῶν κακῶν ῥίζης, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβείας καὶ πονηρίας, ὁ Χριστὸς ἦλθε, τό τε πεπλανημένον πρόβατον τὸν Ἀδὰμ, τῆς τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀποσπασθὲν συννομή, ὡς καλὸς σῶσαι καὶ ἐπιστρέφει ποιμήν.

15 κε' Πρόσθε, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τοὺς τῷ σκότῳ τῷ σῷ συνδημιουργηθέντας ἀγγέλους· οὐ γὰρ ἀξιόχρεώς σοι τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως ἐξηγητῆς ὁ ἱεροψάλτης [D] πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐν Πνεύματι τὴν λύραν ἀνακρουόμενος, "Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα." Τὸ γὰρ "ποιῶν," τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος χρόνου ὃν σημείον, τὸν  
20 παρεληλυθότα Γραφικῶ ἰδιώματι δηλοῖ, ὡς εὐθέως γε ἐπάγων διδάσκει, "Ὁ θεμελιῶν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς"—τουτέστιν ὁ θεμελιώσας. Οὔτε μὴν αἱ ἄλλαι σε τῶν Γραφῶν ἀγγελοφάνειαι καταιδούσι, φῶς τε φαινόμεναι καὶ ἀστραπὰς ἀποστίλβουσαι.

[1372 A] κς' Πρόσθε καὶ τὸ Μανιχαίων οὐσιῶδες σκότος, πρῶτόν σοι  
25 τῆς ὁρατῆς κτίσεως, ἢ ἀγενήτως παρυποστάν, ἢ παρὰ Θεοῦ γενόμενον.

κζ' Κἀκεῖνο δὲ ἀσόφως σοφίζου, τὸν τοῦ διαβόλου Ἀντίχριστον μὴ κολασθήσεσθαι λέγων, φθαρθήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀναλυθήσεσθαι, ἵνα ἔλθῃ καλὸν ἐκ κακοῦ τοῖς ψυχαῖς, ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἤμελλον ἔχειν (ἢ γὰρ κρίσις σοι ἀνήρηται)—οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
30 ἀπολαύσεως, οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ ἀρρήτου πρὸς Θεὸν πόθου, ἐκ δὲ μόνης τῆς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παντελοῦς φθορᾶς, καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀναλύσεως.

12-14 ὁ Χριστὸς ... πρόβατον cf. Luc. 15-45; Joan. 10.11 17-19 Ps. 103.4 (LXX)  
21 Ps. 103.5 (LXX, cod. A) 28 (ἵνα ... κακοῦ): sententia proverbialis, ut videtur

VOP 1 μεταβάλλοντες O 2 γλῶτταν P 7 σὺ σοὶ O 8 λαβὼν λαθὼν P  
9 μὲν om O 10 καὶ δίκην: κρίσιν P 10-14 οὐ γὰρ ... ποιμήν ut quaestio a  
Torres et Mai interpretatur 12 τε om. V 13 τὸν om. O 14 ὑποστρέφει O  
17 ante ἱεροψάλτης add. δὲ O ante πρὸς add. καὶ P; πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν om. O 19 ὄν  
ων O 20 εὐθύς P γε: τε P 21 ἐπὶ ... αὐτῆς om. VO 22 ἀγγελοφανίαι O  
23 ἀποστίλβουσι V 25 παρὰ: ὑπὸ P 27 μὴ om. O τὸ om. O 28 ἵν' P  
29 ἔμελλον ... σοι om. P 30 οὐδ': οὐκ OP

23. In translating your works into the language and tongue of the Chaldaeans and Armenians, the members of your own brotherhood have handed on to the pagans a heresy more godless than that of Arius; for the members of Arius's coterie endeavored to achieve this, too, except that each party made converts to its own brand of irreligion, one group the western barbarians and the other the easterners.

24. Is this a small matter for you? Then add, I pray you, [your notion of] the fabricated sin of Adam, which he received from God's hands, so that the world might come to have a plausible cause for belonging to him: the unjust condemnation and exile of one who had not sinned, but had been falsely accused. In your eyes, it was not because of this root of evil, and the rest of the impiety and wickedness of the men who followed, that Christ came, as the good shepherd, to save and lead back Adam—the wandering sheep who had become separated from the pasture of the hundred.

25. Add, if you wish, the angels, created along with your darkness. For the sacred Psalmist does not count, for you, as an adequate exponent of their nature, when he strikes his lyre for God, in the Spirit, [and says], "who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers flames of fire." For "makes," which is a word in the present tense, in the scriptural idiom signifies the past, as he immediately shows by adding, "who establishes the earth"—that is, "who established." Nor indeed do the other appearances of angels in the Scriptures put you to shame, where they appear as light and flash forth lightning.

26. Add also the essential darkness of the Manichees, according to you the first [being] of visible creation, which either exists alongside God without beginning, or comes forth from God.

27. And add this piece of foolish wisdom: saying that the devil's Antichrist will not be punished, but will be destroyed and dissolved into non-being, so that good for souls may come from evil, the fear of God, which they would not have had from any other source (for you have abolished the judgment!)—not from the enjoyment of good things, nor from their natural and ineffable longing for God, but only from the complete destruction of the Antichrist, and from his dissolution into non-being.

[B] κη' Δίδου δὲ καὶ τῆς δημιουργίας καὶ τῆς προνοίας, οὐχ ὅσον ἐστὶν εἶναι ἐκ Θεοῦ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐ χρησίμων παρεισῆχθαι, παρακολουθήματα καὶ παρασυμβάματα ὄντα τῶν οὐ χρησίμων παρεισῆχθαι, παρακολουθήματα καὶ παρασυμβάματα ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων, οὐκ ἐκ Θεοῦ βουλομένου γινόμενα, 5 τῇ δὲ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπόμενα καὶ μὴ κωλυόμενα. Λάθοι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς παραρρέων ὁ χρόνος, τὸν καθ' ἕνα τῶν σῶν "τῆς Σοδομηνῆς ἀμπέλου βοτρύων" ἐπιρρωλογουμένους.

κθ' Σὺ δ' οὐ κάμνεις ἐντρυφῶν ταῖς ἀσεβείαις, ὧ τῶν κακῶν ποριμωτάτη φύσις, ὅτι μὴ τὸν Θεὸν οὐσιώδες εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνεις, οὐδ' εἶναι 10 αὐτὸν πηγὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν παντὸς καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, οὐσιωδῶς αὐτὰ προνοοῦσαν; Εἰπέ δὲ ἡμῖν, πόθεν αὐτῷ πεπόρισται τὸ καλόν; Οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ σε αὐτὸ καλόν. Καὶ τίς ἡ τούτου ἀρχή; Αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα [C] σὺ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν πέλεις ἀρχή, τῆς μεγαλορρημοσύνης Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν τούτου ἀρχῶν οὐδέν τι ἢ μικρὸν ἀποδέων.

15 λ' Ἦκε δ' ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν σῶν ἀσεβημάτων. Πόθεν σοι πέπλασται ὁ εἰς ἀντίδειξιν τῆς Τριάδος γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ἢν' ἡ ταύτης ἔμφυχον εἶδωλον, τῇ ἀπείρῳ τῶν ὄντων ζωῇ παραμετρούμενον, ὃν ἀντὶ τῆς Τριάδος προσκυνεῖσθαι δίδως ὑπὸ πάσης ὁρατῆς τε καὶ 20 ἀοράτου κτίσεως, νῦν τε καὶ ὕστερον; Οὐδ' ἡ Μωσέως σε πέπεικε νομοθεσία, "Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύειν," νομοθετήσαντος; Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῦτο τῷ πειράζοντι προβαλλόμενος;

λα' Σὺ δ' ὡς ἔφην, ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Τριάδος θεῖόν τι ἔμφυχον εἶδωλον [D] τὸν Χριστὸν δεδημιουργησθαι πλάττη, κτισματολατρίαν αὐτὴν διδάσκειν συκοφαντῶν. οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ τῆς παλαιᾶς πλάνης, καθ' ἣν 25 ἐξολισθῆσαι τοῦ Θεοῦ συνέβη τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ δουλεῦσαι τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, εἰ μὴ καὶ μάλιστα χαλεπωτέραν ἐκείνης ταύτην κατασκευάζεις—οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ μόνον πείσεσθαι διδάσκεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν μετὰ τὴν Τριάδα ὑπὸ τῆς Τριάδος γεγεννημένην κτίσιν. Οὐ γὰρ Θεῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενομένῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπῳ Θεοῦ προσηγορία 30 τετιμημένῳ εἰς αἰῶνας λατρεύειν, ὧ τῶν

28. Admit, too, on the subject of creation and providence, [that you hold that] not everything that is is from God, but that many useless things are produced as by-products and secondary accidents of what exists—not coming to be through God's will, but following unhindered on the nature of things. Time would slip by us unnoticed, if we were to glean "the grapes of your Sodomite vine" one by one!

29. Do you never tire of revelling in impiety, O nature most productive of evils? You do not conceive of God as being essential good, or as being the spring and source of everything beautiful and good, providing for them in an essential way. Tell us, from what source is goodness provided to him? For according to you, he is not goodness itself. What, then, is its origin? You, at least, are the source of such evils as these, and yield little or nothing to the pretentious talk of Marcion and his "principles."

30. Our argument has come to the very crowning point of your impieties. From what source do you contrive this man who has become the counterpart of the Trinity, so that he is its living idol, comparable to the limitless life of all beings, and whom you offer to be worshipped in the Trinity's place by all visible and invisible creation, now and forever? Has not Moses's legislation persuaded you, when he lays down that "the Lord your God you shall worship, and him only serve"? Does not the Savior cast this in the tempter's teeth?

31. You fabricate, as I said, [the idea] that Christ was created by the Trinity itself as a kind of holy, living idol, falsely alleging that the Trinity is teaching the worship of a creature. This is nothing else than the old infidelity, by which humanity came to fall away from God and to serve a creature instead of the creator—if you are not in fact contriving here something much worse than that. For you are not teaching that only men are affected by this, but all the creation which has been brought into existence by the Trinity, next in rank after the Trinity. You proclaim that [creation] should worship forever not God become man, but a man honored with the title of God—O you

6 Deut 32.32

20 Matt. 4.10; Luc. 4.8; Deut. 6.13 (Hebr.)

VOP 1 δὲ: δὴ O 2 post Θεοῦ add. δὲ V 6 παραρέων V; om. O Σοδομικῆς O  
 7 ἐπιρρωλογούμενος V<sup>ac</sup>; ἐπιρρωλογούμενος O; ἐπιρρωλογούμενος P 8 δὲ P  
 9 παρημωτάτη P 10 αὐτὰ: αὐτῶν P 11 προνοοῦσαν V; προνοοῦσα O εἰπέ δὲ  
 12 ἡμῖν: ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ O αὐτὸ O πεπόρισται: παρίσταται O post ἐστι add. τὸ P  
 12 σε αὐτό: σεαυτὸν OP δὲ P 13 μεγαλορρημοσύνης VO 15 ἦκε O  
 18 ὃν: ὁ OP δίδως: δεδιώς O 20 σου om. VO 22 δὲ P τῆς om. O θεῖόν:  
 ἑτερόν V<sup>ac</sup> O 23 δεδημιουργησθαι P κτισματολατρίαν P 24 τῆς: τι ὁ O  
 ante καθ' ἣν add. καὶ O 26 χαλεπώτερον P 27 αὐτό: αὐτῷ O  
 27 πείσεσθαι: πῆσεσθαι V; πείσεσθαι O; εἴσεσθαι P; corr. Mai 29 ἀλλ' O  
 30 λατρεύσειν P

- κακῶν σὺ τούτων εὐαγγελίων κήρυξ, διαγγέλλεις, ἀναφορᾷ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν σου τῶν ὄντων λατρείας, ὡς ἀπ' εἰκόνης εἰς βασιλέα, τῆς αὐτοῦ τιμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Τριάδα ἀναγομένης. Ἡδέως δ' ἂν σου πυθοίμην· αὐτὸν [1373 A] δὴ τὸν Χριστὸν, πῶς καὶ τίνι λέγεις προσκυνεῖν; Εἰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ, 5 γελοιότατον· εἰ δὲ τῇ Τριάδι, διὰ μέσου τινός; Οὐ γὰρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ αὐτός. Ἦ μόνος τῶν πάντων τοῦτο γέρας ἔχων εὐρίσκεται, τὸ μηδενὶ λατρεύειν ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸν σὸν μεσίτην μόνος αὐτὸς ἔσχηκε; Καὶ τίς ἀντιθέου ὄρος ἢ ὃν σὺ τῷ Χριστῷ δίδως, μόνον αὐτὸν τιμώμενον ἀλλ' οὐ τιμώντα, εἰσάγων, τὸν οὕτω τιμήσαντα;
- 10 λβ' Ὡς ἡδύς τις εἶ! Σεμνὴν γὰρ καὶ ἀστείαν γέννησίν τε καὶ ἀνατροφὴν τούτῳ προσπλέκεις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅσον προφητικὴν, καὶ μικρὸν ταύτην ὑπεραίρουσαν· ὅτι δὴ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος γνῶμη, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μήτρας διαπλάσει, τὴν ἔνωσιν αὐτῷ προσκέχρηκε, γινώσκων αὐτοῦ [B] τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ πρόθεσιν ἀδιάπτωτον ἔσεσθαι.
- 15 λγ' Ἀγνοίας τε αὐτὸν ζόφῳ καλύπτεις, μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον, ὅτι μὴ ὅπερ ἐδόκει τῷ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῷ ἡνωμένῳ Λόγῳ. Πῶς δέ; Ἀγνοίας αὐτὸν ἀναπεπλησμένον εἰσάγων, οὐχὶ καὶ ἁμαρτίας; Ἐξ ἐκείνης γὰρ αὕτη, ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ποταμὸς προχέεται. Ἦ τάχα τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν δογματίσεις, ἐπεὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συγγνώμης ἀξιούται τὸ ἐξ ἀγνοίας παρὰ 20 λόγον πραττόμενον, ἄνπερ μὴ λίαν ἢ φορτικόν. Ἀγνοεῖν δ' αὐτὸν λέγεις τοσοῦτον, ὅτι καὶ πειραζόμενος οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν ὅστις εἴη ὁ πειράζων αὐτόν· καὶ τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἁμαρτίας οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον, μὴ ὅτι τοὺς ἁγίους, καθαρεύειν παραχωρεῖς, οὐδ' ἁμαρτίαν αὐτὴν οἰόμενος εἶναι.
- [C] λδ' Ὁχλείσθαι τε αὐτὸν πλεον ἐκ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν ἢ τῶν 25 σωματικῶν δογματίζειν οὐ φρίττεις, σαφῶς οὕτως λέγων· καὶ τῷ κρείττονι λογισμῷ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐχειροῦτο.
- λε' Δίδως δ' αὐτὸν ἐκ προκοπῆς ἀρετῶν κατὰ μικρὸν καθαίρεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον ὁσημέραι γίνεσθαι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θεόθεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρεσομένων ἀγαθῶν.
- 30 λς' Βαπτίζεις δ' αὐτόν, ἵν' ἔκτοτε (οὕπῳ γὰρ πρότερον) τελειωθείς κατὰ νομικὴν ἀρετὴν, Χριστὸς χρηματίσῃ τέλειος, καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς

VOP 2 ἀπὸ V εἰς βασιλέα: εἰσβασιν P 3 σου: σε O πυθόμην O 4 δὴ: δὲ OP 6 ἢ: εἰ V ἢ μόνος iter. P γέρας ante τοῦτο transp. P 7 ἐπεὶ μὴ: ἐπειδὴ O τίς: τῆς P ἀντιθέου: ἀθέου P 8 σὺ: σὺν OP 8-9 εἰσάγων ... τιμήσαντα om. P 13 προῦκέχρηκε P 15 ἐπιστάμενος P 16 δ' VO 19 δογματίσεις: δόγμα τῆς σῆς O 20 ἄνπερ...φορτικόν om. O δὲ P 23 εἶναι om. P; ante οἰόμενος transp. O 24 τε om. O 25 post σωματικῶν add. ἦν O δογματίζων O οὕτως O 27 δ' αὐτόν: δὲ αὐτῷ P 30 δ': τε P ἵν': Ἰησοῦν P πρότερον om. O 31 ἀρετὴν: ἀρχὴν O χρηματίσει VP

herald of this wicked gospel—and that by the offering of all beings' worship to your Christ, his honor will be transferred to the Trinity, as that of an image [is transferred] to a king. I would like to ask you: Christ himself, how and whom do you say *he* worships? If he is worshipping himself, that is ridiculous; if the Trinity, by what mediator? For no one can be his own mediator. Or does he alone, of all creatures, have the privilege of worshipping no one, since he alone does not have the mediator you propose? And what is the definition of an enemy of God, but what you give to Christ: claiming that he alone is honored, but does not honor the one who has so honored him?

32. What a gem you are! You fasten a solemn and gracious birth and upbringing on this man, like that of a prophet or even a little better: for [you say], God the Word, in his foreknowledge, willingly availed himself of the union during [Jesus's] very formation in the womb, knowing that his resolution towards the good would be unshakeable.

33. You cover him in a mist of ignorance, so that he knows nothing except what pleased the Logos, who was united to him in dignity. What? In alleging that he is filled with ignorance, do you not also suggest he is filled with sin? For the latter comes from the former, as a river flows from a spring. Or perhaps you hold that ignorance is to his advantage, since most of the time what is done wrongfully out of ignorance is judged worthy of leniency, if it is not too blatant. You say he is so ignorant, that even when he was tempted he did not know who it was who was tempting him; and you do not allow that the Lord himself, to say nothing of the saints, was pure from sinfulness of thought—although you do not consider this to be a sin.

34. You do not shrink from teaching that he was more troubled by psychological passions than by the physical kind, stating clearly, "He mastered these pleasures by stronger reasoning."

35. You posit that he was purified little by little through progress in virtue, and became each day more suited to receive the good gifts which were to be his, as a man, from God.

36. You baptize him, so that from then on (for surely not before!) he was made perfect, according to the virtue of the Law, and could be called "the perfect Christ," and lay hold of the Gospel



ἐφάφηται πολιτείας καὶ ταύτην ἐκπληρώσει. Πῶς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν χρόνον αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο συντετμηθῆναι λέγεις; Ἀποκάμοι γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τὸ τούτου διάστημα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σύντομον ὁδὸν σωτηρίας, τὸν σταυρὸν, [D] ἀνευρίσκων.

- 5 λζ' Εἰς ὃν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεις, ὑπὲρ ἑστυοῦ μὲν, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅλου κόσμου, τεθνηξόμενον· ὥς οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτῷ περιεσομένης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας δόξης, μὴ διὰ μαρτυρίου τελειωθέντι. Οὐκ οἶδα "τίς, πόθεν πέλεν ἀνδρῶν," ὃς τηλικούτον παρά σου ἐγχειρίζεται πρᾶγμα καὶ οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην καὶ οὕτως ἐξαίρετον, καὶ μὴ  
10 ὅτι τὴν ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν γεννητὴν ὑπεραίρουσαν φύσιν.

- λη' Δέδοικε δὲ τὸν θάνατον, οὐχ ὥς ἡμᾶς τυπῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ λύων ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν δειλίαν, ἀλλ' ὥς αὐτὸς τοῦτον προτροπάδην φεύγων.  
[1376 A] ὃν οὐ ποτ' ἂν ὑπελθεῖν ἐκουσίως κατεδέξατο, εἰ μὴ τῆς μακρᾶς οὕτω σου καὶ πολυστίχου νουθεσίας τετύχηκεν, ἣν σὺ περιπλάττων τῷ  
15 ἀγγέλῳ προσνέμεις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγγέλους συκοφαντεῖν παραιτῇ, ὁπότε τὸν θεολογικὸν τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὕμνον, καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὃν ᾗσε τῷ Χριστῷ οἶα Θεῷ, ὅσον οὐδέπω διὰ τοῦ θαυμασίου τούτου καὶ ὑπερφνοῦς τῆς δειλίας δράματος—ἀληθινῆς ὄντως δειλίας τοῦ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον—ἐλευθεροῦντι τοῦ πικροῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τυράννου, σὺ ὥς ἂν δειλῷ τινι καὶ ἀνάνδρῳ καὶ  
20 τὸ ὅλον φιλαύτῳ τῷ Σωτῆρι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου γεγενῆσθαι παραληρεῖς, ψυχαγωγίας τρόπῳ καὶ παρηγορίας. Τὸ γὰρ "Ἐφάνη ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν" ὕμνων εἶπον καὶ θεολογῶν ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν Πατέρων καὶ ὁ Κύπριος γέρων—ὁ μέγας, φημί, Ἐπιφάνιος—καὶ εἰς σύστασιν τῆς θεωρίας [B] ταύτης προήγαγον τὸ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ᾠδῇ τῷ θεοσόφῳ Μωσεί  
25 εἰρημένον, "Ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ." Ὡς δὲ σὺ ἀσεβεῖς, τῆς μακρᾶς ἐδέξασε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ παρηγορίας, καταπεπτωκυῖαν τῇ λύπῃ καὶ καταποθείσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον δέους ἀναστήσαι σπεύδοντι.

8 Cf. formulam Homericam, τίς, πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; Il. 21.150; Od. 1.170; 7.238; 10.325; 14.187; 15.264; 19.105; 24.298 21–22 Luc. 22.43 23–4; cf. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 36.5 (GCS 25, 47, ll. 8–14; PG 43, 84 C 8–15) 25 Deut. 33.43 (LXX); cf. Epiphanius, *ibid.* (GCS 25, 47, ll. 5–8; PG 43, 84 C 5–8)

VOP 1 ἐφάπεται P ἐκπληρώσει P δὲ P 2 συντετμείσθαι V<sup>ac</sup> P  
5 αὐτὸν om. P ἀναφέρεις ante καὶ ἄκοντα transp. P οὐχίικιστα P 6 ante κόσμου  
add. τοῦ O 7 διὰ μαρτυρίου: διαμάρτη P 8 πόθεν om. O τηλικούτο V  
10 γεννητὴν O φύσιν ante ὑπεραίρουσαν transp. P 11 δὲ om. P 12 τοῦτον  
om. O 13 οὐ ποτ' P κατεδέξατο: ἐδέξατο P 14 σὺ περιπλάττων:  
συμπεριπλάττων O 17 ὑπερφαοῦς O 18 ἐλευθεροῦντος V<sup>ac</sup>OP, corr. Torres  
22 αὐτῷ P εἶπαν VO; εἶπεν conj. Mai 23 Κύπρου P 24 Μωϋσῇ V  
25 αὐτὸν V 26 τοῦ ἀγγέλου V 28 σπεύδοντος V<sup>corr</sup> (Torres)

way of life and fulfill it. Why do you not also say that his time, for this reason, was cut short? For he might grow tired because of its length, and therefore found the short way to salvation: the cross!

37. You raise him up on this [cross] as one unwilling, to die on his own behalf, and nonetheless for the whole world, since the glory of his ascension and his enthronement at God's right hand will not come to him in any other way, if he has not been perfected by martyrdom. I do not know "who, from what race of men," is, according to you, capable of undertaking such a great thing, so great and outstanding an accomplishment of grace, exceeding not only human nature but that of all creation.

38. He feared death, not in that he took our form on himself and destroyed our fear in himself, but fleeing from it himself headlong; and he would never willingly have accepted to undergo it, if he had not received such a long and wordy exhortation as you give, which you have contrived and attribute to the angel. For you do not hesitate to calumniate angels, in that you take the divine hymn of the angel, the victory song which he sang to Christ as God, as he stood on the verge of this wonderful and supernatural display of fear—true and genuine fear, of one face to face with death—ready to free [man] from man's bitter tyrant; and you babble that it was spoken by the angel to a timid, cowardly, completely self-centered Savior, in the manner of persuasion or encouragement. For the phrase, "An angel of the Lord appeared, comforting him," means he was praising him and speaking on behalf of God, according to various Fathers, especially the Old Man of Cyprus—I mean the great Epiphanius; and as a support for this theory they produced the saying in the great ode of the divinely wise Moses, "And let all the angels of God comfort him." But in your impious interpretation, he needed the long speech of the angel, who strove to raise up the soul of Christ, prostrate and cast down in grief, from the fear of death.

Κίνδυνον γὰρ εἶχε τὸν ἔσχατον, τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ σαλευόμενον.

- Ψευδῇ ταῦτα εἶναι φής; Πολλοῦ γε τοῦτ' ἂν ἐτιμησάμην. Νῦν δὲ οἱ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ λαμπροὶ σου ἀγῶνες κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ οἱ πεπλασμένοι μὲν κατὰ τῶν ἀντιθέτων αἰρετικῶν πόλεμοι, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ὄντως στρατευσάμενοι (ἦν ἐπειδὴ πολεμήσαι [C]προθέμενος, ἀδυνατοῦν σοι ἐγίνωσκες τὸ ἐγχείρημα, ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ κατ' αὐτῆς πολέμου τὸ κατὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν προέγραφας πρόγραμμα), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Μαγουσαίων ληρήματα ταῦτα κηρύττουσιν, αἱ τε λοιπαὶ τῶν Γραφῶν παρεξηγήσεις. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπου μὴ ταῦτα τῶν θαυμασίων σου πόνων διατεθρύληται, ἀπὸ μὲν Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατῶν ἀρξάμενα, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ εἰς Διόδωρον καταντήσαντα (ὅστις σοι τῶν κακῶν τούτων γέγονεν ἡγεμῶν), οὕτω δὲ γεωργηθέντα παρά σου καὶ τοσοῦτον προσλαβόμενα μέγεθος, ὥς ἐπικαλύψαι τὴν ἄθεον πηγὴν τὸν σὸν δαψιλῆ ποταμόν.
- 15 λθ' Σὸς δὲ γέγονεν ὁλόκος τε καὶ διώρυξ στενὴ, καὶ οὐχ ὅλον σου δυνηθεῖσα χωρῆσαι τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸ ρεύμα, Νεστόριος· εἰ δὲ καὶ χωρῆσαι [D]ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤδη καὶ παρρησιάσασθαι καὶ πᾶσι προχέαι τὰ σὰ τῶν βλασφημιῶν νάματα, οὐ γνώμης ῥαθυμία (ἀπολογήσομαι γάρ), ἀλλὰ τῷ στενοῦσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν. Αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ συγγινόμενος, ὅλον αὐτῆς ἐκπέπωκας τὸν ὀχετόν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τι τῶν σῶν ἄρας ἀμαρευμάτων σκύβαλον εἰς τὸ κοινὸν προὔτεινε καὶ τὴν Θεοτόκος φωνὴν ἀπεγόρευσε μόνην, εὐμηχάνως μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἀληθείας [1377 A] ἰστάμενος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσει τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξῆς ἀναιρῶν τοῦ μυστηρίου ἀκολουθίαν. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἦλω καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην
- 25 ἔτισε δίκην, ἐξω θείου χοροῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀσεβημάτων, ὧν ἐκ σοῦ γεγεώργηκεν, ἀπελαθεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀντέκτισε τῶν σῶν μαθημάτων ποιήν. Ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραστήσαι ἀσεβείαν, ἐξ ὄνυχος, ἥ φασιν, ἀποδεικνύντα τὸν λέοντα. Εἰ δέ τις ἀπιστεῖ τούτοις (καὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ὄντως ἀπιστίας ἄξια), καὶ οὐ μέφομαι, τοῦ πάθους δικαιοτάτου γε ὄντος, ἐπεὶ τὸ
- 30 μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν οὐκ ἄμοιρον ἐλέγχει τὸν ῥαδίως πιστεύσαντα. Τὸ γὰρ εἰς συγκατάθεσιν ἔτοιμον

Scholion ad 21, ἀμαρευμάτων: ἀμάρα τόπος ἐνθα διέρχεται ὕδωρ V (Σ<sup>5</sup>)

27-8 ἐξ ὄνυχος ... λέοντα: sententia proverbialis; cf. Alcaeus, frag 113; E.L. Leutsch et F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Ptoemigraphorum Graecorum* (Göttingen, 1839-51; repr. Hildesheim, 1958), 1.252; 2.165, 409

VOP 2 εἶναι om. P      5 κατὰ om. P      11 τοῦ Σαμοσατῶν: Σαμοσατέως P ; Σαμουσατῶν V<sup>ac</sup>; Σαμωσατῶν O      12 τούτων om. P      15 δέ: τε O      οὐχὶ O  
17 οὐκ ἤδη: οὐχὶ δὴ O      18 τῷ: τὸ V<sup>ac</sup> (corr. Torres), τοῦ OP      19 τῆς ἀσεβείας O  
20 ἐκπέπωκας O      20-1 ἄρας ἀμαρευμάτων: νάμα ρευμάτων P      24 ἦλω: εἶλω P  
25 χοροῦ: χώρου V      26 ἀντέκτισε O      28 ὑποδεικνύντα      εἰσιν post ὄντως transp. VO.

For he was in mortal danger, which shook everything inside him.

Do you say all this is lies? I would give a great deal for it to be so. But now your marvelous and renowned attacks on the incarnation of God the Word, and the fictitious wars you make on opposing heretics, which are actually wars on the truth—though when you started battle against her and realized that the feat is impossible, you entitled your war against her as a war against heretics—as well as your ravings against the Magians, all proclaim this, as do the rest of your misinterpretations of the Scriptures. There is no place where the fruits of these wonderful labors of yours are not common talk; they began with Paul of Samosata, came down through the intervening generations to Diodore (who was your leader in these outrages), and were so cultivated by you, and developed to such a size, that your abundant river overshadows its godless spring.

39. Then came your aqueduct, your narrow pipe, which could not receive the whole flow of your impiety: Nestorius. And even if he could receive it, still he didn't dare to pour forth the floods of your blasphemies for all—not through weakness of will (I am trying to make excuses for him!), but because there were too many of them to flow freely! For you associated with impiety in a leisurely way, and drank the full stream of it; but he, when he lifted up one piece of dung from your sewer, brought it out into public, and spoke only the word "Theotokos," cleverly taking a stand on to the first principle of the truth, and in the first begetting of our God in the flesh destroying all the rest of the mystery which follows. Nevertheless, he was caught and paid the ultimate penalty, being driven out of the holy gathering with the impious theories he had cultivated from you; he paid the due fine for your doctrines. This is sufficient to present the whole impiety of the man, "showing the lion," as they say, "by his claw." But if anyone does not believe this (for they are really unworthy of belief), I do not blame them, for such a feeling is most justified: not doubting such evils, after all, suggests that the person who is too ready to believe is not without a share in them! For if one is ready to agree,

καὶ εἰς πείραν ἐτοιμότητον. Ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς γε ἡ πείρα, ἣν τε ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ συνειλέγμεθα καὶ ἣν ἐκ τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν ἀκηκόαμεν, [B] ἀπιστεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει, καί περ ἐθέλοντας. Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπιστεῖν δυναίμην, τῶν κακῶν τὴν πείραν ἐν ἑμαυτῷ σχεῖν κινδυνεύσας;

- 5 μ' Οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ γάρ εἰσι σοφοί, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ κακοποιεῖν), ἐπεὶ μὴ δύνανται ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογήσασθαι, τὸν μέγαν ἡμῖν προτείνουσι Βασίλειον γεγραφότα τε Διοδώρῳ καὶ ἀποδεξάμενον αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν περὶ Τριάδος συνταγμάτων—οὐ γὰρ ἐνανθρωπήσεως εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν—ἄλλους τέ τινας τῶν Πατέρων ἢ γεγραφότας ἢ μεμνημένους αὐτοῦ

10 παρειακυκλοῦσι.

- [C] μα' Τὸν δὲ Ὠριγένην οὐ θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι ὁ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπώνυμος Γρηγόριος, τὸν ἐξιτήριοι συντάττων, μυρίους ἐγκωμίων διέξεισιν εἰς αὐτὸν κύκλους; Καὶ τί λέγω Ὠριγένην; Ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, ὁ κατὰ διάμετρον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποσφαλεῖς, μυρίας
- 15 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὰς γεγενῆσθαι κομπάζει Ἀθανασίου τε τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Σαραπίωνος, καί γε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι τότε γεγόνασι λαμπροῖ φωστῆρες καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πρόμαχοι· εἰ δέ τις τὴν ὅλην μετὰ χεῖρας λάβοι ἣν ὁ γνώριμος Ἀπολινάριος Τιμόθεος ἐκκλησιαστικὴν συντάττει ἱστορίαν, οὐδ' ἄλλον τινὰ τοσούτου πόνου σκοπὸν εὐρήσει πλὴν τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου
- 20 σύστασιν, ἣν ἐκ μυρίων συγκεκρότηκε τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν γραφειῶν τε [D] καὶ ἀντιγραφειῶν ἐπιστολῶν. Οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ Δημᾶν τάχα συστήσειν ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ Παῦλος αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίους συνέστησεν, καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν συντάττειν τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἀποστόλων, πολλάκις τῷ Σωτῆρι συναλισθέντα. Ἀλλ' ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς
- 25 εἰ μέλλοιεν τὰς πρὸς τινας τῶν Πατέρων γεγραμμένας ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας αἰδεῖσθαι, οὐ Θεόδωρον ἢ Διόδωρον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς, καὶ οὓς οὐδ' αὐτοὶ βούλονται, συμπαραδέχεσθαι βιασθήσονται.

6-8 (τὸν μέγαν ... συνταγμάτων): cf. Basilius, Ep. 135, *Diodoro Presbytero*, 1 (ed. Y Courtonne, II, 49; PG 32, 572 B) 9 (ἄλλους ... αὐτοῦ): cf. Joannes Chrysostomus, *In laudem Diodori Episcopi* (PG 52, 761-6): Theodoretus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.25.3-4 (GCS 44 [19], 263, l. 20-264, l. 5; PG 82, 1184 C5-11) 12 (ἐξιτήριοι): Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *Prosphonicus* (ed. H. Crouzel, SC 148, 94-182 PG 10, 1052-1104) 14-17 (μυρίας ... πρόμαχοι): cf. Apollinarius, *Ep. ad Sarapionem*: AFA 1, 3: infra p. 528, ll. 2-6 (ed. H. Lietzmann, frag. 159, 253, l. 18-254, l. 3); *Ep. ad Episcopos Diocaesarienses*: AFA 3: infra p. 560, ll. 5-8 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 255, ll. 21-5) 22 (Δημᾶν): 2 Tim. 4.10; cp. Col. 4.14; Phlm. 24

VOP 4 ἐν om. O σχεῖν: ἔχειν O 6 ἀπολογεῖσθαι P 11 Ὠριγένη V  
18 γνωριμώτατος P 19 οὐδὲ O 20 σύστασιν: στάσιν O εἰς: πρὸς P  
21 τε om. P ἐπιστολῶν post γραφειῶν transp. P<sup>ac</sup> δὲ O 23 συντάττει O  
25 πρὸς: πρὸς P 26 μόνον post Θεόδωρον transp. P

he is ready to experience. But for us, the experience we gathered from his books and heard from those who admired him will not allow us to disbelieve, even if we would like to. How could I not believe, who have run the risk of having the experience of this evil myself?

40. They also—not wise, except in doing evil—since they cannot defend these things, point out to us that the great Basil corresponded with Diodorus and accepted one of his treatises on the Trinity—for they have nothing to say about the Incarnation—and they also smuggle in certain other Fathers who either wrote [to him] or remembered him.

41. They do not admire Origen just because Gregory, named for the wonders he worked, when he composed his farewell address, went through countless meanderings of praise for him. And why do I mention Origen? Apollinarius, who fell from the truth in the opposite way, boasts that countless letters were written to him by the great Athanasius and Sarapion, and by other bright lights and defenders of the truth who lived at the time. If one picks up a copy of the whole ecclesiastical history which Timothy, the pupil of Apollinarius, put together, one would not find any other purpose to the work but to support Apollinarius by welding together countless letters written back and forth, from him and to him. The same approach, it seems to me, would probably recommend Demas to us, since Paul recommended him to the Romans, and would include Judas in the company of the Apostles, since he often met with the Savior. But let them take it from us: if they are going to revere any letters written by the Fathers above the truth, they will be forced to accept not only Theodore and Diodore, but many others, including those whom they do not wish [to accept].

μβ' Ολον δὲ αὐτῶν ἀκείνῳ. "Εφ' οἷς γὰρ," φασίν, "εὐθύνετε Θεόδωρον ἢ Διόδωρον, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Πατέρας ὑπαιτίους εὐρίσκομεν." [1380 A] Καὶ προφέρουσιν ἡμῖν Σαραπίωνος μὲν τὸ "ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιεβάλετο," Βασιλείου δὲ τὸ "ὁ θεοφόρος ἄνθρωπος," τῶν τε Γρηγορίων ἐκάτερον, τοῦ  
 5 μὲν λέγοντος "Θεὸς λέγοιτο ἂν οὐ τοῦ Λόγου, τοῦ ὀρωμένου δέ," τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος "καὶ τοῦ δούλου τοὺς μώλωπας, περὶ ὃν ὁ Δεσπότης." τῶν τε λοιπῶν Πατέρων τοιαῦτά τινα περιονυχίζοντες ἀποξέουσι λεξείδια, οἷόν ἐστι τό τε "ἀνέλαβε" καὶ "προσείληφε" καὶ "ἐνεδύσατο" καὶ τὸ "διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν," καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῆς διαφορᾶς ὄντα δηλωτικὰ τῶν οὐσιωδῶς  
 10 ἡνωμένων φύσεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Κυρίλλου τὰς "ὑποστάσεις" καὶ τὸν "ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπον" καὶ τὸν "ἐκ Παρθένου ναόν." Τῇν δὲ "κράσιν" καὶ "ἀνάκρασιν,"

3 Σαραπίωνος: fort. Sarapion Antiochenus (c. 190–212; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI, 12)

4 (ὁ θεόφορος ἄνθρωπος): cp. ἡ θεόφορος σάρξ: Basilus, *Hom. in Ps.* 59, 4 (PG 29, 468 A15); *De Spir. Sanct.* (ed. C. F. H. Johnston, 31, l. 12; PG 32, 85 C7); Ep. 261, 2 (ed. Y. Courtonne, III, 116, l. 7; P 32, 969 C3); Basilus (?), *In Isaiam* 2.3 PG 30, 241 A7–8; cf. etiam Theodoretus, apud Cyrillum, *Apol. contra Theod. pro XII Cap.* (ACO I, 1, 6, 126, ll. 13–16; PG 76, 420 AII–BI 5 (Θεὸς ... ὀρωμένου δέ): Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Orat.* 30.8 (SC 250, 240; PG 36, 113 A 11; cf. supra, 43; CNE Flor., Test. 25, ll. 2–3)

6 (καὶ ... Δεσπότης): cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Contra Eunomium* III, 3, 66 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 131, ll. 8–10; PG 45, 705 C13–14; cf. supra, 46; CNE Flor., Test. 29, ll. 3–5)

8 (ἀνέλαβε): e.g., Greg. Nyss., *Ctr. Eun.* III, 4 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 155, l. 20; PG 45, 733 B12); Ps.-Justinus, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 38 (PG 6, 309 B9) (προσείληφε): cf. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 39.13 (SC 358, 176); Ep. 101, *ad Cledonium*, 1 (ed. P. Gallay, SC 208, 42, l. 4; PG 37 177 B12); Isidorus Pelusiota, Ep. I, 323 (PG 78, 369 B6–7); Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Joan.* 8 (ed. P. Pusey, II, 318, ll. 9–10; PG 74, 89 D2) *Hom. Pasch.* 1.6 (PG 77, 424 D2) (ἐνεδύσατο): cf. Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo* 4 (GCS 1<sup>2</sup>, 6, l. 2 infra; PG 10, 732 B4); Athanasius, *De Incarn.* 44 (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 428, l. 36; PG 25, 176 A13); ibid. (ed. C. Kannengiesser, 428, l. 57; PG 25, 176 C6); *Ctr. Arian.* II, 9 (PG 26, 165 A12–13)

8–9 (διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν): Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 38.15 (SC 358, 138; cf. supra, 43; CNE Flor., Test. 24, l. 2); cp. *Orat.* 30, 8 (SC 250, 240–242; cf. supra, 43–4; CNE Flor., Test. 25, ll. 4–5)

10 (ὑποστάσεις): cf. Cyr. Alex., *Scholion* 11 (ACO I, 1, 5, 227, l. 11; PG 75, 1381 B1); *Apol. ctr. Thdt.* 3 (ACO I, 1, 6, 119, ll. 19, 20 et 120, l. 1; PG 76, 408 B4 et 13)

11 (τὸν ... ἄνθρωπον): cp. Cyr. Alex., *Thes.* 21 (PG 75, 361 D4) (τὸν ... ναόν): e.g., Cyr. Alex., *De Ador. In Spir. et Ver.* 9 (PG 68, 637 A9; cf. supra, 69 CNE Flor., Test. 80, l. 3); *In Joan.* I, 9 (ed. P. Pusey, I, 141, l. 2; PG 73, 161 B13–14; cf. supra, 72; CNE Flor., Test. 84, ll. 11–12)

11 (κράσιν): cf. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 38.13 (SC 358, 134); Carm. II, 1, l. 612 (PG 37, 1071 A8); Nemesius, *De Nat. Hom.* 3 (PG 40, 601 B4); Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Nest.* 1.3 (ACO I, 1, 6, 22, l. 7; PG 76, 33 B7)

12 (ἀνάκρασιν): cf. Greg. Nyss., *Orat. Cat.* 11 (GNO III/4, 39; PG 45, 44 B2); *Ctr. Eun.* III, 3 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 123, ll. 17–19; PG 45, 697 B 12); ibid. (ed. W. Jaeger, 124, l. 5; PG 45, 697 C13); ibid. III, 4 (ed. W. Jaeger, 152, l. 5; PG 45, 729 C3); Ep. 3 (PG 46, 1020 C6); *Hom. in Cant.* 4 (ed. H. Langerbeck, Jaeger VI, 108, l. 11; PG 44, 836 D2); Cyr. Alex., *Hom. Pasch.* 8 (PG 77, 572 A7)

VOP; ll. 7–10 (τοιαῦτα ... Χριστοῦ): VOP A 1 φησὶν VOP 3 ὁ om. P 4 ἐκατέρων OP 5 λέγοιτ' O 6 ὃν: ὡν P 7 λεξείδια O 9 ante τοιαῦτα add. τὰ A ὄντα: ὅτ' ἂν O post δηλωτικὰ add. ἡ O 10 post δὲ add. γε O 11 post κράσιν add. τε O

42. And this point of theirs is similar: they say, "In the points on which you call Theodore or Diodore to task, we find the rest of the Fathers guilty, too." And they produce for us Sarapion saying, "God put on the man," and Basil saying, "The god-bearing man," and each of the Gregories—the one saying, "He is said to be God, not of the Word, but of him who is seen," and the other saying, "And the stripes belong to the servant, concerning whom he is Lord"; and with their nails they scratch off similar little sayings from the rest of the Fathers for us, such as "he took up," and "he assumed," and "he put on," and "he was twofold," and phrases like these which express a difference between the essentially united natures of Christ. Above all, [they point to] Cyril's references to "hypostases" and "the man from Mary" and "the temple from the Virgin." But they do not hear these same Fathers speaking of "mixture" and "commingling",

“συμφυΐαν” τε καὶ “θέωσιν,” “αἷμα τε Θεοῦ” καὶ “σταυρὸν,” καὶ “πάθος” καὶ “θάνατον” καὶ πρὸ τούτων “δευτέραν τοῦ Λόγου [B] κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν” τῶν αὐτῶν λεγόντων οὐκ ἐπαΐουσι. Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῆς κατ’ οὐσίαν καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνώσεως, τὴν τε μίαν ὑπόστασιν τῶν δύο φύσεων, ὧν οὐδὲν  
5 ἐνικώτερον ἢ συμφυέστερον;

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο σκοπεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι οὐ περὶ λέξεων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ ὅλου κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστηρίου. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐκ τῆσδε ἢ τῆσδε τῆς λέξεως ἢ ἐνίων ῥημάτων ἐστὶν ἐγκρίνειν ἢ διαγράφειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν.  
10 Περὶ γὰρ ταύτας πᾶσα αἵρεσις διαστασιάζει, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντες πᾶσι κατὰ τὰς λέξεις συμφέρονται, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Γραφῶν τὰς λέξεις σφετερίζεσθαι, πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ταύτας σκοπὸν ἐφαρμόζοντες. [C] Τίνες δὲ εἰσιν αἱ τούτων ἀρχαί; Ὁ τρόπος δηλαδὴ τῆς ἐνώσεως οὐσιωδῶς

1 (συμφυΐαν): cf. Greg. Naz., Ep. 101, *ad Cledonium* (ed. P. Gallay, 48, l. 20; PG 37, 181 C7; cf. supra, 45; CNE Flor., Test. 26, l. 5); Greg. Nyss., *Chr. Eun.* III, 3 (ed. W. Jaeger, II, 131, l. 10; PG 45, 705 C15; cf. supra, 46; CNE Flor., Test. 29, l. 5) (θέωσιν): cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 25.16 (PG 35, 1221 B6); Orat. 39.16 (PG 36, 353 B6) (αἷμα Θεοῦ) cf. Ignatius, *Eph.* 1.1 (ed. F. X. Funk—K. Bihlmeyer, 82, l. 12; PG 5, 644 A15–16); Greg. Naz., Orat. 45.22 (PG 36, 653 A3–4) (σταυρὸν): cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 43.64 (PG 36, 581 A8) (πάθος) cf. Ignatius, *Rom.* 6.3 (ed. F. X. Funk—K. Bihlmeyer, 100, l. 8; PG 5, 693 A2–3; I Clem. 2.1 (v. 1: ed. F. X. Funk—K. Bihlmeyer, 36, ll. 7–8; PG 1, 209 A7); Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos* 13 (ed. E. Schwartz, TU 4, 15, ll. 5–6; PG 6, 836 All); Melito, *Frag.* 7 (ed. J. C. Th. Otto, *Corp. Apol.* 9, 416; = *Frag.* 8, PG 5, 1221 B19); Greg. Naz., Orat. 30, 1 (ed. A. J. Mason, 108, l. 10; PG 36, 104, C14) 2 (θάνατον): cf. Greg. Naz., Orat. 33.14 (PG 36, 232 C3) 1–2 (αἷμα ... θάνατον): cf. Cyr. Alex., *Ep. 2 ad Nest.*, 5 (ACO I, 1, 1, 27, l. 14–28, l. 2; PG 77, 48 A1–B2); *Anathema* 12 ex *Ep. 3 ad Nest.* (ACO I, 1, 1, 42, ll. 3–5; PG 77, 121 D4–8) 2 (δευτέραν ... γέννησιν): cf. Cyr. Alex., *Ep. 2 ad Nest.*, 4 (ACO I, 1, 1, 27, ll. 5–12; PG 77, 45 C9–D3); Justinianus, *De Recta Fide*, *Anath.* 2 (ed. E. Schwartz, 90, ll. 19–23; PG 86, 1013 D5–12); *Conc. Const.* II, Canon 2 (ACO IV, 1, 240, ll. 8–11)

VOP; ll. 3–4 (καὶ ... φύσεων) et ll. 13–p. 448, l. 3 (τρόπος ... ἐνώσιν) (ab ὁ τρόπος): VOP A 5 ἐνικώτερον: ἐνώτερον P 11 κατὰ τὰς λέξεις: καταλέξεις P; μετὰ τὰς λέξεις O 12 ταῦτα O ἐφαρμόζοντας VO

“organic union” and “divinization,” “the blood of God” and his cross and his suffering and his death, and more important than these, “the second begetting of the Word according to the flesh.” And why need I mention the union in essence and essential union, the one hypostasis of two natures, than which nothing could be more unitive or organically one?

First of all, we must consider this: that our controversy is not about expressions, but about the manner [of existence] of the whole mystery of Christ. We cannot simply accept or reject this [*sc.* our understanding of the mystery of Christ] on the basis of this or that formula or certain expressions, but from the basic principles. For every heresy breaks away over them, since beyond the principles everyone agrees with everyone else on terminology, so that they make even the phrases of the Scriptures their own, but adapt them to their own purpose. What are the principles behind our terminology? Clearly a manner of union



ἀλλ' οὐ σχετικῶς γεγονώς, ὡς εἶναι ἐν τῇ τελείᾳ ἀνθρωπότητι τὸν Λόγον  
 ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν "ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος," κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον—συννφεστῶς, καὶ  
 εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὅλου ὅρον συντελῶν μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, καθὰ καὶ οἱ τὸν Σαμοσατέα  
 στηλιτεύσαντες Πατέρες ἀπεφάναντο. Ἀλλ' οὔτε τῶν ἐκ διαμέτρου ἡμῖν  
 5 πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἱσταμένων, τὰς, ὡς οἶονται, ἀρμοστούσας αὐτοῖς  
 προφερόντων, ἐπιστροφόμεθα, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν δόκησιν καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν  
 ἢ τὴν τροπὴν καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν μετ' αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς πρεσβεύειν, οὔτε δὲ τὰ  
 παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰς συνηγορίαν [D] τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα  
 φαντασίας ἢ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑμῶν ματαίας ἐλπίδος, ὡς ἐκ  
 10 τῶν Πατέρων προφερόμενα, προσιέμεθα—ἐπειδήπερ, ὡς ἔφην, μὴ περὶ  
 λέξεων ἢ διαμάχῃ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς  
 πρὸς ἄλληλα τούτων ἐνώσεώς τε καὶ συμφυΐας, ἣν οἱ Πατέρες οὐσιωδῶς  
 γεγενῆσθαι ἐφρόνησαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ σχετικὴν τε καὶ γνωμικὴν ταύτην  
 εἰσάγετε, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τὴν ἀνθρωπολατρείαν κρατύνειν βιάζεσθε· οὐ τί  
 15 ἂν γένοιτο ἀσεβέστερον; Τῆς γὰρ Παύλου καὶ Μαρκέλλου, Φωτεινοῦ τε  
 καὶ Νεστορίου δυσσεβείας μόνης τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονεῖν, τῶν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 τὸν Χριστὸν ἄντικρυς διορισμένων, ἅπερ ἰδίᾳ τε [1381 A] ἕκαστος καὶ  
 κοινῇ πάντες οἱ θεηγόροι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μυσταγωγοὶ ὁμόφροσιν  
 ἀποφάσει διέγραψάν τε καὶ ἀπεκήρυξαν· καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τελευταία πασῶν  
 20 καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀγίων συνόδων σφραγὶς γενομένη κατὰ τὴν  
 Χαλκηδονέων, ἣ καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον τῆς ἀσεβείας πρόβολου τέλος  
 καταλέλυκεν, τό τε τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον κρατύνασα, καὶ τὸν τῆς  
 ἀσεβείας ὑμῶν καθαιρέτην λαμπραῖς ἀνακηρύξασα ταῖς εὐφημίαις, καὶ  
 τὸν ὄντως Λέοντα, κατὰ τῆς δολερᾶς Εὐτυχούς ἀλώπεκος ἐξαναστάντα  
 25 δικαίως καὶ τὴν κρυπτομένην ἀσέβειαν τοῖς ἐλεγκτικοῖς διασπάσαντά τε  
 καὶ νεκρώσαντα λόγοις, ταῖς πρεπούσαις αὐτῷ κατεστεφάνωσαν δόξαις.  
 μὴ "Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν," φασί, "κατεκρίθησαν, τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς κατέγνω."  
 Τοῦτο, ὦ βέλτιστοι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔσχον ἀμέμπτους εἶναι, ἀλλ'  
 30 ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα τὸ λαθεῖν ἐπιτηδεύσαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰς πολλοὺς [B] ἐκφαίνειν  
 ὑπέμενον τὴν ἀσέβειαν,

which has come to exist essentially, not relatively, so that the Word is in a  
 complete humanity—as the "inner man" coexists in us, according to the  
 Apostle—and contributes to the definition of the whole [Christ] after the  
 union, as the Fathers who condemned the Samosatean made clear. But we pay  
 no attention to those who take a stand against the truth in direct opposition to  
 us, proposing interpretations which, they think, suit them, so that we should  
 proclaim with them mere seeming and imaginary [humanity] or a change and  
 a confusion [of natures]; nor do we propose your own theory, as you have  
 thought it up—defending an imaginary divinity, or your vain hope in a mere  
 man, as if these ideas came from the Fathers. As I have said, our battle is not  
 about formulas, but about the things themselves, and their union and organic  
 relationship to each other; the Fathers thought this had happened in an essential  
 way, but you introduce a relational and conceptual version of it, and therefore  
 are forced to defend the worship of a man. What could be more irreverent than  
 this? For it belongs to the impiety of Paul and Marcellus, Photinus and Nestorius,  
 alone to think such things, since they openly define Christ as a mere man, a  
 notion that each of the divine teachers of the Church individually, and all of  
 them together, have disowned and denied with unanimous statements of  
 rejection. Above all, the last Synod [denied this]—the seal of all the holy synods  
 which preceded it, which took place at Chalcedon—and which fully destroyed  
 the bulwarks of your irreverence, reconfirming the Symbol of the faith. It  
 acclaimed with glowing tributes the overthrower of your impiety, that true lion  
 [sc. Leo] who justly rose up against the crafty fox Eutyches, and who scattered  
 and annihilated with counter-arguments his concealed impiety, and crowned  
 Leo with fitting honors.

43. "But those heretics," they say, "were condemned, while no one had  
 condemned these [of our party]." They achieved this, my good friends, not due  
 to the fact that they were blameless, in themselves, but due to their taking good  
 care to escape notice. For they did not dare to exhibit their impiety to many  
 people,

2 Rom. 7.22; Eph. 3.16

VOP; 10-14 (ἐπειδήπερ ... εἰσάγετε): VOPΔ 1 γέγονεν Δ τὸν Λόγον om. P  
 2 ὑφεστῶς 3 Σαμουσατέα V<sup>ac</sup>; Σαμουσατέα O 4 ἡμῖν ὑμῖν O 5 οἶονται;  
 οἶον τε P 6 προσφερόντων P ἀποστρεφόμεθα O 7 τὰ om. V 8 ὑμῶν;  
 ἡμῶν legit Turrianus οἶσθε P; οἶεσθαι V<sup>ac</sup> 9 ἡμῶν V<sup>ac</sup> 10 ἐπειδὴ P  
 ἔφην· ἔφημεν Δ 13 ὑμεῖς: Νεστόριος Δ τε om. P γνωμικὴν· ἀγνωμικὴν O  
 14 εἰσάγει Δ 16 post Νεστορίου add. καὶ Θεοδώρου VO τῶν: τὸν V<sup>ac</sup> 17 τὸν  
 Χριστὸν om. O 20 καὶ om. P ἀγία P σφραγὶς O 21 Χαλκηδονιέων P;  
 Καλχηδοναίων O 22 καταδέδωκεν O τότε...κρατύνασα om. V<sup>ac</sup> 24 Εὐτυχέος  
 VO 27 φησὶ P 28 ἀμέμπτους εἶναι: ἀμέμπτου VO

ὅτι μὴδ' ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγίνωσκον. Καὶ ἄλλως ἢ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τότε φλεγμαίνουσα αἵρεσις, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀγρία φλόξ νεμομένη τὰς Ἐκκλησίας, σχολὴν μὲν παρείχε πολλοῖς, ἀτὰρ δὴ Ἀπολινάριῳ, τέως αὖ καὶ Μακεδονίῳ, τὸ βλασφημοῦσι λανθάνειν. Καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱατρικῆς ἐστὶ  
 5 καλῶς ἐνταῦθα λέγειν, ὡς δύο πόνων ἐπικρατούντων ἐν σώματι, ὁ σφοδρότερος ἀμαυροῖ τὸν ἐλάττονα. Ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ Ἀπολινάριος ὥσπερ τις σπλὴν ἠΰξανε (ἵνα κατὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον ὑποφήτην εἴπω, καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι), ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου σώματος κακοπραγίᾳ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν προσκτώμενος μέγεθος. Τῷ αὐτῷ δὴ παραδείγματι καὶ  
 10 τὸ ὑμέτερον παραβάλλειν ἔχω. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν Πατέρων περὶ [C]τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ μάλιστα κατεπείγοντα σπουδῇ λαθεῖν τοὺς ὑμετέρους τῆς ἀσεβείας προγόνους παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ μάλιστα πλαττομένους τὴν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τριάδος σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίαν καὶ ἀντιπαράταξιν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κλέπτοντάς τε τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ τῷ τῆς ὁμοφροσύνης προσχήματι τὸ  
 15 λαθεῖν προτείνοντας. Δυσφώρατον γὰρ ἢ πονηρία, εὐνοίας προσωπεῖω κεκαλυμμένη.

μὲν δ' Ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν δυστυχέστατον Νεστόριον ἀναθέματι (δυστυχῆς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὄντως, μόνος τοῦ φόνου τὴν δίκην ὑποσχών, παρ' ἄλλων, ἢ φασι, τὸ ξίφος κεκομισμένος), καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεκβέβληνται· ἐν γὰρ  
 20 τῷ μαθητῇ, τῷ, ὡς ἡ Γραφή φησι, κατηρτισμένῳ κατὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πόνους ἐδρέψαντο. Καίτοι καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ζητοίη τις, εὐρήσει καὶ [D]αὐτοὺς ὡς γραφὴν ἔσχον παρά τε ἐτέρων συγχῶν καὶ τῶν ζηλωτικωτάτων κατὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀσεβείας, Κυρίλλου τε καὶ Πρόκλου, ὧν ὁ μὲν ὅλην γραφὴν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποίηκεν (εἰ καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι τινες  
 25 ὑπέμειναν, ἀπολογίαν μείζονα τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορίας εἰσάγουσαν ὑπόθεσιν), ὁ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους συνοδικὴν γράφων ἐπιστολὴν, ταύτῃ τῶν βλασφημιῶν Θεοδώρου κεφάλαια εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσεβείας ὑπέταξε. Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥαββούλου, τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἐδέσσης, ἀνδρὸς, ὡς φασι, προφήτου; Οὐ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον  
 30 ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἤνεγκαν οἱ τότε [1384 A]τῆς δυσσεβείας Θεοδώρου ζηλωταί, μετὰ τοὺς μυρίους ἐκείνους κινδύνους

7 (Απολινάριος ... ἠΰξανε): locum non repperi 6.40

20 (μαθητῇ ... διδάσκον): cf. Luc.

VOP 2 τότε om. O 3 νεμομένη: βοσκομένη P 4 τέως: τε καὶ P λαθάνειν O  
 5 ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἐστὶ P καλὸν O 8 καὶ τι: καίτοι P χαρίσσομαι O  
 12 παρεσκεύασεν: πεποίηκε P 14 κλέπτοντάς τε: κλέπτοντά σε O  
 ἐννοίαν OP 15 προπίνοντας V; προπίνοντες O 21 εὐρήσοι O 23 ἡμῶν V  
 26 γράφων ante συνοδικὴν transp. O 28 δεῖ: δὴ O Ῥαββουλίου P 29 Ἐδέσσης P; Αἰδέσσης O 30 δυσσεβείας: εὐσεβείας O

since they knew this would be unsafe for them. Just so, the fact that the heresy of the Arians was raging at the time, and consuming the Church like a wildfire, offered opportunity to many—Apollinarius for one, Macedonius for another—to blaspheme without attracting attention. One could here appropriately use a medical analogy, and say that when two kinds of pain rack a body, the more severe obscures the less severe. So Apollinarius grew like an enlarged spleen (to use the words of your Interpreter, and concede you a point, even in our argument), acquiring an unnatural size in the run-down state of the whole body. I can compare your own undertaking to this same image. For the concern of the Fathers over the most necessary and urgent matters allowed the ancestors of your impiety to slip by them, especially since they feigned that they were drawn up fighting the same enemies as the Fathers on the question of the Trinity; therefore they captivated people's attention, and furthered the possibility of their own escape by the appearance of unanimity. Evil is hard to detect, when masked with an expression of benevolence.

44. But in the condemnation made against the unfortunate Nestorius (for he was indeed unfortunate, since he alone received the death sentence, after being handed the sword by others, as we say) they, too, have been expelled; for in what the Scripture calls "the fully taught disciple," who is "like his master," they have reaped [the fruits of] their own labors. Even so, if one should investigate this matter, he would find that they stand accused by many others, but especially by the most zealous opponents of your impiety, Cyril and Proclus: the former composed a whole work against them (though some dared to compose a rejoinder, which introduced a larger range of subjects than the original accusations), while the latter wrote his synodical letter to the Armenians, and there arranged the blasphemies of Theodore in chapters, to refute his impiety. And need I mention the holy Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, a man who was, they say, a prophet? When the enthusiasts for Theodore's wickedness could not endure his frankness and reproaches, they attacked him, after countless other dangers,

δόλω μετῆλθον, ἐνὶ τῶν ἔνδον τὸ δράμα πιστεύσαντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταύτη πείσομεν ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταβάλαισθε, ὅψε γοῦν, ἀλήθειαν προτιμῶντες προσώπων, τοῦτ' ἄμεινον, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ χάρις· εἰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς γε δακρύσομεν, θρήνων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ὄντας ἀξίους, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τε ἀναρτήσομεν, καὶ τῶν μακαρίων ἐλπίδων ἐχόμενοι, οὐ ποτε λήξομεν ὧν τε ἔσχον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῖν ταύτας φιλανθρώπως λίαν διὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ παρέπεμψαν καὶ μεταπαρέδοσαν, τοῦτο μόνον παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκβιβάζοντες, ἀπρόσκοπον αὐτῶν φυλάττειν τὴν παρακαταθήκην· ἣν ἀμείωτόν τε καὶ ἀπλήθυντον φυλάττουσα ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία 10 διατελεῖ, καὶ διατελέσει μέχρι "τῆς μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας τοῦ μεγάλου [B] Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ," "ὃ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν."

#### ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ ὙΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ἈΛΛΩΝ ΑἰΡΕΤΙΚΩΝ

15 Ἐκ τῶν βλασφημιῶν Θεοδώρου ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ δόγμα σκαιότητος, παραθέσθαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πιστωσώμεθα, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ κατεψευσάμεθα ἢ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου φρονούντων. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν εὐκόλως τὰς πάσας αὐτοῦ εὑρεῖν συντάξεις, οὐκ ἂν ὠκνήσαμεν περὶ 20 πάντων τῶν κεφαλαίων, [C]ὧν αὐτὸν ἐγραψάμεθα, αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ποιήσασθαι μάρτυρα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μόλις καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου ἐπινοιῶν τε μυρίων τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ βίβλον εὑρεῖν δεδυνήμεθα (σφόδρα γὰρ παραπεφυλαγμένως τὰ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀμνητοῖς ἐκδιδόναι δαρροῦσι), τούτου ἕνεκεν τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Σωτήρος 25 αὐτῷ εἰρημένα μόνα ἐν τῷ παρόντι συλλέξασθαι δεδυνήμεθα.

1 (ἐνὶ τῶν ἔνδον): fort. Ibas Edessenus 10-11 (τῆς ἐπιφανείας ... Χριστοῦ): Tit. 2.13 11-12 (ὃ ... Ἀμήν): cf. Hebr. 13.21

VOP 3 εἰ δ' οὐ: εἰ δ' οὖν P 4 γε ante ἀλλ' transp. P 8 ἐκβιβάζοντες P 10 διατελέσει: διατελέσει P 11 post δόξα om. καὶ τὸ κράτος VO 12 post Ἀμήν add.: Οὐκ εὐβουλον δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὰς χρήσεις τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ ἀθέων αἰρετικῶν ἐσημῆναι. πρωτοτύπως μὲν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὰς ἀνωφελείς, εἴτα δὲ τοῖς ἀκεραιότεροις, ὥς εἰκὸς, καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς, λοιπὸν δὲ ὅτι καὶ πατρικῶς καὶ συνοδικῶς οἱ προειρημένοι ματαιόφρονες ἀντίθεοι, τουτέστιν Νεστόριος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ ὁπαδοί, κατεκρίθησαν καὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν, ἐκδήλου γενομένης τῆς δυσσεβείας αὐτῶν ἅπασιν. O; deinde ante florilegium sequitur in O, sub nomine Leontii, Maximi Confessoris κεφάλαια κατὰ διαφόρων αἰρετικῶν (PG 91, 145-9) 13 ante ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ add. ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ P 16 τὸ δόγμα: τοῦ δόγματος V<sup>sc</sup> ἢ P 18 ἢ: εἰ O γὰρ om. P 19 εὑρεῖν post εὐκόλως transp. VO 20 ἐγραψάμεθα ante αὐτὸν transp. P 23 παραπεφυλαγμένως: πεφυλαγμένως P

by trickery, entrusting an insider [Ibas?] with performing the deed.

If, in any case, we manage to persuade you with all of this, and you change your mind, even at this late hour, honoring the truth before persons, all the better—thanks be to God! But if not, we will shed tears for you, since you deserve laments and wailing, but we will let ourselves depend on God. Sharing in blessed hope, we shall never give up what our Fathers possessed, what they handed down and passed on to us so very generously, through those who came after them. And we shall undertake only one thing for ourselves: to keep this trust of theirs safe from harm, which the holy Church of God continues to keep, free from subtractions and additions, and will keep in this way until "the great appearance of our great God and savior Jesus Christ," to whom be glory and power for ever. Amen.

#### PREFACE TO THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS FROM THEODORE AND THE OTHER HERETICS

We have taken the trouble to assemble a few samples of the many blasphemies of Theodore, to demonstrate his completely twisted view in regard to doctrine, so that from these we may win credence about the rest [of our argument], proving that we have not made false charges about him or those who think as he does. If it were possible to find all of his writings easily, we would not hesitate to make him the witness for all the charges we have laid against him. But since we have been able to find his book against the Incarnation only with difficulty and great effort and a good deal of planning (for they dare give his works to the uninitiated only very cautiously), therefore we have been able to collect in this present [florilegium] only sayings of his from his work against the Incarnation of the Savior.

Εἰ δέ τις ἀπιστεῖ, ἄγει δὲ ὅλως σχολὴν καὶ προθυμεῖται, ζητησάτω  
αὐτοῦ τὰς τε εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ματαιοπονίας καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰὼβ  
βίβλον, τὴν τε παρεξήγησιν ἣν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν  
πεποιήται καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Γαλάτας, τὰ τε κατὰ  
5 Μαγουσαίων αὐτῷ συγγραφέντα καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν Ψαλμῶν  
τυφλοποιὸν [D]προθεωρίαν, τὰ τε ὑπὲρ Εὐνομίου κατὰ Βασιλείου τοῦ  
πάνυ (οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὴν πάσης κατηγορίας μεστὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
ἀπολογία), τὰς [1385 A]τε εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ  
μέντοι γε Λουκᾶν τεθολωμένας ἐξηγήσεις καὶ βλασφημίας, καὶ κατ'  
10 αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν ὑπερφηάνους καὶ  
ἀποτετολμημένας μέμφεις, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τὸ καθ' ἑν λέγω  
συντάγματα· καὶ ὄψεται βύθον ἀσεβείας πάσης τῆς Μαρκίωνος καὶ  
Οὐαλεντίνου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς πηγῆς τῶν κακῶν—τοῦ Μάνεντος λέγω—  
βδελυκτοτέραν τε καὶ ἀθεωτέραν γνώμην τε καὶ ἐγχείρησιν.  
15 Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ μὴ δόξαι πάντῃ ἀμάρτυρα τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ  
λεγόμενα καταλιπεῖν, πολλὰς, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπινοίαις τε καὶ μεθόδοις  
χρησάμενοι, μόνον τὸ κατὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτῷ συνταχθὲν εὐρεῖν  
ἰσχύσαμεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ταύτας τὰς χρήσεις παραθέσθαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν. Εἰ  
δὲ Θεὸς ἐπιτρέποι καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐπιλείποι, ἑτέραν κατ' αὐτοῦ  
20 σύνταξιν [B]ποιήσομεθα, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκάστην αὐτοῦ ἀσεβείαν ἐκ  
τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων συλλεξάμενοι, πρὸς τίνα τε τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐκάστη τὴν  
συγγένειαν ἔχει ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις χρήσεων δείξομεν· καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν  
ὅλην αὐτοῦ φρενοβλάβειαν, καὶ ἣν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἔχει Πατέρας  
περὶ πάντα ἐναντίαν γνώμην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερωτάτων αὐτῶν πονημάτων  
25 ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀντιρρητικαῖς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις χρησόμεθα  
ἀνασκευαῖς. Τὸ δὲ νῦν ἀρκεσθήσομαι τῇ κεφαλαιωδεστέρᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ  
γενομένη γραφῇ, ἵνα μὴ πάντῃ λανθάνων βλάβη τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους·  
γινώσκουσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξήλωκότες αὐτὸν, ὡς τοῦτον συνιστάναι ἀξιούσιν,  
οὐ μὴδὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐστὶν ἐφικέσθαι ῥαδίως καὶ τὸν πάνυ προθυμούμενον.

6 (τὰ τε ὑπὲρ Εὐνομίου): opus Theodori contra Eunomium (CPG 3859) significat.

VOP 1 ἀπιστήσῃ V ἄγοι VO ὅλως: ὁ λόγος O; ἄλλως P σχολὴν ante  
[ἄλλως] transp. P 5 αὐτῶν V 11 σύνταγμα O 12 τῆς: τὴν P  
Βαλεντίνου V 14 ἀθεωτέραν V 15 κατ': παρ' P 17 χρησάμενοι om. P  
19 ἐπιλείποι: ἐπιλίποι OP 21 τῶν: τὸν P 23 ἔχειν V Πατέρας ante ἔχει  
transp. P 25 ἐπὶ τούτοις om. O 26 τὸ: τῷ O 27 γινομένη P  
29 μὴδὲ: μὴν δὲ P ἔστι (ν) post ῥαδίως transp. O

And if anyone does not believe this, and is completely at leisure and has the  
ambition, let him seek out his vain labors on Genesis, or his book against Job, or  
the misinterpretation he wrote of the epistle to the Hebrews, or indeed of those  
to the Corinthians and Galatians; his writings against the Magians, and the  
unilluminating preface to the sacred Psalms; his work on behalf of Eunomius  
against the illustrious Basil (for so I call his defense of [Basil], full of every kind  
of accusation); his turbid and blasphemous interpretations of Matthew and  
John and even Luke; and his arrogant and daring reproaches against the holy  
Apostles and Evangelists themselves, and other works of his, lest I mention  
them all. And he will see the abyss of all the impiety of Marcion and Valentinus,  
and in addition opinions and undertakings more disgusting and godless than  
that source of evil himself—I mean Manes.

We, as we have said, because we have not wished to leave what we have said  
against him entirely unsupported, by using (as I say) many schemes and  
methods, have only been able to find his treatise against the Incarnation, from  
which we have taken the trouble to assemble these excerpts. If God allows it,  
and time does not run out on us, we shall make another collection against him,  
in which we shall collect at leisure every one of his impieties from his own  
words, and show which heretic each of them is related to, on the basis of excerpts  
from them. Indeed, we shall show his entire dementia, and his opposition on  
every point of doctrine to all the holy Fathers, from their sacred works; and we  
shall, in addition, use arguments to refute him. For now, however, I shall be  
content with this summary work against him, lest he harm the simple by  
completely escaping detection. And may his followers realize that they have  
decided to follow a man whose impiety it is difficult for even the most eager  
imitator to attain.

[1] ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤ'  
 'ΕΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΗΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ἩΜΩΝ ἸΗΣΟΥ  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ· ΛΟΓΟΣ Ζ'

Εἰ γὰρ μάθωμεν ὅπως ἡ ἐνοίκησις γίνεται, εἰσόμεθα καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ  
 5 τίς ἡ τοῦ τρόπου διαφορά. Τὴν τοίνυν ἐνοίκησιν οἱ μὲν οὐσία γεγενῆσθαι  
 [294] ἀπεφήναντο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ· ἐξεταζέσθω τοίνυν εἴ τι τούτων  
 ἐστὶν ἀληθές. Καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνο ὁμολογείσθω, πότερον πᾶσι  
 ἐνοικεῖ ἢ μὴ. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ πᾶσι, δῆλον. Τοῦτο γὰρ ὥσπερ τι ἐξαίρετον  
 τοῖς ἁγίοις ὁ Θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται, ἢ ὅλως τούτοις οὐς ἀνακεῖσθαι αὐτῷ  
 10 ἐθέλει· ἢ τί ποτε ἄρα ὑπισχνεῖτο λέγων τὸ "ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 ἐμπεριπατήσω καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός," ὥς τι  
 χαριούμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξαίρετον, εἴπερ δὴ τούτου πάντες κοινῇ μετέχουσιν  
 ἀνθρώποι; Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐνοικεῖ (τούτο γὰρ δῆλον), οὐ λέγω τοῖς  
 οὐσι μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις, ἰδιαζοντά τινα δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λόγον τῆς  
 15 ἐνοικήσεως, καθ' ὃν ἐκείνοις πάρεστι μόνον οἷς ἂν ἐνοικεῖν λέγεται. Οὐσία  
 μὲν οὖν λέγειν ἐνοικεῖν τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ἀπρεστάτων ἐστίν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη  
 τούτοις μόνοις τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ περικλείειν, οἷς ἂν ἐνοικεῖν λέγεται, καὶ  
 ἔσται τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐκτὸς, ὅπερ ἄτοπον εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπείρου  
 φύσεως τῆς ἀπανταχοῦ παρούσης καὶ οὐδενὶ τόπῳ περιγραφομένης· ἢ  
 20 λέγοντας ἀπανταχοῦ παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας, ἅπασιν  
 αὐτοῦ μεταδιδόναι καὶ τῆς ἐνοικήσεως, οὐκέτι μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἀλόγοις ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις, εἴπερ οὐσία τὴν ἐνοίκησιν αὐτὸν  
 ποιεῖσθαι φήσομεν. Ἀμφότερα δὲ ταῦτα ἀπρεπῆ δηλονότι· τό τε γὰρ  
 ἅπασιν ἐνοικεῖν λέγειν τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ἀτόπων ἀντικρὺς ὡμολόγηται, καὶ  
 25 τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῷ περιγράφειν, ἀπρεπές, μᾶλλον δὲ δυσσεβές. Οὐκοῦν  
 οὐσία τὴν ἐνοίκησιν λέγειν γίνεσθαι τῶν εὐηθεστάτων ἂν εἴη.

10-11 2 Cor. 6.16; cf. Lev. 26.12; Ezek. 37.27; etc.

[1] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *De Incarnatione* 7: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: p. 454, ll. 9-13 (οὐκοῦν ... αὐτῶν); Conc. Const. II, 4, 37, Test. 30a (57, ll. 17-21)

VOP [1] 1 ante ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ om. P ΕΚ  
 ΤΟΥ om. O ΚΑΤ: ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ P 2 ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ: ΚΥΡΙΟΥ V 4 μάθωμεν OP  
 5 γεγενῆσθαι: γίνεσθαι 8 ἢ: εἰ O 10 ἐθέλοι V ἢ: εἰ δὲ O  
 ὑπισχνείτω P: ὑπισχνεῖται O λέγω O 11 αὐτῶν: αὐτοῖς P 12 δὴ τούτου: δὲ  
 τούτο O πάντες: παρέντες conj. Swete 15 παρέστη O ἂν om. P  
 16 ἐνοικεῖν ante λέγειν transp. P ἢ: ἢ P ante ἀνάγκη add. ἂν P 17 αὐτοῦ ante τὴν  
 οὐσίαν transp. V περικλείειν: περιβλέπειν conj. Swete 18 ἄλλων: ἀνθρώπων O  
 20 λέγοντας: λέγοντα conj. Swete post Θεὸν add. Λόγον P 21 αὐτοῦ post οὐσίας  
 (1.20) transp. P μεταδοῦναι P 22 δὲ om. V ἐνοίκησιν: οἴκησιν O αὐτῶν VP  
 25 αὐτοῦ P 26 γίνεσθαι P εὐηθεστάτων: ἀληθεστάτων P

1. FROM THE HERETIC THEODORE  
 "ON THE INCARNATION OF OUR SAVIOR  
 JESUS CHRIST, BOOK 7"

If we learn how [God's] indwelling takes place, we shall also know the manner  
 [of the Incarnation] and what is the distinguishing characteristic of that  
 manner [of being]. Now some have argued that the indwelling occurs on the  
 level of essence, others, on that of activity. Let us examine, therefore, which of  
 these is true. First, let us try to reach agreement on whether [God] dwells in all  
 people or not. Well, it is clear that he does not dwell in all; for God promised this  
 as something special to the saints, or simply to those whom he wishes to have  
 depend on him. Otherwise, why does he promise, "I shall dwell in them and  
 walk in their midst, and I will be their God and they shall be my people," as if he  
 were about to bestow something special on them, if indeed all people share this  
 in common? So, then, if he does not dwell in all (for that is clear)—I do not  
 simply say "not in all beings," but even "not in all people"—there must be some  
 distinguishing characteristic of indwelling, according to which he is present  
 only in those in whom he is said to dwell. Now to say that God indwells on the  
 level of essence is wholly inappropriate. For it is either necessary to restrict his  
 presence simply to those in whom he is said to dwell, and he will not be present  
 in all the others, which is a monstrous way to speak of the infinite nature of him  
 who is present everywhere and circumscribed by no place; or else, if we do say  
 that God is present everywhere in virtue of his essence, then he gives to all  
 [beings] a share of his indwelling too: not simply to human beings, but even to  
 irrational and lifeless creatures, if indeed we say that he accomplishes that  
 indwelling by his essence. Both of these ways of speaking are clearly unfitting:  
 for to say that God dwells in all creatures will be readily admitted to be  
 untenable, and to circumscribe his essence is inappropriate, or indeed irreverent.  
 Therefore it would be silly indeed to say that the indwelling takes place by  
 essence.



Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας. Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάλιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τούτοις περιγράφειν μόνοις· καὶ τοῦ στήσεται ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ πάντων προνοεῖν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἅπαντα διοικεῖν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα; Ἡ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐνεργείας μεταδιδόντες—  
 5 ὅπερ οὖν πρόπον τε καὶ ἀκόλουθον· ἅπαντα γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμοῦται πρὸς τὸ συνεστάναι τε ἕκαστον καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν— πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐνοικεῖν ἐροῦμεν. Οὐκοῦν οὔτε συσίᾳ λέγειν οὔτε μὴν ἐνεργείᾳ οἶόν τε ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Θεὸν τὴν ἐνοίκησιν.

Τί οὖν ἄρα ὑπολείπεται; Τίνι χρῆσόμεθα λόγῳ ὃς ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν  
 10 ἰδιάζον φανεῖται φυλαττόμενος; Δήλον οὖν ὡς εὐδοκίᾳ λέγειν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐνοίκησιν προσήκει· εὐδοκίᾳ δὲ λέγεται ἡ ἀρίστη καὶ καλλίστη θέλησις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν ἂν ποιήσῃται, ἀρεσθεῖς τοῖς ἀνακεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐσπουδακόσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶ καὶ καλὰ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν—τούτου συνηθῶς [295] ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἰλημμένου τε καὶ κειμένου παρ' αὐτῇ.  
 15 Οὕτω γοῦν ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ φησιν· “Οὐκ ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ τοῦ ἵππου ἐλήσει, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς κνήμαις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκεῖ. Εὐδοκεῖ Κύριος ἐν τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ”—τούτο λέγων, ὅτι οὐχ ἑτέροις συμπράττειν δοκιμάζει οὐδὲ ἑτέροις συνεργεῖν ἐθέλει, ἀλλὰ τούτοις, φησὶν, τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτὸν· τούτους ποιεῖται  
 20 περὶ πολλοῦ, τούτοις συνεργεῖν καὶ ἐπαμύνειν αὐτῷ δοκητόν. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ λέγειν προσήκον τὴν ἐνοίκησιν. Ἀπειρος μὲν γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἀπερίγραφος τὴν φύσιν, πάρεστι τοῖς πᾶσιν· τῇ δὲ εὐδοκίᾳ, τῶν μὲν ἐστι μακρὰν, τῶν δὲ ἐγγύς. Κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν ἔννοιαν λέγεται τὸ “ἐγγὺς Κύριος τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τῷ  
 25 πνεύματι σώσει”· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· “μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.” Ἐγγύς τε γὰρ γίνεται τῇ διαθέσει τῶν ἀξίων ταύτης τῆς ἐγγύτητος, καὶ πόρρωθεν πάλιν τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων γίνεται, οὔτε τῇ φύσει χωριζόμενος οὔτε ταύτη πλησιαιτέρον καθιστάμενος,

One might say the same thing about his activity. For it is either necessary, once again, to circumscribe his activity by these individuals alone; and then where will our principle be, that God cares providentially for all things and governs everything and works what is right in all? Or else we will give all beings a share in his activity—which is right and consistent; for all things owe it to his power that they exist, each of them, and that they act according to their own natures—and then we will be saying that he dwells in all things. Therefore it is impossible to say that God realizes his indwelling either by his essence or by his activity.

What, then, remains? What term shall we use, which will be seen to preserve the proper concerns expressed in this kind of language? Clearly it is correct to say that the indwelling takes place *by his good pleasure*. “Good pleasure” means God’s best and most favorable will, which he directs towards those who please him by striving to depend on him, because he is benevolently disposed towards them. What this means is normally understood from the Scripture, and is contained in it. So the blessed David says, “His will is not in the might of the horse, nor in the legs of a man does he take his pleasure. The Lord takes pleasure in those who fear him, and in those who hope in his mercy” (Ps. 146.10–11). David means by this that the Lord does not choose to work with others or wish to help others, but only those, as he says, “who fear him.” They are the ones he prizes, and the ones he has decided to help and protect. This is the way, then, one ought to speak of God’s indwelling. For since he is infinite and uncircumscribed in his nature, he is present to all; but in his good pleasure, he is far from some and near to others. In the same sense it is said, “The Lord is close to the broken-hearted, and he will save the lowly in spirit”; and in another place, “Do not cast me away from your face, and do not take your Holy Spirit from me.” For he is near, in his attitude, to those worthy of this nearness, and, again, he is far from sinners: neither separated by nature nor standing nearer by it,

15–17 Ps. 146.10–11 (LXX)

23–5 Ps. 33.19 (LXX)

25–6 Ps. 50.13 (LXX)

VOP 1 εἴποι post ἐνεργείας transp. P 2 περιγράφειν: περιγράφεσθαι O;  
 ἐπιγράφειν P 3 αὐτῶν V<sup>ac</sup> 4 μεταδιδόντος P οὐν: οὐ OP 5 δυναμοῦνται P  
 ante πρὸς add. καὶ O 9 «τὸ» addidi 10 ἰδιάζων O 10 φυλασσόμενος V  
 14 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ V αὐτῇ: αὐτοῦ P 15 φησιν: εἶπεν Swete 16 οὐδ' P  
 21 προσήκον: προσήκεν VO ὢν ante γὰρ transp. P τοῖς om. P 22 μὲν P  
 25 σου om. V 26 τε om. O 27 ἐγγυήτης (?) V<sup>ac</sup> 28 γίνεται post  
 πάλιν (27) transp. P 29 πλησιαιτέρον O

τῇ δὲ σχέσει τῆς γνώμης ἀμφοτέρα ἐργαζόμενος. Ὡς περ τοίνυν τῇ  
 εὐδοκίᾳ ἐγγύς τε καὶ μακρὰν γίνεται—πρόδηλον γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὅ  
 τι ποτέ φαμεν τὴν εὐδοκίαν, τούτου γε ἕνεκεν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς  
 προσηγορίας μετὰ πάσης ἐπελθότες τῆς ἀκριβείας—οὕτω τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ  
 5 τὴν ἐνοίκησιν ἀποτελεῖ, οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν περιγράφων ἢ τὴν  
 ἐνέργειαν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κεχωρισμένος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν παρὼν τῇ οὐσίᾳ,  
 κεχωρισμένος δὲ τῶν ἀναξίων τῇ σχέσει τῆς διαθέσεως. Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 μειζόνως τὸ ἀπερίγραφον σώζεται, ὅταν φαίνεται μὴ ὡς ἀνάγκη τινὶ  
 δουλεύων τῷ ἀπεριγράφῳ τῆς φύσεως. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ παρὼν τῇ  
 10 οὐσίᾳ, παρὴν καὶ τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ, ἐτέρως πάλιν ἀνάγκη δουλεύων εὐρίσκετο,  
 οὐκέτι κατὰ γνώμην τὴν παρουσίαν ποιούμενος ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῆς  
 φύσεως, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπομένην ἔχων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἅπασι πάρεστι τῇ  
 φύσει καὶ κεχώριστα ὧν ἐθέλει τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναξίων ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν ὠφελουμένων, ἀληθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκέραιον τὸ τῆς  
 15 φύσεως ἀπερίγραφον διασώζεται. Οὕτω γοῦν τοῖς μὲν πάρεστι τῇ  
 εὐδοκίᾳ, τῶν δὲ κεχώριστα, ὡς περ ἀνείτῃ οὐσίᾳ τῶν λοιπῶν χωριζόμενος,  
 τούτοις συνῆν.

Ὅν περ τοίνυν τρόπον τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ ἢ ἐνοίκησιν γίνεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 ἢ εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τρόπον ἐναλλάττει. Ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν  
 20 ἐργάζεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπανταχοῦ παρόντα, τισὶ  
 καὶ σφόδρα εὐαριθμήτοις ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐνοικοῦντα γνωρίζει—ἢ  
 εὐδοκίᾳ, λέγω—τοῦτο πάντως καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τρόπον  
 χαρακτηρίζει. Ὡς περ γὰρ πᾶσι τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρὼν, οὐ πᾶσιν ἐνοικεῖν  
 λέγεται, ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἷς ἂν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ παρῇ, οὕτω καὶ ἐνοικεῖν λέγεται,  
 25 οὐκ ἴσον τὸ τῆς ἐνοικήσεως πάντως εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλὰ ἀκόλουθον ἔξει τῇ  
 εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τρόπον. Ὅταν τοίνυν ἢ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις  
 ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἢ ὅλως ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις ἐνοικεῖν λέγεται, ὡς ἐν  
 δικαίοις εὐδοκῶν ποιεῖται τὴν ἐνοίκησιν, ὡς ἐναρέτοις κατὰ τὸν τρόπον  
 ἀρεσκόμενος.

30 [296] Ἐν αὐτῷ μέντοι τὴν ἐνοίκησιν οὐχ οὕτω φαμέν γεγενῆσθαι—μὴ  
 γὰρ ἂν τοσοῦτο μαυεῖν ποτε—ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν νύμφῃ. Οὕτω γὰρ εὐδοκήσας  
 ἐνέκησεν. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “ὡς ἐν νύμφῃ;” Ὡς τε ἐνοικήσας ὅλον μὲν ἑαυτῷ τὸν  
 λαμβανόμενον ἦν ὡσε,

but realizing both of these in the relationship of his will. As, then, he is near or  
 far in his good pleasure—for it is quite clear, from what we have said, what we  
 mean by “good pleasure”; that is why we discussed the meaning of the phrase  
 with such exactness—so in his good pleasure he accomplishes his indwelling,  
 not by restricting his essence or activity to some and remaining separate  
 from the rest, but by being present to all in essence and being separate from  
 the unworthy in the relationship of his disposition. For in this way his uncir-  
 cumscribed character is preserved more fully, when it is made clear that he is  
 not held in any kind of constraint, by his natural freedom from circumscription.  
 For if, being present everywhere in essence, he was present [everywhere] also in  
 his good pleasure, he would be found, in another sense, to be obeying a kind of  
 necessity, not determining his presence by his will but by the infinity of his  
 nature, and having a will which follows nature; but since he is present to all by  
 nature but withholds himself in will from some, as he pleases, and since the  
 unworthy derive no advantage from the [natural] presence of God, the  
 uncircumscribed character of his nature is preserved true and pure. So, then, he  
 is present to some and separated from others by his good pleasure, just as if he  
 were separated from the rest and united to these in essence.

In the same manner that the indwelling takes place by his good pleasure, so  
 his good pleasure alters also the manner of the indwelling. For what brings  
 about God's indwelling, and what marks him out, who is present everywhere in  
 virtue of his essence, as dwelling in some very few select ones—I mean his good  
 pleasure—this surely leaves its mark also on the manner of the indwelling. For  
 just as he is present to all in essence without being said to dwell in all, but rather  
 is said to dwell in those to whom he is present by his good pleasure, so surely  
 the circumstances of indwelling are not the same, but the manner of indwelling  
 will also correspond to his good pleasure. When, therefore, he is said to dwell in  
 the Prophets or in the Apostles, or in the just in general, [this means] he is  
 realizing that indwelling by taking pleasure in the just, by being duly pleased  
 with them as virtuous.

We do not say, however, that the indwelling in *him* [sc. Christ] took place in  
 this way—we would never be so mad—but as “in a Son.” For that is the way he  
 was pleased to dwell in him. But what does “as in a Son” mean? It means that he  
 who dwelt in [Jesus] united to himself the whole of what was assumed,

VOP 1-2 τῆς εὐδοκίας P 3 γε om. P 7 αὐτῷ om. P 10 post παρὴν  
 add. δὲ P 10 δουλεύων ante ἀνάγκη transp. P εὐρίσκεται P 12 πᾶσι O  
 14 ὠφελουμένων V 18-19 ὅν περ ... ἐνοίκησις: ὃν τρόπον ἢ εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς ἐνοικήσεως O  
 ἢ om. P 21 εὐαριθμήτους P γνωρίζειν VO ἢ om. VO 22 λέγω:  
 λέγετω V<sup>ac</sup> τούτω O 23 πᾶσι: ἅπασι P 24 τούτοις: τοῖς P παρὴν P  
 25 ἀλλὰ O 26 ἢ: ἢ O 27 λέγεται O 30 γεγενῆσθαι ante φαμέν transp. P  
 31 τοσοῦτον P 31-2 οὕτω ... νύμφῃ om. O

παρεσκεύασε δὲ αὐτὸν συμμετασχεῖν αὐτῷ πάσης τῆς τιμῆς ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ ἐνοικῶν, Υἱὸς ὢν φύσει, μετέχει, ὡς συντελεῖν μὲν εἰς ἐν πρόσωπον, κατὰ γε τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔνωσιν, πάσης δὲ αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὕτω δὲ πάντα κατεργάζεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κρίσιν  
 5 τε καὶ ἐξέτασιν, δι' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, ἐπιτελεῖν, τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν χαρακτηρίζουσι δηλονότι νοουμένης.

## [2] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ὡς περ τοῖνυν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τελείως ἐσόμεθα τῷ Πνεύματι τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κυβερνώμενοι, ἀλλ' οὖν γε μερικὴν τινα  
 10 ἐντεῦθεν ὥς περ ἀπαρχὴν ἔχομεν, καθ' ὃ καὶ βοηθούμενοι τῷ Πνεύματι οὐχὶ κατακολουθεῖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναγκαζόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παντελῶς ἔσχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ καθόλου τὸν Θεὸν ἐνεργοῦντα Λόγον, ἀχώριστον ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε καὶ πρὸ τούτου πλείστον ὅσον εἶχεν ἐπιτελοῦντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πλείστα  
 15 τῶν δεόντων, συγχωρούμενος μὲν τέως πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν, οἰκεία προθέσει τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀρετὴν πληροῦν, παρορμώμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτοις καὶ ῥωννύμενος πρὸς τὴν παντελῆ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐκπλήρωσιν.

Ἔσχε μὲν γὰρ εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν μήτραν διαπλάσει,  
 20 τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔνωσιν, ἐφ' ἡλικίας δὲ γεγωνῶς καθ' ἣν ἡ διάκρισις ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῶν τε καλῶν καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων—μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκείνης—συντομώτερόν τε πολλῶ καὶ ταχύτερον τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διακριτικὴν τῶν τοιούτων δύναμιν ἐπεδείξατο· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως κατὰ τὸν  
 25 αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἡ τῆς διακρίσεως ἐγγίνεται δύναμις, τῶν μὲν ταχύτερον πλείονι τῇ φρονήσει τοῖς δέουσιν ἐπιβαλλόντων, τῶν δὲ πλείονι τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ γυμνασίᾳ τοῦτο προσκτωμένων. Ὅπερ δὴ ἐξαιρέτως αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀξύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσγέγονεν, εἰκότως καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἔχειν τι πλεον ὀφείλοντι,

[2] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. ll. 11–18 (οὕτω ... ἐκπλήρωσιν): cf. etiam Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber contra Syn. Chalc.* (103, ll. 26–104, l. 2)

VOP [1] 2 μετέχειν V 4 κατεργάζεσθαι: ἐργάζεσθαι P  
 [2] 7 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 12 ἑαυτῷ: αὐτῷ V 13 πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 πᾶσαν: ἅπασαν πρὸς αὐτὸν P 14 πρὸς: πρὸς O ἑαυτῷ: αὐτῷ VP τὰ om. O  
 15 μὲν: δὲ O 22 καὶ ante πολλῶ transp. P 27 τοῦτο: τούτων O δὴ: δὲ P  
 28 ἡλικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων: τῶν λοιπῶν ἡλικίαν VO 29 ὀφείλοντος VO

and granted that he [Jesus] should share, with himself, in all the honor in which he who indwelt, being Son by nature, had a share; the result was that he formed one persona (*prosōpon*) [with Jesus], by reason of his union with him, and shared with him all his power. So he gave Jesus all that he needed to test and judge the world by himself and by his presence, even though the difference in their [i.e. the Logos's and Jesus's] natural characteristics are clearly understood to continue.

## 2. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

As, then, we, too, will be perfectly controlled by the Spirit, in body and soul, in the age to come, but indeed already have a kind of partial share in it, by which we are helped by the Spirit not to be forced to follow the calculations of our natural spirit, so too the Lord, who after this [= the resurrection] had God the Word perfectly and generally active within him, and was inseparable from Him in all his operations, even before this [= the resurrection] had him for most of the time, accomplishing in him most of what was required. Up to the time of his crucifixion Christ was allowed, in his poverty, to live a life of virtue for our sakes by his own efforts; but he was helped on by the Logos even then, and strengthened so that he could fulfill completely all that was required.

For right from the beginning, at his formation in the womb, he [Christ] enjoyed union with him [= the Word]; and when he reached the age at which the ability to distinguish between good and evil usually is present in human beings—indeed, even before that age—he showed a much more concentrated, much quicker power to judge these things than other people. For even in the rest of us, this power of judgment does not always develop at the same time; some grasp what is right more quickly, by greater intelligence, while others attain this over a longer period, by training. But this happened to him, in comparison with the rest of us, at a significantly earlier age than the common human norm, since—quite properly—he was bound to have a bit more in human resources,

ὅσω περ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐτέτεκτο ἐκ  
 συνδυασμοῦ ἀνδρὸς τε καὶ γυναικὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς θείας τοῦ Πνεύματος  
 ἐνεργείας διεπέπλαστο. Εἶχε τε καὶ ῥοπὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν πρὸς τὰ  
 5 κρείττω τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐνώσει, ἥς καὶ ἡξίωτο κατὰ πρόγνωσιν,  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν ἐνώσαντος ἑαυτῷ. Οὕτω δὴ τούτων  
 ἀπάντων ἔνεκεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς διακρίσεως ἔσχε μὲν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 κακὸν ἀπέχθειαν, ἀσχέτω δὲ στοργῇ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἑαυτὸν συνάψας,  
 ἀνάλογον δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ προθέσει καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου συνεργίαν  
 10 δεχόμενος, ἄτρεπτος λοιπὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς διετηρεῖτο.  
 τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸς οὕτω ἔχων γνώμης, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς προθέσεως οὕτως  
 διατηρουμένης αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου συνεργίᾳ. Καὶ μετῆι μὲν σὺν  
 εὐμαρείᾳ πλείστη ἐπ' ἀκριβεστάτην ἀρετὴν, εἴτε τὸν νόμον φυλάττων  
 πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, [297] εἴτε τὴν ἐν τῇ χάριτι μετιῶν πολιτείαν μετὰ  
 τὸ βάπτισμα. ἥς δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸν τύπον παρίχετο, ὁδὸς τις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο  
 15 καθιστάμενος. Οὕτω δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸς  
 ἀνάληψιν ἐπιδείξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας γνώμης τῆς ἐνώσεως ἄξιον,  
 προσηληφὼς δὲ ταύτην καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαπλάσει, τῇ τοῦ  
 δεσπότου εὐδοκίᾳ, ἀκριβῆ λοιπὸν καὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως παρέχεται τὴν  
 ἀπόδειξιν, οὐδεμίαν ἔχων κεχωρισμένην καὶ ἀποτετμημένην ἐνέργειαν  
 20 τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, ἔχων δὲ ἅπαντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαπραττόμενον τὸν Θεὸν  
 Λόγον διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔνωσιν. Οὕτω γοῦν πρὸ μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ  
 πεινῶντα ὀρώμεν, καὶ διψῶντα γνωρίζωμεν, καὶ δειλιῶντα μανθάνομεν,  
 καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα εὐρίσκομεν, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς παρ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ συνεισεφέρετο. Καὶ μάρτυς τῶν λεγομένων Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης,  
 25 λέγων, "Διότι πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν, ἀπειθεὶς πονηρίᾳ  
 τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν"· δηλονότι διακρίσει μισήσας μὲν ἐκείνο, τοῦτο  
 δὲ ἀγαπήσας· διακρίσει γὰρ ἢ ἐκλογὴ πάντως τῇ πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω γίνεται.  
 Πῶς οὖν "πρὶν ἢ

1-9 (οὐδὲ ... δεχόμενος): cf. etiam Sev. Ant. Phil. (137, ll. 11-20; tr. 129, ll. 13-22)

19-20 Isa. 7.16 (LXX)

VOP 1-2 οὐδὲ ... γυναικὸς: "non enim seminis effusio respectu eius facta est" Sev. Ant.  
 (quae verba post γυναικὸς [2] addere vult Richard, *Muséon* 56 (1943), 59-60) ἐτέτεκτο:  
 τέτεκτο P 2 συνδυασμοῦ: συνουσιασμοῦ O θείας τοῦ Πνεύματος: τοῦ θείου  
 Πνεύματος P 3 διεπέπλαστο P οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν om. Sev. Ant. 4 τῇ ...  
 ἐνώσει: τὴν ... ἔνωσιν P ἥς: ἢ O καὶ om. P 5 αὐτὸν: αὐτῶν V<sup>ac</sup>; ἑαυτὸν O  
 ἐνώσαντα P 7 ante ἀπέχθειαν add. τὴν VO συνάψαςαν P 8 δὲ: τε VO  
 ἐκ om. V συνέργειαν V 9 ἄτρεπτος: οὐ τρεπτός O 11 διατετήρηται P  
 συνεργείᾳ P 12. ἀκριβεστάτην: ἀκριβὲς τὴν P 13 πρὸς: πρὸς O 14 δὴ:  
 ἤδη O 17 δὲ: δὴ O προσηληφὼς P ante ταύτην add. καὶ Pac ταύτην:  
 ταύτῃ VO τῇ: τὴν O 18 εὐδοκίαν O 19 ἀποτετμημένην: ἀποτεταγμένην P;  
 ἀπεπτημένην O 23 ἀγνοοῦντα O 25 ἢ<sup>1</sup> om. O πονηρὰ P  
 26 ἐκείνα P 27 τὸ χεῖρον P

seeing that he had not been begotten in the ordinary, natural human way, from  
 the coming-together of a man and a woman, but had been formed by the divine  
 action of the Spirit. He had, too, an extraordinary attraction towards the good  
 through his union with God the Word; he was deemed worthy of this by divine  
 foreknowledge, when God the Word united him to himself from above. So,  
 because of all of this, he possessed a great abhorrence of evil that was part and  
 parcel of his power of judgment; and joining himself to the good with limitless  
 love, receiving also a cooperation given him by God the Word proportionate to  
 his own striving, he was preserved from ever changing for the worse, unswerving,  
 for the rest of his days. This is the way he remained in his own will, and this is  
 how his own efforts were preserved by the assistance of God the Word.

And he progressed with the greatest ease towards the most perfect virtue,  
 keeping the law before his baptism and sharing in the life of grace after his  
 baptism; in this he provided us with a model, setting out for us a way to reach  
 this end. So, too, after his resurrection and ascension into heaven, he showed  
 himself worthy of the union in his own state of mind as well. He had assumed  
 the union before this, in the very moment of his creation, by the good pleasure  
 of his creator, and he provided afterwards the exact demonstration of what  
 such a union means, showing no activity separate or divided from God the  
 Word, but having God the Word in himself, accomplishing all things in union  
 with himself. So, then, before his crucifixion we see him hungry; we know him  
 to be thirsty; we learn he was afraid; we discover he was ignorant. At the same  
 time, he also strove after virtue by expending his own human effort.

And Isaiah the prophet is a witness to what we have said, where he says:  
 "Therefore before the child knows good from evil, he will refuse to comply with  
 evil, so that he may choose the good" (Isa. 7.16 [LXX]). Clearly, it is by his own  
 judgment that he will hate the one and love the other; for choice, surely, grows  
 out of a judgment of what is wrong. How, then, is this accomplished "before

γνώναι τὸ παιδίον" τοῦτο διαπράττεται; Τουτέστι, πρὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνης γενέσθαι τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν ᾗ σύνηθες τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πρακτέων τὴν διάκρισιν, ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τι πλεον καὶ ἐξαίρετον παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους. Εἰ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐρίσκεται πολλάκις νήπια  
 5 μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολλῆς δὲ συνέσεως ἐπίδειξιν παρεχόμενα, ὡς εἰς θαῦμα ἄγειν τοὺς ὁρῶντας διὰ τὸ μείζονα τῆς ἡλικίας τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι φρόνησιν, πολλῶν δὴπουθεν ἐκείνων τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἅπαντας ὑπερβαίνειν ἐχρῆν τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπους.

## [3] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

- 10 "Ἰησοῦς δὲ προέκοπτεν ἡλικία καὶ σοφία καὶ χάριτι παρὰ τέ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις." Ἡλικία μὲν γὰρ προέκοπτε, τῶν χρόνων προβαινόντων· σοφία δὲ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν χρόνων πρόοδον, τὴν σύνεσιν προσκτώμενος· χάριτι δὲ, ἀκόλουθον τῇ συνέσει καὶ τῇ γνώσει τὴν ἀρετὴν μετιῶν, ἐξ ἧς ἡ παρὰ Θεῷ χάρις αὐτῷ τὴν προσθήκην ἐλάβανεν· καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις  
 15 προέκοπτε παρὰ τε Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τῶν μὲν ὁρῶντων τὴν προκοπὴν, τοῦ δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος [298] καὶ συνεργοῦντος τοῖς γινομένοις. Δῆλον δὲ ἄρα κακεῖνο, ὡς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκριβέστερόν τε καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἐπλήρου τῆς εὐχερείας ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις ἦν δυνατὸν, ὅσω καὶ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῦ ὁποῖός τις ἔσται,  
 20 ἐνώσας αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐαυτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς διαπλάσεως ἀρχῇ, μείζονα περεῖχε τὴν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ συνεργίαν πρὸς τὴν τῶν δεόντων κατόρθωσιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων σωτηρίας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομῶν, καὶ παρορμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τελεώτερα, ἐπικουφίζων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν κόπων τὸ πλεον, εἴτε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ οὕτως  
 25 αὐτῷ μείζονά τε καὶ κουφοτέραν τῆς ἀρετῆς κατασκευάζων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν.

[3] 10-11 Luc. 2.52

[3] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo ex integro inventum. ll. 17-26 (δῆλον ... ἐκπλήρωσιν): cf. etiam Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber contra Syn. Chalc.* (104, ll. 6-15)

VOP [2] 1 post πρὶν add. ἡ P 3 ἔχοντες O τι: τὸ P 4 ἔτι: ἐστι P καὶ om. O 5 ἐπίδειξιν om. O

[3] 9 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. O post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΞΕΒΟΥΣ P 10 τε om. P 11 προέκοπτε: προκόπτει V 12 τῶν χρόνων om. O 14 ante Θεῷ add. τῷ V 15 τὴν προκοπὴν om. O 17 γενομένοις V 18 εὐχερείας: εὐχαριστίας V\*P 20 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ V τῇ om. VO 21 τῇ: τῇ O συνεργίαν V; συνεργία O 22 πάντων P τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν: κατὰ ταῦτόν O 24 τὴν om. V καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. P

the child knows"? This means: before he reaches the age in which it is usual for the rest of the human race to make a judgment on what is to be done, since he had something extra, something outstanding in comparison with the rest of the human race. For if even among us one often finds children of a tender age who show much evidence of intelligence, so that onlookers wonder because they show a personal understanding beyond that normal for their years, surely Jesus must have exceeded by far all the men and women of his time.

## 3. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

"Jesus advanced in age and wisdom and grace before God and men" (Luke 2.52). For he advanced in age, as the years went on; in wisdom, by growing in understanding along with the passing years; in grace, by pursuing virtue according to his understanding and knowledge, for which reason grace in God's delight increased within him. And in all these respects he progressed "before God and men": humans saw his progress, while God did not only see it, but testified to it and cooperated with what happened in his life. For this is clear: that he lived up to virtue more exactly and more easily than was possible for the rest of humanity, inasmuch as God the Word, foreseeing what sort of person he would be, united him to himself in the very first moment of his formation, and gave him greater cooperation, from his own resources, towards accomplishing what is right, bringing these things about in him for the salvation of all. And he spurred him on to more perfect things, and relieved him, for the most part, of toil—toil of soul and even of body—and so made it possible for him to lead a life of greater virtue, with less difficulty.



## [4] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἦνωτο μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Θεῷ ὁ ληφθεὶς κατὰ πρόγνωσιν, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαπλάσει τῆς μητρός τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς ἐνώσεως δεξάμενος. Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἡξιωμένος, ἀπάντων ἐτύγχανεν ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν  
 5 ἡνωμένον τῷ Μονογενεὶ καὶ τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότη, μειζόνων ἀξιούμενος παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅσῳ περ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἐξαίρετον συνέβαινεν. Ἠξιώθη γοὺν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνοικήσεως πρῶτος παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἡξιώθη ταύτης οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὅλην τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐδέξατο,  
 10 ἐτέροις δὲ μερικὴν παρέιχε τοῦ παντὸς Πνεύματος τὴν μετουσίαν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ ἅπαν τὸ Πνεῦμα συνέβαινεν· τὸ μὲν οὖν φθεγγόμενον, κατ' αὐτὴν τῆς φωνῆς τὴν προφορὰν, ἀνθρώπος ἦν, ἡ δὲ γε τῶν λεγομένων δύναμις πολλή τις καὶ διάφορος.

## [5] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Η' ΛΟΓΟΥ

15 "Κἀγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς." Ποίαν ταύτην; Τοῦ τῆς υἱοθεσίας μεταλαβεῖν. Ταύτην γὰρ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, βαπτισθεὶς πρότερον ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ προετυποῦτο ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα, ἧ τε γινομένη ἀναγέννησις ἐμαρτυρεῖτο τῇ πατρικῇ φωνῇ λέγοντος, "Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα." Καὶ  
 20 τὸ Πνεῦμα κατελθὼν ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καθὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τούτου μετέχειν ἐμέλλομεν· ὅπερ λοιπὸν ἐξαιρέτως αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμᾶς προσγένετο, διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐνώσεως τούτων μετέχοντι ὧν ὁ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱός.

[5] 15 Joan. 17.22 19 Matt. 3.17

[4] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. ll. 2-7 (ἡνωτο ... συνέβαινεν): cf. etiam Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc.* (104, ll. 16-19); Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 15 (254, ll. 14-22; tr. 178, ll. 30-6), ll. 2-11 (ἡνωτο ... συνέβαινεν): Sev. Ant., *Phil.* (156, ll. 7-20; tr. 128, ll. 16-30)

[5] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 8: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP [4] 1 ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ: ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P ΛΟΓΟΥ om. O 2 post Θεῷ add. Λόγῳ Tim. Ael., Sev. Ant. 4 ὅσων: ὅσον VO 6-7 ὅσῳ περ ... συνέβαινεν: "quanto celsior erat unio, quae ipsi iam obtigerat" Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* post ἐξαίρετον add. εἶναι VO 8 ἀνθρώπους iter. O<sup>c</sup> 9 ἐν ἑαυτῷ om. P 10 ἐτέραν P παρέιχε post παντὸς transp. P παντὸς om. Sev. Ant. Πνεύματος om. P 11 αὐτῷ: ἑαυτῷ O

[5] 14 ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ: ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 15 τοῦ: τὸ P 17 ἐν: ἐπ' P 18 γιγνομένη VO 19 ἡυδόκησα P 20 αὐτῷ V 21 μετέχειν: τυγχάνειν P

## 4. BY THE SAME HERETIC: FROM THE SAME BOOK

He who was assumed providentially was united from the beginning to God, receiving the first effects of the union in his very formation in the womb. Judged worthy of union in advance, he received everything that it was fitting for a man who was united to the Only-begotten and Lord of all to receive; he was held worthy of greater gifts than others, simply because the supreme gift of union was also his. For he was judged worthy, before all the rest of the human race, to have the Spirit dwelling in him, and he was judged worthy of this in a manner different from the rest: he received the whole gift of the Spirit in himself, but granted to others only a partial share in that whole Spirit. And so it was that the whole Spirit was active in him. What spoke, as far as the utterance of sound was concerned, was a man, but the power of what was being said was something great and distinctive.

## 5. BY THE SAME HERETIC: FROM THE EIGHTH BOOK

"And the glory which you gave to me I have given to them" (John 17.22). What is this glory? That of sharing in sonship. For he received this, in his humanity, first of all when he was baptized in the Jordan, where our baptism was foreshadowed in him. And the rebirth which was being accomplished was attested when the voice of the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. 3.17). And the Spirit descended and remained on him, just as we, in baptism, were going to share in it—though this was given to him in a surpassing way, compared with us, because he shared in what the one who is Son by nature has, through his union with God the Word.

## [6] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Πανταχόθεν ἄρα δῆλον ὡς περιττὸν μὲν τὸ τῆς κράσεως καὶ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ ἀφαρμόζον, ἑκάστης τῶν φύσεων ἀδιαλύτως ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς μεινάσης. Πρόδηλον δὲ ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἐφαρμόζον, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης συναχθεῖσαι  
 5 αἱ φύσεις ἐν πρόσωπον κατὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν ἀπετέλεσαν. Ὡστε ὁ περὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς φησιν, “Ὡστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία,” εἵπομεν ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰκότως κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνώσεως λόγον, “Ὡστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶ δύο πρόσωπα ἀλλ' ἓν,” δηλονότι τῶν φύσεων διακεκριμένων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ οὐ λυμαίνεται τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῆς δυνάδος τὸ  
 10 μίαν λέγεσθαι τὴν σάρκα—πρόδηλον γὰρ καθ' ὃ μία λέγονται—οὕτω κἀνταῦθα οὐ λυμαίνεται τῇ τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾷ τοῦ προσώπου ἢ ἐνωσις. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὰς φύσεις διακρίνωμεν, τελείαν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον φαμέν, καὶ τέλειον τὸ πρόσωπον—οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπρόσωπον ἔστιν ὑπόστασιν εἰπεῖν—τελείαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁμοίως.  
 15 ὅταν μέντοι ἐπὶ τὴν συνάφειαν ἀπιδώμεν, ἐν πρόσωπον τότε φαμέν.

## [7] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον κἀνταῦθα ἰδίαν φαμέν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον τὴν οὐσίαν, ἰδίαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· διακεκριμέναι γὰρ αἱ φύσεις, ἐν δὲ

[6] 6-7 Matt. 19.6; cf. Gen. 2.24

[6] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum primo hic Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14669, d. 10\* (69, l. 19-70, l. 13; †, cum Test. 7 coniunctum); ll. 4-9 (πρόδηλον ... διακεκριμένων): Pelagius II, Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr., 29 (122, ll. 8-11); ll. 4-15 (πρόδηλον ... φαμέν): Justn., Ctr. Tr. Cap. 52 (60, ll. 14-23); Conc. Const. II, 4, 36, Test. 29 (57, ll. 4-14); Vigilius, Const. I, 123, Test. 30 (264, ll. 9-20); ll. 5-15 (ὥστε ... φαμέν): Tim. Ael. (?), Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc. (104, l. 27-105, l. 7; †, cum Test. 7 coniunctum); Coll. Pal. 41, 17 (169, ll. 16-23); Conc. Const. II, 6, 9 (180, ll. 23-31); ll. 12-15 (“Ὅταν ... φαμέν): Theod. bar Kōnī, Lib. Schol. 9 (2, 190, ll. 13-16; †, cum Test. 7 coniunctum, licet cum omissionibus); ll. 12-15 (τὰς φύσεις ... φαμέν): Pelagius II, Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr., 139 (130, ll. 28-32)

[7] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Tim. Ael. (?), Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc. (105, ll. 14-24; †, cum Test. 6 coniunctum); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14669, ff. 10 a-b (70, l. 25-71, l. 10; †, cum Test. 6 coniunctum);

VOP [6] 1 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 2-3 περιττὸν ... ἀφαρμόζον: περιττός ὁ λόγος τῆς κράσεως καὶ ἀπρεπὲς καὶ ἀφαρμόζων BM Add. 14669 3 ante ἑκάστης add. ἀλλὰ BM Add. 14669 ἑκάστη V ἀδιαλύτως om. P ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς om. BM Add. 14669 post μεινάσης add. ἐνωσίς ἐστι BM Add. 14669 4 πρόδηλον ... ἐφαρμόζον om. BM Add. 14669 5-6 ὁ Κύριος ... φησιν: “dicatur” conc. Const. II, 4, 36 (txt.: *ibid.* 6,9) 7-8 εἵπομεν ... ἐν om. Coll. Pal. 8 εἰσὶ: εἰς O πρόσωπα om. BM Add. 14669 ante φύσεων add. δύο P 10 καθ' ὃ μία λέγονται: πῶς λέγονται BM Add. 14669 12-14 τελείαν ... ὁμοίως: φύσιν θεϊκὴν ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην BM Add. 14669, Theod. bar Kōnī (post ἀνθρωπίνην add. ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ Theod. bar Kōnī) 13 post τέλειον add. “sine dubitatione” coll. Pal., Pelagius. οὐδὲ: οὐ δεῖ P ἔστιν om. P 15 post ἐν πρόσωπον add. καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν BM Add. 14669, Theod. bar Kōnī ante φαμέν add. “merito” Coll. Pal.

VOP [7] 16 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 17 Λόγου om. BM Add. 14669 οὐσίαν: φύσιν (כח) Tim. Ael., BM Add. 14669, Theod. bar Kōnī ἰδίαν ... ἀνθρώπου: φαμέν ὅτι φύσις θεϊκὴ ἐστι καὶ φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη· ὅταν ἐπιγινώσκωμεν τὰς φύσεις, ἐν πρόσωπον ἔστι τῇ ἐνώσει BM Add. 14669, Theod. bar Kōnī

## 6. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

In all respects, then, it is clear that the language of “mixing” is limited and unsuitable and unfitting, if each of the natures remains indestructibly as it was. But it is even more clear that the language of “union” is fitting: for by this means the natures are brought together and form one persona (*prosōpon*) in the manner of union. So that what the Lord said about husband and wife, “they are no longer two but one flesh,” we could properly say, too, about the structure of the union: “They are no longer two personas but one”—that is, if we distinguish natures. For as in the case of marriage their being called “one flesh” is not harmed by the number two—this is already clear in the way they are said to be one—so also here, the union of persona is not harmed by the difference in natures. For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete, and his persona is complete—for one cannot speak of a “hypostasis” without a “persona”—and the nature of the man is complete, and so also his persona; but when we consider the connection, then we say there is one persona.

## 7. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

In the same way, we say here, too, that the essence of God the Word is one thing, and that of the man another; for the natures are distinguished, but a single

τὸ πρόσωπον τῇ ἐνώσει ἀποτελούμενον. Ὡστε κἀνταῦθα ὅταν μὲν τὰς φύσεις διακρίνῃν πειρώμεθα, τέλειον τὸ πρόσωπον φαμέν εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλειον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς θεότητος· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀποβλέψωμεν, τότε ἐν εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον ἄμφω τὰς φύσεις κηρύττομεν  
 5 συνημμένως, τῆς τε ἀνθρωπότητος τῇ θεότητι τὴν παρὰ τῆς κτίσεως τιμὴν δεχομένης, καὶ τῆς θεότητος ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα ἐπιτελούσης τὰ δέοντα.

## [8] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Θ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν τὸ "ἐγένετο" οὐδαμῶς ἑτέρως λέγεσθαι δυνάμενον εὐρήκαμεν ἢ κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν· ὃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ,  
 10 καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου δι' ἑτέρων, ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἀκριβέστερον ἐδιδάξαμεν. Τὸ γὰρ δοκεῖν "ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο"· τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ μὴ εἰληφέναι σάρκα ἀληθῆ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ μὴ γεγενῆσθαι. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ "ἔλαβεν" λέγει, οὐ κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγει· ὅταν δὲ "ἐγένετο," τότε κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν· οὐ γὰρ μετεποιήθη εἰς σάρκα. Προσεκτέον  
 15 ὅν τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ γνωσόμεθα τοῦ λεγομένου τὴν δύναμιν.

## [9] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

"Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τόπῳ λέγεται σχέσιν, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῆς γνώμης. Ὡς γὰρ φαμεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὅτι "ἐν τῷδε γέγονα τῷ

persona is produced by the union. So that here, too, when we attempt to distinguish the natures, we say that the persona of the man is complete, and that of the divinity is complete; but when we consider the union, then we proclaim that both natures, taken together, form one persona, with the humanity receiving the honor due the divinity from all creation, and the divinity accomplishing all that is right in the humanity.

## 8. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE NINTH BOOK

Here, then, we have found that "he became" cannot have been meant in any other way than referring to appearances; we have shown clearly above that this is said in the holy Scripture, especially by others with reference to the Lord. In appearance, after all, "the Word became flesh": appearance not in the sense that he did not take up true flesh, but in that he did not *become* it. For when it says "he took," it says this not in the sense of appearances but in that of truth; but when it says "he became," then it is in the sense of appearances; for he was not transformed into flesh. We must adhere to the mind of the Evangelist; for thus we shall understand the meaning of what is said.

## 9. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

What is said of us about our spatial relationships, is said of God about his relationships of will. For as we say about ourselves, "I was in this place," so we

[8] 11 Joan. 1.14 13 (ἔλαβεν): cf. Phil. 2.7

[7] p. 466, l. 17-p. 468, l. 4 (τὸν αὐτὸν ... κηρύττομεν): Theod. bar Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* 9 (2, 190, ll. 21-5; †, cum Test. 6 coniunctum, licet cum omissionibus)[8] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 9: fragmentum hic primo inventum[9] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum[7] 1 τὸ om. O 2 φύσεις: κρίσεις V<sup>ac</sup> (corr. Torres?) πειρώμεθα: παρώμεθα P 1-3 τὸ πρόσωπον ... τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: τὸν ἀνθρώπον ... τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ BM Add. 14669 2-4 τέλειον ... ἀποβλέπωμεν om. Theod. bar Kōnī 2 εἶναι ante φαμέν (5) transp. P 4 ἀποβλέπωμεν P post πρόσωπον add. καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν BM Add. 14669, Theod. bar Kōnī 5 συνημμένης O τε om. O[8] 7 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 11 τὸ: τῷ P 14 τότε: τὸ P; τό γε O 15 τῇ διανοίᾳ P εὐαγγελίου PVOP [9] 17 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V Post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P

τόπω,<sup>1</sup> οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ ὅτι γέγονεν ἐν τῷδε· ἐπειδὴ ὅπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡ μετὰβασις ἐργάζεται, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ γνώμη, ἀπανταχοῦ τῇ φύσει τυγχάνοντος.

[301] [10] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Ι' ΛΟΓΟΥ

5 “Ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. Καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσήυχετο· καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.” Οὐκοῦν τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα, καὶ τοῦτου οὐ τὸν τυχόντα, φανερώς ὑπομεμενηκότα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων μανθάνομεν.

10 [11] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ποίαν δὲ καὶ ἔξει ἀκολουθίαν τὸ λεγόμενον “ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς,” καὶ “ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ;” Ἀναιρεῖται γὰρ θατέρῳ τὸ ἕτερον, τὸ μὲν καταβεβηκέναι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῷ εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τὸ δὲ εἶναι τῷ καταβεβηκέναι. Ἀλλὰ καταβέβηκε μὲν τῇ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνοικήσει.  
15 ἔστι δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ τῷ ἀπεριγράφῳ τῆς φύσεως πᾶσι παρών.

[12] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Σκοπῶμεν τοίνυν τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος περὶ οὗ ἐκπλήττεται καὶ θαυμάζει ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι δὴ [302] ὁ Μονογενὴς κατηξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναί τε καὶ ἐπισκοπῆν ποιήσασθαι.

[10] 5-7 Luc. 22.43-4 [11] 11 Joan. 3.13 [12] 16-p. 175, l. 1 (τίς ... ποιήσασθαι): cf. Ps. 8.5 (LXX)

[10] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 10: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[11] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[12] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theorum* 2, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 9 (77, ll. 27-31); l. 17-p. 472, l. 3 (σκοπῶμεν ... εὐδελον): Thdt., *Ctr. Cyrillum*, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 31 (94, ll. 8-12);

[9] 1 καὶ om. P ante Θεοῦ add. τοῦ Ο 2 ἡ om. P

[10] 4 Post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 5 γενόμενος: γεγωνὼς O

6 ἀγωνία: ἀγωνί V 7 καταβαίνοντος VP<sup>ac</sup> καὶ om. P

[11] 10 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 13 τῷ<sup>1</sup>: τὸ VOP; corr. Swete τῷ<sup>2</sup> om. P

τὸ: τῷ Ο τῷ<sup>1</sup>: τὸ OP ἄνθρωπον: οὐρανὸν O

[12] 16 Post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 17-18 ὁ προφήτης om. V, Cyr. Alex., Thdt., Pelagius

say of God that he “came to be here”: since what movement brings about in us, willing brings about in God, who is present by nature everywhere.

10. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE TENTH BOOK

“And an angel appeared from heaven to comfort him. And falling into agony, he prayed more intensely; and his sweat became like drops of blood, falling onto the ground.” So we learn from what is said that Christ clearly endured a struggle, and this no ordinary one.

11. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

What are the consequences of the phrase, “who came down from heaven” and of “who is in heaven”? For each is cancelled out by the other: the “coming down from heaven” by the “being in heaven,” and the “being” by the “coming down.” But he came down by indwelling in the man; he is in heaven by being present to all, in the uncircumscribed fullness of his nature.

12. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

Let us, then, examine who the man is, about whom the prophet is amazed and struck with wonder, that the Only-begotten thinks him worth remembering and caring for.

Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ περὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου εἴρηται, ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται· ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς τινος τῶν τυχόντων, καὶ τοῦτο εὐδηλον. Ἵνα δὲ ἅπαντα παριῶμεν, τὸ πάντων ἀξιοπιστότερον, τὴν ἀποστολικὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκδεξώμεθα.

5 [303] [13] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΒ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν “ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ,” ἀλλ’ “ἐν υἱῷ,” ὃ δὴ καὶ λεγόμενον ἀπολύτως ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ ταῦτον σημαίνειν ἡδύνατο, πρωτοτύπως μὲν σημαίνειν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Υἱὸν—ἀληθὴ δὲ Υἱὸν λέγω τὸν τῇ φυσικῇ γεννήσει τὴν υἰότητα κεκτημένον—ἐπομένως δὲ  
20 συνεπιδεχόμενον τῇ σημασίᾳ καὶ τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἀξίας μετέχοντα τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει.

[14] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἄρα παύσονται λοιπὸν τῆς ἀναισχύντου μάχης, ἀποστήσονται δὲ τῆς ματαίας φιλονεικίας, αἰδεσθέντες τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ προφανές; “Πολλοὺς”  
15 γὰρ, φησὶν, “υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα.” Ἴδου τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τῆς υἰότητος λόγῳ καὶ συγκατατάττων ὁ ἀπόστολος φαίνεται τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐ καθ’ ὃ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἐκείνοις τῆς υἰότητος μετέχων, ἀλλὰ [καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν] καθ’ ὃ χάριτι προσείληφε τὴν υἰότητα, τῆς θεότητος μόνῃς τὴν φυσικὴν υἰότητα κεκτημένης. Πρόδηλον γὰρ ἐκείνῳ,  
20 ὡς τῆς υἰότητος αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους πρόσσεστι τὸ ἐξαίρετον, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ “Υἱοῦ” φωνῇ συνεπινοούμενως παραλαμβάνεται. Ἀλλὰ λογοποιοῦνται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι εἰ δύο τέλεια φάσκομεν, πάντως δύο καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐροῦμεν. Ἀλλ’ ἰδοὺ καὶ

That this is not said about every human being has already been shown above; that it is not about just any chance person is also clear. To bypass all possibilities, let us accept the most credible source of all, the witness of the Apostles.

13. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE TWELFTH BOOK

For this reason he did not say, “He spoke to us in the Son,” but “in a son,” which, by being said in this unspecified way, could mean both with the same expression: first of all indicating the true Son—by “true Son” I mean him who obtained sonship by natural begetting—and then also embracing in its meaning the one who truly shares in his status through union with him.

14. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

Well, will they now stop this shameless wrangling, and refrain from empty vindictiveness respecting the obvious meaning of what is said? For he says, “leading many sons to glory.” See, the Apostle is obviously including the assumed man with everybody else in the category of sonship: not sharing in sonship in the same way they do, but similar at least, in that he has received sonship by grace, with the godhead alone possessing natural sonship. For it is perfectly clear that the special status of sonship is peculiar to him [= Jesus] in comparison with the rest of the human race, through his union with him [= the Word]; therefore he [= Jesus] is also understood in our use of the title “Son.” But they contrive the argument against us that if we speak of two complete beings, then surely we will be speaking of two sons. But notice:

[13] 6 Hebr. 1.1

[14] 14–15 Hebr. 2.10

[12 cont.] Pelagius II, Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr., 96/126, ll. 3–6)

[13] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, ibid. 12: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[14] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, ibid.: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. ll. 13–19 (ἄρα ... κεκτημένης): cf. etiam Conc. Const. II, 4, 55, Test. 46 (62, ll. 2–7); Vigilius, Constitutum I, 164, Test. 47 (275, l. 14–276, l. 4);

VOP [12] 1 μὲν post ἀνθρώπου transp. Swete οὐ: οὐκ VOP; corr. Swete περὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου suppl. Swete e testimoniis Latinis 3 παρῶμεν VOP ἀξιοπιστώτερον P; εὐπιστότερον VO 4 ἐκδεξώμεθα O

[13] 5 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 7 σημαίνειν: σημαίνων VO

[14] 12 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 13 post δὲ add. λοιπὸν VO 17 καθ’ ὃ addidi 18 μετέχειν O [καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν] ut diplographiam seclusi 22 συνεπινοούμενος V παραλαμβάνεται: συμπαράλαμβάνεται VO 23 φάσκομεν O



“Υἱὸς” εἴρηται ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ καθ’ αὐτὸ, τῆς θεότητος ὑπεξηρημένης, [304] τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις συντεταγμένος, καὶ οὐκ ἤδη δύο φαμέν τοὺς υἱούς. Εἰς δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς ὁμολογεῖται δικαίως, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν φύσεων διαίρεσις ἀναγκαίως ὀφείλει διαμένειν, καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου ἔνωσις ἀδιάσπαστος φυλάττεσθαι. Καὶ εἰρηκῶς “πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα,” ἐπάγει “τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.” Ὅρατε πῶς φανερώς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον φησὶ διὰ παθημάτων τετελειωκέναι τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον, ὃν καὶ “ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας” ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς αὐτόν τε πρῶτον ταύτης ἀξιωθέντα καὶ ἐτέροις αἴτιον καταστάντα.

10 [15] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἀπασὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις, κατὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν, τὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τιθέντες ὄνομα διατελοῦσιν· ἀνθρωπινωτέρων γὰρ ὄντων τῶν λεγομένων ἐδικαίουν ταύτη κεχρησθαι τῇ φωνῇ, ἣν τινα καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ τὴν προσηγορίαν συνέβαινεν· καὶ ὅτι τὸ “Ἰησοῦς” ὄνομα τοῦ ἀναληφθέντος ἦν προσηγορία, ὥσπερ καὶ 15 τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ “Πέτρος” καὶ “Παῦλος,” ἢ εἴ τι τοιοῦτο λεγόμενον, οὕτω τε ἐπικληθὲν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρίας (...)

[16] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτό φασιν ὅτι τὸ “Ἰησοῦς” ὄνομα σωτῆρα σημαίνει· σωτῆρ δὲ, φασί, πῶς ἂν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγοιτο; Ἐπιλελησμένοι ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐλέγετο 20 καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ· καὶ τό δὴ θαυμαστὸν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τίνος οὕτω κληθεῖς συντυχίας ἐν τῇ γεννήσει, ἀλλὰ μετονομασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωϋσέως.

[14] 17–19 Hebr. 2.10

[14 cont.] p. 472, l. 13–p. 474, l. 5 (ἀρα ... φυλάττεσθαι): Cyr. Alex., Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum 10, apud Conc. Const. II, 5 (79, ll. 9–20)

[15] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, ibid.: fragmentum hic primo inventum.

[16] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, ibid.: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Conc. Const. II, 4, 56, Test. 47 (62, ll. 9–13); Vigilius, Constitutum I, 166, Test. 48 (276, ll. 14–19)

VOP [14] 1 ante Υἱὸς add. ὁ P ante Γραφῇ add. θείᾳ V κατ’ VO ὑπεξηρημένης: ἐξηρημένης P; ὑπεξηρημένως OP 2 λοιποῖς: πολλοῖς O οὐκ ἤδη: οὐχὶ OP 3 εἰς: εἰ P ὡμολόγηται P 4 ἀδιασπάστως V 6 post τελειῶσαι add. ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ P φασὶ O

[15] 10 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 14 ἦν: ἡ V 15 τὸ om. P τοιοῦτον P

[16] 17 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 18 σωτῆρα: σωτηρίαν OPP 19 φησὶ(ν) VO, Conc. Const. II, Vigilius ἐπιλελησμένου V ante Ἰησοῦς add. καὶ O 20 δὴ: γε P 21 γενέσει V Μωϋσέως: Μωϋσεος P; Μωσέως O

he is also referred to simply as “son” in the Scripture, when [all suggestion of] divinity is removed and he is included among the rest of men; and we do not therefore say there are two sons. No, the Son is properly confessed to be one, since the difference in natures ought necessarily to remain, and the union of persona ought to be preserved inseparable. And when he says, “leading many sons to glory”, he adds: “to perfect through suffering the pioneer of their salvation.” See how clearly he says that God the Word perfected the assumed man through sufferings, the one whom he has called “the pioneer of salvation,” to establish him as both the first one judged worthy of it and as being the cause [of it] for others.

15. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

For to all of these, according to our interpretation, they continue to apply the name of son; for since what is said is put in a more or less human way, they held it right to use this word [i.e. “Son”], which also happened to be his title. And [they say] that the name “Jesus” is the name of the assumed man, just like the names of the Apostles “Peter” or “Paul” or similar names, and it was given to him as a name after his birth from Mary.

16. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

But they say in reply to this that the name “Jesus” means salvation. And how, they say, could a man be called savior? They have forgotten that the son of Nun was also called Jesus, and the remarkable thing was that he was not called this by some chance at birth, but had his name changed to this by Moses.

Δῆλον δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ θεῖναι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου ἡνέσχετο, εἴπερ θείας ἦν πάντως φύσεως σημαντικόν.

[17] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

“Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς [305] πατράσιν  
5 ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν  
Υἱῷ.” Φανερῶς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐν Υἱῷ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ λέγων δεικνύται.

[18] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

«...» ὥστε οὐ μόνον “Υἱὸν” αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ, τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀφορίσας,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ συντάττων κατὰ τὸν τῆς υἰότητος λόγον τοῖς λοιποῖς  
10 μετεσχηκόσι [306] τῆς υἰότητος ἐλέγχεται· ἐπεὶ περ χάριτι καὶ αὐτὸς  
μετέσχηκε τῆς υἰότητος, οὐ φυσικῶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένος, ἔχων  
μέντοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὴν ὑπερσχήν, ὅτι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει  
κέκτῃται τὴν υἰότητα, ὃ δὴ κυριωτέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος χαρίζεται  
τὴν μετουσίαν.

15 [19] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

“...» καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. οὗτος ἔσται μέγας, καὶ Υἱὸς  
“Υψίστου κληθήσεται.” Ἰδοὺ τοίνυν ὅπως τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας εὐαγγελιζόμενος  
τοκετὸν, τὸν κατὰ σάρκα λέγω, “Ἰησοῦν” μὲν αὐτὸν κληθῆναι κελεύει,  
“Υἱὸν” δὲ “Υψίστου” κληθήσεσθαι προαγορεύει· εἰκότως τὸ μὲν τεθῆναι  
20 κελεύων ὡς προσηγορίαν τοῦ τικτομένου,

[17] 4–6 Hebr. 1.1–2

[19] 16–17 Luc. 1.31–2

[17] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum* 2, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 13 (82, ll. 4–6; ↓)

[18] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Conc. Const. II, 4, 57, Test. 48 (62, ll. 15–19); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 168, Test. 49 (277, ll. 5–10)

[19] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP [16] 1 post θείας add. οικονομίας P 2 σημαντικόν: γνωριστικόν P  
[17] 3 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 5 ἐσχάτου P 6 γὰρ om. O  
[18] 7 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 9 τῆς om. P 12 παρὰ:  
πρὸς P 13 κυριωτέραν V; κυριώτερον O ante αὐτῷ add. ἐν O  
[19] 15 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 16 αὐτοῦ: αὐτῷ V 17 post  
τοίνυν add. ἔγνω P εὐαγγελιζόμενον P 18 τοκετὸν: τόκον V τὸν om. VO  
λέγω: λέγων VO ante Ἰησοῦν add. καὶ V 19 προσαγορεύει V<sup>ac</sup> O

It is clear that this could not have been given to a man, if it simply signified the divine nature.

17. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

“God, who spoke to the fathers through the prophets in a variety of ways and means, in these last days has spoken to us in a son.” Clearly here “in a son” is shown to be referring to the man.

18. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

... So that he does not only call him “Son” in order to distinguish him from God the Word, but he is arguably including him, by the category of sonship, with the rest of those who share in that sonship; after all, he [= Jesus], too, shares in sonship by grace, not being begotten from the Father in a natural way, even though he has, in comparison with the rest of us, the advantage that he acquired sonship by means of union with him: which grants to him a more authentic share in the reality of it.

19. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

“... And you shall call his name Jesus. He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High.” See, then, how when he [= Gabriel] announced the birth from Mary—that is, birth according to the flesh—he ordered that he be called “Jesus,” but foretold that he would come to be called “Son of the Most High”: rightfully commanding that the one [title] be imposed as the proper name of the one to be born,

τὸ δὲ κληθήσεσθαι προαγορεύων, ἐπειδὴ τιμῆς ἦν σύμβολον τὸ ὄνομα, ἦν ἐξῆς ἐβεβαίον τοῦ πράγματος ἡ μετουσία.

[20] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Δήλον δὲ ὅτι περ ἐν τῇ τῶν φύσεων διακρίσει πάντως ἡμῖν ἐπιτετήρηται  
5 τὸ εἰδέναι ὡς ὁ μὲν Θεὸς Λόγος κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν γέννησιν Υἱὸς εἶναι  
λέγεται, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος πολλῶ γε μείζονος οὐσης ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Υἱοῦ  
τῆς ἀξίας ἀπολαύει, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον συνάφειαν.

[21] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΓ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

“... ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν Πνεύματι.” δεδικαιῶσθαι ἐν  
10 Πνεύματι λέγων αὐτὸν, εἴτε ὡς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος [307] μετὰ τῆς  
προσηκούσης ἀκριβείας τὸν νόμον φυλάξαντα, εἴτε ὡς καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τὴν  
τῆς χάριτος πολιτείαν, τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος συνεργίᾳ, μετὰ πολλῆς  
πληρώσαντα τῆς ἀκριβείας.

[22] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

15 Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρημένον, ὅτι “ἐγὼ χρεῖαν ἔχω  
ὑπὸ σου βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἔρχη πρὸς με;”—οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀναιρήσει τὸ  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. Ἀρμόσει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος λόγον, ἐπεί περ κατὰ τε αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν πολλὴν εἶχε  
τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς Ἰωάννην, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεότητος  
20 φύσιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἥδη δὲ  
καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἔχων τὸ ἀξίωμα δικαίως ἐγνωρίζετο.

[21] 9 1 Tim. 3.16

[22] 15–16 Matt. 3.14

[20] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[21] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 13: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam:  
Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14669, f. 17b (80, ll. 1–8); Conc. Const. II, 4, 62, Test. 53 (63, ll. 20–3; ↑); Vigilius,  
*Constitutum* I, 179, Test. 54 (280, ll. 2–7; ↑)

[22] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP [19] 1 προαγορεύων OP

[20] 1 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 6 μείζονως O κατ' αὐτὸν: καθ'  
αὐτὸ P 7 ἀπολαύειν VO

[21] 8 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P  
9 δεδικαιῶσθαι ἐν Πνεύματι om. O, Vig. 10 ὡς om. O 11 καὶ om. O  
συνεργίᾳ V 11–13 τὴν τῆς χάριτος ... ἀκριβείας: τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος καὶ  
τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκριβείᾳ πεπληρωμένου B.M. Add. 14669 13 πληροῦντα VO

[22] 14 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 15 τοῦ om. P ὅτι: τὸ P 17 ὁν<sup>1</sup>  
om. O γὰρ: δὲ O

and prophesying that he would be called by the other, since the name was a symbol of the honor which his share in the reality would duly secure [for him].

20. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

It is clear that in making a distinction between natures we are preserving, surely, our insight that God the Word is said to be Son according to natural begetting, and that the man enjoys the status of son, much greater than what is his own, because of his identification with him.

21. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE THIRTEENTH BOOK

“Who appeared in the flesh, was justified in the spirit.” Saying that he is “justified in the spirit” [means] either that before his baptism he kept the law with fitting exactitude, or else that even after it he continued to fulfill the life of grace, with the help of the Spirit, with a great deal of exactitude.

22. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

Not even what was said by John to him, the phrase “I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?”—not even this cancels out the fact that the one being baptized is a human being. For it befits him even in virtue of his humanity, since in his very virtue he greatly surpassed John; and because of the divine nature dwelling in him he was justly recognized as having a status not only above John, but above all human beings and even above creation.

## [23] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Διόπερ καὶ ὁ Κύριος, βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ τῆς τροφῆς τό τε καρτερικὸν καὶ ἐμφιλόσοφον ἐπιδείξασθαι, τοῦτο μὲν γενέσθαι οὐκ αἰτεῖ φησὶν. δεικνὺς δὲ ὅτι ἔλαττον αὐτῷ μέλει τῆς τροφῆς καὶ προτιμότερον αὐτῷ  
 5 τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐδέν, φησὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν· “Οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀρτῷ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.”

## [24] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ διάβολος ἐσπούδασε, πείσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὥς οὐδαμῶς αὐτοῦ φροντὶς τῷ Θεῷ· διὸ καὶ ἔλεγεν, “Εἰ Υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποιήσον τόδε,”  
 10 τουτέστιν “ἐργῷ δείξον ὅτι μέλει σου τῷ Θεῷ.” Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο μεγάλα, ὥς δι’ ἐκείνου μὲν ἀποστήσων τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων οἰκειώσων ἑαυτῷ. Καὶ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ πείρᾳ τὸν ἄρτον προβάλλεται, τῇ ἡδονῇ γαργαλίζων ἐπὶ τὴν πείραν ἐλθεῖν.

## [25] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

15 Διόπερ ὁ Κύριος, ἐν τοῖς τρίσιν ἡττήσας αὐτὸν, ἡμῖν τὴν κατ’ αὐτοῦ νίκην ἐχαρίσατο. Οὐκ αἰτήσας μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὸν ἄρτον γενέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ἡδονῆς κρατοῦντα· μὴ βαλὼν δὲ ἑαυτὸν κάτω, δόξης ὑπερεῖδε, πείσας ἅπαντας ὥς οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ ταύτης· διὰ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, κρατήσας τῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἀγαθῶν, ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδενὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ  
 20 εὐσεβείας ἡττώμενον.

[23] 5–6 Matt. 4.4; cf. Deut. 8.3

[24] 9 Matt. 4.3, 6

[23] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum[24] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum[25] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP [23] 1 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 2 καὶ  
 om. VO 3 φησιν om. Swete 4 δέ: γὰρ Swete προτιμώτερον O  
 6 ἄνθρωπος om. P

[24] 7 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 9 τῷ Θεῷ: τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ V καὶ om. VO τόδε ante ποιήσον transp. P 10 σου: σοι VO 13 ante  
 ἡδονῇ add. δὲ P

[25] 14 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 15 νίκην: δίκην  
 Swete 16 τῶν ἄρτων O 18 ὑπερίδε V μέλει V; μέλλον P 19 οὐδέν VO  
 20 ἡττημένον O; ἡττόμενον P

## 23. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

And therefore the Lord, wanting to demonstrate his endurance and his philosophical character in the face of a lack of food, does not demand that this occur [i.e. that stones become bread]; and showing that he is less interested in nourishment, and that nothing is more valuable to him than virtue, he says to him [Satan]: “Not by bread alone does man live, but by every word coming from the mouth of God.”

## 24. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

For the devil was eager to persuade him that God took no thought for him; and therefore he said, “If you are the Son of God, do this,” meaning: “Show by an action that God cares about you.” And he himself made great promises, so that he might separate him from God by that suggestion and then win him for himself by the promises. And in the first temptation he put bread before him, enticing him with pleasure to follow the temptation.

## 25. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

Therefore the Lord, who bested him [= Satan] all three times, bestowed the victory over him on all of us. For by not demanding that there should be bread from God, he showed himself stronger than pleasure; by not throwing himself down, he disdained glory, persuading everyone that it meant nothing to him; and by the third gesture he, who ruled over the world’s goods, showed that he was mastered by none of them as much as he was by reverence [i.e. for God].

## [26] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΔ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν καὶ τοσαύτη γέγονε περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ τιμή, καταξιώθῃς  
 θείας ἐνοικήσεως, τοῦ τε καθῆσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ  
 προσκυνεῖσθαι παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὁ Θεὸς οὕτως  
 5 ἀπλῶς καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς χρησίμου λόγου ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ  
 ἡνὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, προσκυνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς κτίσεως παρασκευάζων  
 ἀπάσης, τὰς δὲ γε νοητὰς φύσεις προσκυνεῖν ἐδικαίου, εἰ μὴ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 γεγονότα κοινὴ πάσης ἦν εὐεργεσία τῆς κτίσεως.

## [27] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

10 Ταῦτό δὴ τοῦτο φήσομεν δικαίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι περὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
 Λόγος ἐπιστάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ δὴ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν εὐθὺς  
 ἄνωθεν, ἐν τῇ τῆς διαπλάσεως ἀρχῇ, ἐνοικήσας τε εὐδοκήσας καὶ ἐνώσας  
 αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ τῇ σχέσει τῆς γνώμης, μείζονά τινα παρείχεν αὐτῷ τὴν  
 15 ἀνθρώπους. Ὅθεν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ καλὰ πρόθεσιν ἀκέραιον αὐτῷ  
 διεφύλαττεν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο φήσομεν, ὅτι περὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρόθεσιν  
 εἶχεν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι προὔτεθειτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ καλόν, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 πλείστη αὐτῷ τις κατὰ πρόθεσιν προσῆν ἢ τε τοῦ καλοῦ στοργὴ καὶ τὸ  
 τοῦ ἐναντίου μίσος· διεφύλαττετο δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προθέσεως ἀκέραια  
 20 ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἄνωθεν, τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁποῖός τις ἔσται ἀκριβῶς  
 ἐπισταμένου, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν τοῦτου βεβαίωσιν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος  
 τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐνοικήσει τὴν συνεργίαν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας.  
 Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀδικίας εἶποι τις ἂν εἶναι τὸ παρὰ πάντος ἐξαιρετόν τι  
 παρεσχῆσθαι τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ληφθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ.

## 25 [28] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΕ' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ὅταν τοίνυν ἐρωτῶσιν, “Ἀνθρωποτόκος ἢ θεοτόκος ἡ Μαρία;” λεγέσθω  
 παρ' ἡμῶν, “Ἀμφότερα” — τὸ μὲν τῇ φύσει τοῦ πράγματος, τὸ δὲ

[26] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 14: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[27] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: *Conc. Const.* II, 4, 63, Test. 54 (64, ll. 2–12); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 182–3, Test. 55 (281, ll. 2–15).

[28] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 15: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum.

VOP [26] 1 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 4 ἄν om. P

[27] 9 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. V post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ P  
 14–15 διαδοθησομένης ἀνθρώπους; ἀνθρώπους διαβησομένης P 16 διεφύλαξεν P  
 οὐ: οὐδὲ P<sup>ac</sup> 17 προτέθειτο OP αὐτῷ: fort. αὐτῷ 20 τις: τῆς V τις om. P  
 ἐστὶν V 22 συνεργίαν V 24 παρασχέσθαι P

[28] 25 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 27 post μὲν add. γὰρ Vac

26. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE  
FOURTEENTH BOOK

Hence such great honor was attached to the man, who was found worthy of the divine indwelling and of sitting at the right hand of the Father and of being worshipped by all creation. For God would never have simply assumed a man and united him to himself, bringing it about that he be worshipped by all creation, without a good reason; nor would he have allowed rational natures to worship [him], if what had happened to him were not a common benefaction for all creation.

## 27. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

We rightly say this same thing about the Lord as well, since God the Word knew his virtue, and in fact according to this foreknowledge, right from the beginning, at the first moment of his formation, was pleased to dwell in him and united him to himself by the relationship of will; he gave him a greater measure of grace, so that the grace given him might be given to all people who come after him. Therefore [God] preserved undiminished his free choice for the good. We do not say this, that the man had no free choice [of his own], but that he preferred the good, or rather that a very great longing for the good and hatred of evil was characteristic of his faculty of choice. And these habits of choice were preserved uncontaminated in him from the beginning, by God's grace, since God knew clearly what sort of man he would be, and in fact provided great support for him, by the cooperation of his own indwelling, for the sake of the salvation of all of us. Therefore one would not call it unfair that a gift excelling that of all [of us] was provided for the man assumed by the Lord.

## 28. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE FIFTEENTH BOOK

When they ask, then, “Is Mary the mother of a human being or the mother of God?” let it be said, on our authority, “Both” — the one by the nature of his reality, the other



τῇ ἀναφορᾷ. Ἀνθρωποτόκος μὲν γὰρ τῇ φύσει, ἐπεὶ περ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς Μαρίας, ὃς καὶ προῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν· θεοτόκος δὲ, ἐπεὶ περ Θεὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ τεχθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ περιγραφόμενος κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ὢν κατὰ τὴν σχέσιν τῆς γνώμης.

5 [29] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Πλέον γὰρ ὠχλεῖτο ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἡγωνίζετο πρὸς τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη ὑπὲρ τὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῷ κρείττονι λογισμῷ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐχειροῦτο, τῆς θεότητος δηλαδὴ μεσιτευούσης καὶ βοηθοῦσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κατόρθωσιν.

[30] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ Δ' ΛΟΓΟΥ  
10 ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΑΥΤῷ ΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΩΝ

Δεδοκέναι σοὶ τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰπὰς τὰ οὐκ ἂν δοθέντα παρὰ τινος τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀντέχεσθαι δόξης ἐσπουδακότων. Ἐπυνθανόμεθα γὰρ εἰ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι, ἢ πῶς· ἐπήγαγες, “Ἐδίδωσαν.” Καὶ τίς ἂν ἔχων νοῦν ἄνθρωπον εἰποι τὸν Θεὸν γεγενῆσθαι  
15 Λόγον, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμῖν πρότερον νοσήσειεν ἄνοιαν; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰληφέναι μὲν τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον καὶ σφόδρα φαρμέν, γεγενῆσθαι δὲ ἄνθρωπον, καθ’ ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰπεῖν ἀνασχοίμεθα.

[31] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΣ,  
ΛΟΓΟΥ Γ'· ὩΣ' ἘΚ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ

20 “Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃν ὁράτε, δύναμαι μὲν ποιεῖν οὐδὲν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν,

[31] 20 (ἐγὼ ... οὐδὲν) cf. Joan. 5.19, 30

[28 cont.] Cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Phil.* (156, ll. 21–8; tr. 128, l. 30–129, l. 3); *Ctr. Gram.* II, 15, (134, l. 25–135, l. 2; tr. 105, ll. 2–9); Conc. Const. II, 4, 52, Test. 43 (61, ll. 6–10); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 156, Test. 44 (272, l. 22–273, l. 4); Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum*, 2, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 11 (80, ll. 9–13; †)

[29] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Conc. Const. II, 4, 33, Test. 27 (55, ll. 24–6; †); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 115, Test. 28 (262, ll. 2–4; †); Pelagius II, *Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr.*, 77 (121, ll. 35–7; †)

[30] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *Contra Apollinarem*, 4: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 9 (50, ll. 10–15)

VOP [28] 2 ὡς V ἐπεὶ περ: ἐπειδὴ P 4 ὢν ante δὲ transp. P

[29] 5 ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> om. O post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup> add. ἈΣΕΒΟΥΣ P

[30] 9 post ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ add. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ V 11 ante δοθέντα add. ποτε Justn.  
τινος: τινῶν OP 13 ἢ πῶς: εἰ πῶς V; εἰπὼν Justn. 14 ἐδίδωσαν V  
14–15 Λόγον ante γεγενῆσθαι transp. P 15 νοσήσει V ἄνοιαν: ἔννοιαν V<sup>ac</sup>  
16 μὲν: ἄνθρωπον Justn. 17 ἀνασχοίμεθα V<sup>ac</sup> O

[31] 18 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 19 ΛΟΓΟΣ P post ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ add. ΟΥΤΩΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ V

by transference. She is the mother of a human being by nature, since he who was in the womb of Mary, and who came forth from it, was human; but she is the mother of God, since God was in the human being she bore, not circumscribed in him in nature, but existing in him by a relationship of will.

29. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

The Lord was more disturbed, and struggled more, with respect to the sufferings of his soul than those of the body, and he mastered his passions by a superior faculty of reason, since clearly the divinity was his mediator and helper in governing them.

30. BY THE SAME HERETIC: FROM THE FOURTH  
BOOK OF HIS WRITINGS AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

You say that some of our party have conceded to you what should not have been conceded by anyone eager to uphold the belief of the Church. For we inquired whether they confessed that God the Word became human, or what they said; you asserted, “They conceded [that].” And who in his right mind would say that God the Word has become human, as you say, unless indeed he already suffered from the same mindlessness as you? We would certainly say that God the Word assumed a human being, but we could never bring ourselves to say, as you do, that he became human.

31. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME TREATISE,  
BOOK 3, AS IF FROM THE PERSON OF CHRIST

“I, whom you see, can do nothing by my own nature,

ἅτε ἄνθρωπος ὢν· ἐργάζομαι δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ὁ Πατήρ ἅπαντα ποιεῖ.” “Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ τε,” φησὶν, “ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ, Θεὸς δὲ Λόγος ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Μονογενὴς, δηλονότι καὶ Πατήρ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν ἐμοὶ τε μένων καὶ τὰ ἔργα ποιῶν.” Καὶ θαυμαστόν γε  
 5 οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο νομίζειν, σαφῶς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν λέγοντος ἀνθρώπων· “ὁ ἀγαπῶν με τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει, καὶ ὁ Πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ’ αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν.” Εἰ γὰρ παρ’ ἐκάστῳ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ τε Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τὴν μονὴν ποιοῦνται, τί θαυμαστόν εἰ ἐν τῷ κατὰ σάρκα Δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ  
 10 ἄμφω κατὰ ταῦτόν νομίζονται μένειν, τῆς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν κοινωνίας προσιεμένης, ὡς εἰκὸς, καὶ τὴν τῆς μονῆς κοινωνίαν;

## [32] ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΣ, ΛΟΓΟΥ Δ’

“Ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων,” φησὶ, “γέγονεν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων”—πάλιν ὡς τινῶν δεδωκότων καὶ τοῦτο λεγόντων—οὐδένοιο τῶν εὐσεβεῖν ἐσπουδακότων ταύτην  
 15 ἐλομένου νοσήσαι τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὥστε τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εἰπεῖν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων γεγενῆσθαι.

## [33] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ’ ἙΤΕΡΑ

Οὐκοῦν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπόμενοι νόμοις καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀγχινόας νομοθετουμένην ἀντιστροφὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταστροφὴν, δεξάμενοι,

[31] 2 (ἐν ἐμοὶ ... ποιεῖ) cf. Joan. 14.10 3 (ἐγὼ ... ἐμοὶ) Joan. 14.10–11  
 6–8 (ὁ ἀγαπῶν ... ποιήσομεν) Joan. 14.23

[31] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 3: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 11 (50, l. 36–51, l. 5); Conc. Const. II, 4, 16, Test. 10 (48, ll. 16–25); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 58–9, Test. 10 (246, ll. 5–17); Pelagius II, *Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr.*, 73 (120, l. 37–121, l. 4)

[32] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 4: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 14 (51, ll. 19–21); Conc. Const. II, 4, 14, Test. 8a (47, ll. 17–19; ↓, cum Test. 33 coniunctum); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 31, Test. 8a (244, ll. 2–5; ↓, cum Test. 33 coniunctum)

[33] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 15 (51, ll. 22–30); Conc. Const. II, 4, 14, Test. 8b (47, l. 28–48, l. 6; ↑, cum Test. 32 coniunctum); Vigilius

VOP [31] 3 Θεοῦ Πατρός P 8 ποιήσωμεν Justn. codd. (corr. Schwartz) τε om. P  
 10 κατὰ ταῦτόν: κατ’ αὐτῶν V; κατ’ αὐτόν OP (txt. Justn.) νομίζοιτο VO 11 μονῆς:  
 μετοχῆς VOP (txt. Justn.)

[32] 12 ante ἘΚ add. ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΣΕΒΟΥΣ P ΛΟΓΟΣ P 14 λεγόντων:  
 λέγων Justn. Post οὐδένοιο add. ἂν Justn. 15 ἐλομένων V νοῆσαι OP

[33] 18 ὑμετέροις OP

because I am a man; I act, because the Father who abides in me does everything. For since,” he says, “I am in the Father and the Father in me—since God the Word, God’s Only-begotten, is in me—clearly the Father abides in me with him and does the works.” There is nothing amazing in thinking this about Christ, who clearly says about the rest of the human race: “He who loves me keeps my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come and make our dwelling-place with him.” For if the Father and the Son make their dwelling-place with everyone of this kind, how is it wonderful if both should be thought to dwell personally in Christ, the Lord according to the flesh, in the same way, with their common essence allowing them, it seems, to make also a common dwelling?

## 32. FROM THE SAME TREATISE, BOOK 4

“He who is before the ages,” he [*sc.* Apollinarius] says, “has come into being at the end of the ages”—again, as if some people concede and say this; but no one who really wants to be reverent would choose to suffer from such madness as to say that he who is before the ages has come into being at the end of ages.

## 33. AND LATER ON

Well, then, following your rules and undergoing the “conversion”—more properly a subversion—your crafty mind ordains,

φέρει δὴ, πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν συγχέωμεν, καὶ μηδεμία λοιπὸν ἔστω διάκρισις, μὴ θεοῦ μορφῆς, μὴ δούλου μορφῆς· μὴ ναοῦ ληφθέντος, μὴ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν τῷ ναῷ· μὴ τοῦ λυθέντος, μὴ τοῦ ἐγείραντος· μὴ τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐν πάθει, μὴ τοῦ τελειώσαντος· μὴ τοῦ μνημονευθέντος, μὴ τοῦ μνημονεύσαντος· μὴ τοῦ ἐπισκεφθέντος, μὴ τοῦ ἐπισκεψαμένου· μὴ τοῦ “βραχύ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένου,” μὴ τοῦ ἐλαττώσαντος· μὴ τοῦ “δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένου,” μὴ τοῦ στεφανώσαντος· μὴ τοῦ “καταστάντος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ,” μὴ τοῦ καταστήσαντος· μὴ τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὰ ἐν ὑποταγῇ, μὴ τοῦ δώσαντος τὴν ὑποταγὴν.

10 [312] [34] ἘΚ ΤΟΥ Γ' ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΣ

«...» ἀλλ' ὁ γε Θεὸς καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου γεννηθέντι, ὧ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ τὰς θείας ἀναπλασθέντι Γραφὰς, καὶ τὴν γε σύστασιν ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικείας δεξαμένῳ γαστρὸς, ἐνῆν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἅμα τῷ διαπλασθῆναι καὶ τὸ εἶναι ναὸς Θεοῦ εἰλήφει. Οὐ μὴν τὸν Θεὸν γεγενῆσθαι ἡγητέον [313] ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ταῦτόν ἡγητέον ἡμῖν τὸ τε γεννηθὲν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ γεννηθέντι, τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Θεὸν Λόγον· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν σὴν φωνὴν ἀποφαντέον πάντῃ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου γεννηθέντα Θεὸν εἶναι ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ. Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστίν, ὡς φῆς, ἀναληφθεὶς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, Θεὸς δὲ σαρκωθεὶς, πῶς ὁ γεννηθεὶς Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοούσιος λέγοιτο ἂν τῷ Πατρὶ, τῆς σαρκὸς οὐ δυναμένης ταύτην προέσθαι τὴν φωνήν; Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητον τὸ τὸν Θεὸν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι λέγειν. Τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἐκ σπέρματος αὐτὸν λέγειν Δαυίδ, ἐκ τῆς

[33] 6 Ps. 8.6 7 Ps. 8.6 8 Ps. 8.7

[33 cont.] *Constitutum I*, 53–4, Test. 8b (244, l. 16–245, l. 7; ↑, cum Test. 32 coniunctum)

[34] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 3: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 19 (53, ll. 12–24); Conc. Const. II, 4, 7, Test. 1 (44, ll. 4–18; ↑); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 30–1, Test. 1 (237, l. 7–238, l. 18; ↑); ll. 10–13 (ἀλλ' ... Παρθένου); Pelagius II, *Ep. 3 ad Episc. Histr.*, 67 (120, ll. 11–16; ↑).

VOP [33] 1 φέρει δὴ om. P αὐτὸν: ταὐτόν Justn. 6 ἡλαττωμένον: ἐλαττωθέντος Justn. 7 ἐστεφανωμένον: στεφανωθέντος Justn.  
[34] 10 ante ἘΚ add. ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 11 καὶ om. V 12 ὑπὸ ... Πνεύματος om. P 13 ἀναπλασθέντι: διαπλασθέντι Justn. 14 τῷ: τὸ O 15 Θεοῦ ante ναὸς transp. Justn. γεγενῆσθαι O 16 τὸ: τῷ P 19 ὁμοούσιον ante ἐκ transp. P 20 ὁ om. OP 22 προσέσθαι V, Justn. 23 τῆς om. P

come, let us confuse everything regarding him, and let there be no longer a distinction between the form of God and the form of a servant; between the assumed temple and the dweller in the temple; between him who was laid low and him who raised him; between him who has been made perfect in suffering, and him who made him perfect; between him who was remembered, and him who remembered him; between him who was cared for, and him who cared; between him who was “made a little less than the angels,” and him who made him thus; between him who was “crowned with glory and honor” (*ibid.*), and him who crowned him; between him who was “set over the works of his hands,” and him who set him there; between him who accepted these things as subjects, and him who made them subject.

34. FROM THE THIRD BOOK OF THE SAME TREATISE

But he who is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father, my friend, was, it seems, in him who was born of the Virgin: in him who was formed by the Holy Spirit, according to the holy Scriptures, and received his existence in the womb of his mother, since at the moment of his formation he also received the status of God's temple. We should not, then, think that God was begotten of the Virgin, unless we wish to consider the begotten and what was in the begotten, the temple and God the Word who was in the temple, to be the same; nor should we at all, even at your urging, proclaim that he who was born of the Virgin is God from God, of one substance with the Father. For if he who was born of the Virgin is not an assumed man, but God made flesh, how could the one who is begotten as God from God be said to be of one substance with the Father, since flesh itself cannot utter such a phrase? For it is stupid to say that God has been born of the Virgin. This is nothing else than to say that he is from the seed of David, begotten from the

οὐσίας τῆς Παρθένου τετεγμένον καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ διαπεπλασμένον· ἐπεὶ γε τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς Παρθένου συστάν ἐν τῇ μητρῷα γαστρὶ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διαπλασθὲν δυνάμει, γεγεννησθαι φαμεν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου.

5 [35] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Δ' ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ

Τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον, περὶ οὗ ταυτὰ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, σαφῶς ὁ μακάριος δηλοῖ Παῦλος τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς εἰλημμένον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι. Εἰρηκῶς γὰρ ὅτι "διεμαρτύρατο πού τις λέγων· 'τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μμνήσκη αὐτοῦ, ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν; Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου· πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ;" ἐπάγει· "τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον" βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου· δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένοι." Σαφῶς δεικνύς ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἄνθρωπος περὶ οὗ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ φησιν, ἐκπληττόμενος ὅτι ἡ θεία φύσις ἠνέσχeto τε αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀξιώσαι οἰκείας, "βραχύ μὲν τι παρὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους" αὐτὸν ἐλαττώσαι τὸ γένυσασθαι ποιῆσαι θανάτου, "δόξῃ" δὲ αὐτόν καὶ "τιμῇ" πάσῃ περιβαλεῖν, ὥστε καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι τῶν ἀπάντων, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συναφείας.

20 [36] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ Η' ΨΑΛΜΟΥ

Διὰ τοῦτα τοίνυν τὴν μὲν διαφορὰν τοῦ τε Θεοῦ Λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἀναληφθέντος ἀνθρώπου τοσαύτην ἡμῖν δείκνυσιν ὁ ψαλμὸς, διηρημένα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ εὐρίσκεται. Τοῦ μὲν Κυρίου ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν λαμβάνοντος τὰ πρότερα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ,

[35] 8-12 Hebr. 2.6-7; cf. Ps. 8.5-7 (LXX)

12-14 Hebr. 2.9

[35] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ibid.* 4: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 33 (55, ll. 28-38)

[36] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *In Psalmum VIII*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum (cf. versionem Latinam, ed. R. Devreese, *Studi e Testi* 93 (1939), 46, l. 1-47, l. 24). Cf. etiam: Justh., *Ctr. Tr. Cap.*, 34 (56, ll. 1-13); Conc. Const. II, 4, 25, Test. 19 (52, l. 22-53, l. 2); Vigilius, *Constitutum* I, 91-2, Test. 20 (255, ll. 2-19)

VOP [34] 1 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ διαπεπλασμένον om. OP 2 οὐσίας τῆς om. OP 3 καὶ om. P

[35] 5 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ P 7 εἶναι: εἰπὼν OP 8 post διεμαρτύρατο add. δὲ V μμνήσκει O ἐπισκέπτει O 10 παρ' ἀγγέλους om. P ἀγγέλους V 15 ἐκπληττόμενός φησιν Δαβὶδ P; φησὶ Δαβὶδ ἐκπληττόμενος Justn., ἠνέσχeto: ἦν ἔσχε τό Justn., cod M τε om. P 16 ἀξιώσιν VO; ἀξιώσασα Justn., Swete 16-17 μὲν τι: μέντοι P 17 τὸ: τῷ Swete 18 αὐτόν om. Justn.

[36] 20 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΙΠΕΤΙΚΟΥ P

substance of the Virgin and formed in her; since we say that what came to exist in the maternal womb, formed from the seed of David and the substance of the Virgin, and shaped by the power of the Holy Spirit, is what has been born of the Virgin.

35. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE FOURTH BOOK OF HIS WORK AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

The blessed Paul makes it clear that he is saying the human being about whom the prophet says these things is the man assumed by the Only-begotten. For having said that "Someone bears witness somewhere, saying, 'What is the human being, that you remember him, or the son of man, that you take care of him? You have made him a little less than the angels, crowned him with glory and honor, and appointed him over the works of your hands, putting all things under his feet,'" he adds: "we see that he who was 'made a little less than the angels' was Jesus, 'crowned with glory and honor' because of the death he suffered." He clearly shows that Jesus is a human being, about whom the blessed David is speaking; astonished that the divine nature has deigned to remember him and indeed to consider him worthy of his own care, [David says] that he [God] has "made him a little less than the angels" in making him taste death, and has "clothed him in glory and all honor," so that he might show him to be Lord of all things, because of his identification with [God] himself.

36. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE INTERPRETATION OF THE EIGHTH PSALM

For this reason, then, the Psalm shows us this great a difference between God the Word and the assumed man; and these distinctions are found in the New Testament, too. For the Lord refers the first part of the Psalm to himself,

- ἐν οἷς ποιητὴν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι φησὶ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἐπηρμένην ἔχειν  
 “ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν” τὴν “μεγαλοπρέπειαν” καὶ τεθαυμαστώσθαι  
 ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ, τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου τὰ δεύτερα περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ  
 τῆς τοσαύτης εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοθέντος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λαμβάνοντος, πῶς  
 5 οὐ πρόδηλον ὅτι ἕτερον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἢ θεῖα Γραφὴ διδάσκει σαφῶς εἶναι τὸν  
 Θεὸν Λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πολλήν τε αὐτῶν οὖσαν δείκνυσιν  
 ἡμῖν τὴν διαφορὰν; Ὁ μὲν γὰρ μνημονεύει, ὁ δὲ τῆς μνήμης ἀξιοῦται.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπισκέπτεται, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀξιούμενος μακαρίζεται· καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν εὐεργετῶν “ἐλαττοῖ βραχὺ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους,” ὁ δὲ εὐεργετεῖται καὶ  
 10 ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐλαττώσει· καὶ ὁ μὲν “δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ στεφανοῖ,” ὁ δὲ  
 στεφανοῦται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις μακαρίζεται· καὶ ὁ μὲν “κατέστησεν αὐτὸν  
 ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑποκάτω τῶν  
 ποδῶν αὐτοῦ,” ὁ δὲ ἡξιώθη τοῦ δεσπόζειν τούτων, ὧν πρότερον οὐκ εἶχε  
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
- 15 [PG 86, 1385 C] ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀσεβὴς Θεόδωρος κατὰ  
 “τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ” λυττήσας  
 ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἄλλον εἶναι λέγων τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον καὶ ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν τὸν  
 Χριστόν, τὸν μὲν εὐεργετοῦντα τὸν δὲ εὐεργετούμενον, καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 σῶζοντα, τὸν δὲ σῶζόμενον. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λέγων φανερώς ἀρνεῖται τὴν διὰ  
 20 τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ προσγενομένην ἡμῖν σωτηρίαν. Ὁ γὰρ παρ’ ἄλλου  
 εὐεργεσίαν λαβὼν ἤτοι σωθεὶς, ἑτέρους πῶς δύναται σῶζειν; Οἱ τοίνυν  
 ταῦτα φρονούντες, τίνος οἶονται σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταλαμβάνειν—τοῦ  
 εὐεργετήσαντος ἢ τοῦ εὐεργετηθέντος; Ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν τοῦ εὐεργετήσαντος  
 Θεοῦ Λόγου, πῶς τοῦτο λέγουσι, μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν σαρκωθῆναι καὶ  
 25 ἐνανθρωπήσαι; [D] Εἰ δὲ τοῦ εὐεργετηθέντος, ματαία αὐτῶν ἢ ἐλπίς,  
 ἀνθρωπολατρείαν πρεσβευόντων καὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχόντων,  
 «καὶ ἐπικατάραιοί εἰσιν,

[36] 2 Ps. 8.2

9–13 Ps 8.6–7

Scholion Leontii 16 Tit. 2.13

VOP [36] 1 φησὶ om. V 3 τοῦ! om. Justn. codd. (corr. Schwartz) 4 εὐεργεσίας:  
 ἐνεργείας P ἀξιοθέντος: καταξιοθέντος Justn. ἐπὶ om. VOP (txt. Justn., Conc. Const.  
 III, Vigilius) 4 post πῶς add. οὖν P 7 ἀξιοῦται: καταξιοῦται Justn.  
 ἀξιούμενος: καταξιοούμενος Justn. 9 εὐεργέτηται O 13 ἡξιώθη: κατηξιώθη  
 Justn.

Scholion Leontii 15 ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. V; ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ P  
 17 λέγων post Λόγον transp. P 19 ante τὸν add. καὶ VO 22 μεταλαβεῖν P  
 26 ἔχοντες V 27 «καὶ» addidi

in which it says he is the maker of creation and has a magnificence elevated above the heavens and is admired in the whole earth, while the Apostle takes the second part, about the man considered worthy of such benevolence, to refer to Jesus. How is it not perfectly clear, then, that the holy Scripture teaches us explicitly that God the Word is one individual and the man another, and that it shows us that the difference between them is great? For the one remembers, the other is deemed worthy of remembrance; the one watches over [the other], the other is thought blessed for being worthy of this; the one confers a favor by making [him] a little less than the angels, the other is favored in spite of this lowering; the one crowns with glory and honor, the other is crowned and is called blessed for this; the one appoints him over the works of his hands and puts all things under his feet, the other is found worthy to rule over these things, over which he had no power before

*Leontius:* This is what the impious Theodore blasphemously said, in his madness, against our “great God and Savior Jesus Christ,” arguing that God the Word is one individual and Jesus Christ another—the one the benefactor and the other the beneficiary, the one saving and the other saved. The person who says this denies openly the salvation that has come to us through the Lord Christ. For how can one who receives a benefaction from another, or who is saved, [himself] save others? Those who think this, whose body and blood do they think they share in—the benefactor’s, or the beneficiary’s? But if it is that of God the Word, the benefactor, how can they say that and not confess he himself has become flesh and been made human? And if it is that of the beneficiary, their hope is vain, since they are urging the worship of a human being and are placing their hope in a human being, and they are cursed,



“ὅτι ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἐυλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.”

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην καὶ τοῦ πρωτάρχου τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν γενομένου ὀλίγας παραθέσθαι χρήσεις, δι’ ὧν συμπεπλεγμένους αὐτοὺς  
5 κατὰ τὴν ἀσεβειαν κατιδεῖν ἔξεστιν.

[37] ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΩΝ, ΛΟΓΟΥ Α’

Ἀσφαλίξεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν δογμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐνάγομεν. Τέλειος  
πρὸ αἰώνων ὁ Υἱὸς τέλειον τὸν ἐκ Δαβὶδ ἀνείληφεν, Υἱὸς Θεοῦ [1388 A]  
υἱὸν Δαυίδ. Ἐρεῖς μοι, “Δύο οὖν υἱοὺς κηρύττεις”; Δύο υἱοὺς τοῦ Δαυίδ οὐ  
10 λέγω· μὴ γὰρ εἶπον τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον υἱὸν Δαυίδ; Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δύο Υἱοὺς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ κατ’ οὐσίαν λέγω· μὴ γὰρ δύο φημι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίας; Τὸν πρὸ  
αἰώνων Θεὸν Λόγον λέγω κατωκηκέναι ἐν τῷ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ.

[38] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Χάριτι Υἱὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπος, φύσει δὲ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος· τὸ μὲν χάριτι  
15 καὶ οὐ φύσει, τὸ δὲ φύσει καὶ οὐ χάριτι. Ἀρκέσει τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν σώματι τὸ  
τῆς κατὰ χάριν υἰότητος, τὸ τῆς δόξης, τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὅτι ναὸς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ Λόγου γέγονε· μὴ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀναγέσθω, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος

Scholion Leontii 1–2 Rom. 1.25

[37] Diodorus Tarsensis, *Contra Synousiastas*, 1: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: *Coll. Pal.* 52.5 (178, ll. 25–31)

[38] Diodorus Tarsensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum*, 1, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 8 (76, ll. 12–19: ut Theodori); Tim. Ael., *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 211 (115); Sev. Ant., *Phil.* (144, ll. 8–21; tr. 117, l. 26–118, l. 7: ut Theodoret); Conc. Const. II, 4, 53, Test. 44 (61, ll. 12–19: ut Theodori); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 159–160, Test. 45 (274, ll. 2–11: ut Theodori); ll. 14–15 (τὸ μὲν ... χάριτι): Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc.* (100, ll. 11–13); p. 496, ll. 3–5; (οὐδὲ ... παραγέγονεν): *ibid.* (100, ll. 13–16)

VOP Scholion Leontii 1 ὅς: ὡς V

[37] 6 ante ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ἈΣΕΒΟΥΣ P A’ ante ΛΟΓΟΥ transp. P 7 post ἐνάγομεν add. “laboramus propter vos, ne rationem Domino reddamus pro nostro silentio” *Coll. Pal.* 8 ὁ om. P; ante τέλειος transp. O Υἱὸς: Υἱὸν O 9 υἱὸν: υἱὸς P οὖν om. P 10 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ: ἄλλους δὲ O 11 τὸν om. P 12 λέγω: λέγων V ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ: σπέρματι τῷ ἐκ Δαυίδ P

[38] 13 post ἈΥΤΟΥ add. ἈΣΕΒΟΥΣ P 14–15 τὸ μὲν ... τὸ δὲ: ὁ μὲν ... ὁ δὲ O 15 post καὶ οὐ χάριτι add. οὐ δύο υἱοὶ Cyr. Alex., Tim. Ael.,

because “they have revered and worshipped the creature alongside the Creator, who is blessed for eternity. Amen.”

I have thought it necessary to add a few excerpts from him who was the originator of their impiety, by which it will be possible to see that they are linked together in wickedness.

37. BY DIODORE: FROM HIS WORK  
AGAINST THE SYNOUSIASTS, BOOK 1

We urge you to take the safe path by being precise about doctrine. The Son, perfect before the ages, assumed a perfect descendant of David: the Son of God took the Son of David. You say to me: “Then you are proclaiming two sons?” I do not speak of two sons of David; for I did not say that God the Word is David’s son, did I? Nor do I say there are two Sons of God in essence; for I did not say there are two from God’s essence, did I? I say that God the eternal Word dwelt in him who is from the seed of David.

38. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

The human being born of Mary was Son by grace, God the Word is [Son] by nature; that which is by grace is not also [so] by nature, and that which is by nature is not also [so] by grace. The characteristics of sonship and glory and immortality by grace will suffice for the body taken from among us, since he has become the temple of God the Word; let it not be raised up beyond its nature, and let not God the Word

ἀντὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ὀφειλομένης εὐχαριστίας μὴ ὑβριζέσθω. Καὶ [B] τίς ἡ  
 ὑβρις; Τοῦ συντιθέναι αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ δεῖσθαι νομίζειν εἰς  
 τελείαν υἰότητα τοῦ σώματος. Οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος βούλεται ἑαυτὸν  
 τοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Κύριον· τὸ δὲ σῶμα καλεῖσθαι τοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱόν,  
 5 οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παραγέγονεν.

## [39] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

Καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν γεννήσεων ὅταν ἡ λόγος, μὴ τῆς Μαρίας υἱὸς ὁ  
 Θεὸς Λόγος ὑποπτευέσθω. Θνητὸς γὰρ θνητὸν γεννᾷ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ  
 σῶμα τὸ ὁμοούσιον· καὶ δύο γεννήσεις ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, τὴν  
 10 μὲν πρὸ αἰώνων, τὴν δὲ ἐν ὑστέροις.

## [40] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

[C] Εἴ τις βούλοιο καταχρηστικῶς καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεὸν  
 Λόγον, υἱὸν Δαυὶδ ὀνομάζειν, διὰ τὸν ἐκ Δαυὶδ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ναόν,  
 ὀνομαζέτω· καὶ τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, χάριτι καὶ οὐ  
 15 φύσει, προσαγορευέτω, τοὺς φυσικοὺς πατέρας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, οὐδὲ τὴν  
 τάξιν ἀνατρέπων, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀσώματον λέγων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ  
 ἐκ Δαυὶδ, καὶ πεπονθότα καὶ ἀπαθῆ.

3-4 (οὐδὲ ... Κύριον): cf. Matt. 22.42-5 parr.

[39] Diodorus Tarsensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Conc. Const. II, 4, 54, Test. 45 (61, ll. 21-4: ut Theodori); Vigilius, *Constitutum I*, 162, Test. 46 (275, ll. 2-6: ut Theodori); Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum*, 1, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 6 (74, ll. 26-30; ↓: ut Theodori); Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc.* (98, ll. 10-13; ↓)

[40] Diodorus Tarsensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Cyr. Alex., *Ctr. Diodorum et Theodorum*, 1, apud Conc. Const. II, 5, 5 (74, ll. 5-9; ↓: ut Theodori); ll. 12-15 (εἴ τις ... προσαγορευέτω): Tim. Ael. (?), *Liber ctr. Syn. Chalc.* (99, l. 28-100, l. 1); Sev. Ant., *Phil.* (144, ll. 20-5; tr. 118, ll. 8-12: ut Theodoreti).

VOP [38] 2 τοῦ: τὸ OP 4 εἶναι ante υἱὸν transp. V Κύριον: Θεὸν Cyr. Alex., Conc. Const. II τὸ δὲ: τόδε τὸ Cyr. Alex., Conc. Const. II, Vigilius 5 οὐ om. O

[39] 7 καὶ om. Cyr. Alex., Conc. Const. II, Vigilius ante λόγος add. ὁ OP 9 τὸ om. O ὑπέμεινε V 10 post ὑστέροις add. καιροῖς V

[40] 11 post ΑΥΤΟΥ¹ add. ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥV<sup>ac</sup> (corr. ad ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ in marg. V); ΑΣΕΒΟΥΣP 13 ante Δαυὶδ add. τοῦ P 14 Θεοῦ om. Sev. Ant. καὶ² om. O 16 post ἀσώματον add. καὶ σῶμα Cyr. Alex. λέγων: Λόγος OP

be treated with arrogance, rather than with the gratitude we owe him. And what is this arrogance? Compounding him with his body, and thinking that he needs the body for perfect sonship. God the Word himself did not want to be David's son himself, but his Lord; but that his body should be called David's son, he not only did not refuse, but for this reason came among us.

## 39. AND FURTHER ON

And when there is discussion of natural begettings, let not God the Word be thought son of Mary. For mortal naturally begets mortal, and the body that which is of the same substance; and God the Word did not experience two births, one before the ages and one in the latter days.

## 40. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

If anyone wants, speaking inexactly, to call the Son of God, God the Word, also the son of David, because of the temple of God the Word taken from David, let him call him so; and let him call the one descended from David's seed Son of God, by grace but not by nature, as long as he is not unaware of his natural ancestors, and does not reverse the order, or say that he who is incorporeal and before the ages is both from God and from David, passible and impassible.

## [41] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' οὐδένα—φύσει γὰρ Υἱὸς· ἡ σὰρξ Υἱὸς, διὰ τὸν Υἱόν.  
 Καὶ τί λέγω “διὰ τὸν Υἱόν;” Δι' ἡμᾶς ἡ σὰρξ· καὶ μὴ νομίσητε βλάσφημον  
 τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσατε τὰς ἀποδείξεις. Εἰ μὴ ἐπταίσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μὴ  
 5 χρεία ἦν νόμου; “Δικαίῳ γὰρ νόμος οὐ κεῖται.” Εἰ μὴ ἐπέτειναν τὴν  
 ἁμαρτίαν οἱ ἐν νόμῳ, μὴ χρεία ἦν τῆς χάριτος; Οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὁ  
 νόμος ἀποκτείνειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, οὐχὶ δι' ἡμᾶς «σάρκα» ἔλαβεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν  
 θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ θανάτου ἀνακαλέσῃται, σταυρωθεὶς καὶ  
 ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς; Εἰ μὴ ἀπάτη προῦκεχωρήκει, καὶ ἡ ἀπόφασις τοῦ  
 10 θανάτου καθ' ἡμῶν, τίς χρεία ἦν τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης τοῦ Σωτῆρος; Τίς  
 χρεία τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως; Οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς ἔλαβε τὴν σάρκα;

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ. Καίρως δὲ ἤδη καλεῖ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας  
 πατέρα, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ταύτης δεξάμενοι ἔτυχον, εἰς μέσον τῷ  
 [9 Α] λόγῳ παραγαγεῖν. Παῦλος δὲ οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων  
 15 βλαστήσαν πικρὸν τοῦ διαβόλου ζιζάνιον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Νεστορίου, τοῦ  
 τελευταίου τῆς πρώτης ρίζης ἀθεωτάτου βλαστήματος, τὸν φθοροποιὸν  
 καρπὸν στηλιτεῦσαι δίκαιον, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἢ τῶν μέσων περιφανῆς  
 καὶ βλάσφημος ξυνωρὶς—τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Διόδωρον, φημί, καὶ Θεόδωρον—  
 20 συνηρμοσμένη γνωσθεῖη. Ἰσως δ' ἀνανήψαι τῆς μέθης κὰν ὀψὲ γούν  
 δυνήσονται, ἅπαξ μαθόντες πρὸς τίνας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡλίκους τῶν κακῶν  
 πατέρας ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη συγγένεια, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων, διὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ὁ  
 τελευταῖος οὗτος τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐξέφυ κλάδος, οὗ τὸν καρπὸν ἄρδην  
 σπάσαντες, ἐμφορεῖσθαι ἐπείγονται.

[41] 5 (δικαίῳ ... κεῖται): 1 Tim. 1.9 6-9 cf. Rom. 8.3 f.

[41] Diodorus Tarsensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum. l. 1 (ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ... Υἱόν): cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 33 (153, ll. 27-8; tr. 111, ll. 23-4)

VOP [41] 1 post ΑΥΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup> add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P post ΛΟΓΟΥ add. Δ' V 2 Υἱὸς<sup>2</sup>:  
 ἐστι Sev. Ant. 4 ἀλλὰ VO ἔπτεσαν O 5 γὰρ om. P 6 ἡδύνατο P  
 7 «σάρκα» conj. Mai, prob. recte καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. VO 9 προκεχωρήκει V 10 ἡμᾶς P  
 ταύτης post Σωτήρος transp. P Σωτήρος: σταυροῦ conj. Mai

Scholion Leontii ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. V; ὉΡΘΟΔΕΟΥ O 12 δὲ om. O καὶ om. O  
 αὐτῶν om. O 14 Σαμωσάτων O 18 τῶν: τὸν P 19 συνηρμοσμένη P  
 δ' om. VO 20 δυνήσονται P; δυνήθησονται V αὐτοὺς P 21 ἐν μέσῳ: μέσων P  
 22 τῶν καρπῶν P

## 41. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE SAME BOOK

The Son of God is so through no one—he is Son by nature. The flesh is Son, because of the Son. And why do I say “because of the Son”? The flesh is because of us; and do not think this saying blasphemy, but ask for explanations. If man had not gone astray, would there have been need of a law? For “law does not concern the just.” If those under the law had not increased sin, would there have been need of grace? But since the law could not put sin to death, did he not take [flesh] for our sakes, so that he should revoke both death and the sentence of death, being crucified and dead and risen again? If deceit had not grown, and the sentence of death against us, what need would there have been for this divine plan of the Savior’s? What need of the Incarnation? Did he not take flesh for our sakes?

*Leontius*: The time now calls us to introduce the first ancestor of their impiety into the argument, [the man] from whom they received its seeds; he is Paul, the devil’s bitter weed who grew at Samosata. And it is right, too, to denounce the baneful fruit of Nestorius, the last godless shoot from this first root, so that within these extremes the notorious, blasphemous company that came between—I mean the followers of Diodore and Theodore—might be recognized to fit in. Perhaps they shall be able, if very belatedly, to sober up again, once they learn to what sort of ancestors in crime they are directly related, and how this final shoot of impiety grew from them, through those who came between—a shoot whose fruit they have plucked all at once, and on which they rush to gorge themselves.

Ἔστι δὲ ὁ προκείμενος ἀμφοτέρων—Παύλου, φημί, καὶ Νεστορίου—  
 ἔλεγχος [B] ἐκ τῆς διαμαρτυρίας τῆς δημοσίᾳ προτεθείσης, ὥς φασι, παρὰ  
 Εὐσεβίου τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἐν τῇ δικανικῇ ἐμπρέποντος, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς  
 5 Δορυλαέων ἐνεπιστεύθη τοὺς οἰάκας· καὶ ζῆλον ἔχων, ὥς μαρτυρεῖται,  
 θεῖον, πρῶτος τὴν τε αὐτοῦ Νεστορίου, καὶ μέντοι καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς,  
 πεφώρακέ τε καὶ ἐξήλεγξεν αἵρεσιν, μετὰ μυρίων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας  
 κινδύνων. Ἄκουε γοῦν αὐτοῦ οἷαις καὶ ὅσαις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως  
 βλασφημιῶν συλλογαῖς τὰς Νεστορίου συνήρμοσε, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέρων  
 10 ἔδειξε τὸ ἀφρονέστατον φρόνημα. Εἰ δέ τι ἀπάδει τῶν Σειρηνείων τούτων  
 μελωδιῶν τὸ Θεοδώρου καὶ Διοδώρου θανατηφόρον ἄσμα, τοῖς ἀκινδύνως  
 ἐπαΐειν δεδυνημένοις καὶ κρίνειν ἐπιτρέπομεν.

[42] ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΘΕΙΣΑ ἘΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙῳ  
 ΤΟΠῳ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ἘΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ἘΜΦΑΝΙΣΘΕΙΣΑ

[C] Ὅρκίζω τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὸ χαρτίον, κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ὥστε  
 15 φανερόν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνους, ἀναγνώσταις,  
 λαϊκοῖς οἰκοῦσι Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἔτι τε καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἐκδοῦναι  
 πρὸς ἔλεγχον τοῦ αἵρετικοῦ Νεστορίου, ὅτι ὁμόφρων ἐστὶ τοῦ  
 ἀναθεματισθέντος Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων. Ἔστι δὲ τὰ παρ' ὁποτέρων εἰρημένα  
 20 οὕτως·

1 α. Παῦλος εἶπεν· “Μαρία τὸν Λόγον οὐκ ἔτεκεν.”

β. Νεστόριος συμφώνως εἶπεν· “Οὐκ ἔτεκεν, ὡ βέλτιστε, Μαρία τὴν  
 θεότητα.”

[42] Eusebius Dorylaeensis, *Contestatio* (ACO I, 1, 101. 1.5–102. 1.3 [Conc. Ephes., *Coll. Vat.*  
 18]). 1. 14–p. 502, 1. 3 (ὁρκίζω ... θεότητι); cf. etiam Anast. Sin., *Hod.* XXI, 2.4–40 (287f.).  
 Excerpta separatim: 1 α: cf. Test. 43 (p. 504, 1. 16); 1 β: Nest., *Sermo* 9 (252, 11. 5–6); cf. etiam: Iren.  
 Tyr., *Trag.*, apud *Coll. Cas.* 81, 2 (26, 11. 12–13; ↓); Thdt., *Haer. Fab. Comp.* IV, 12 (436 C6; ↓);

VOP Scholion Leontii 3 τοῦ: τὸ P; τῷ O δικανικῇ: διακονικῇ O δέ: γὰρ P; iter. O  
 4 Δορυλαίου P ἐνεπιστεύθη: ἐπιστεύθη V 5 τε om. P 6 τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς: τῆς  
 ὑπὲρ P 7 Σαμοσατέως: σωματώσεως O 8 ἐν: ἐξ P; ἐπ' O 9 Σειρηνείων:  
 Σειρηναίων V; εἰρημένων O 11 δυναμένοις P καὶ om. P

[42] 13 ΚΑΤ' P 14 ante τὸ χαρτίον add. τότε Conc. Ephes., Anast. Sin. τὸ  
 χαρτίον: τὸν χάρτην τοῦτον P 15 αὐτὸ: αὐτὸν P ante ἀναγνώσταις add. καὶ P  
 16 λαϊκοῖς om. P αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῦ Anast. Sin. 17 τοῦ Νεστορίου τοῦ  
 αἵρετικοῦ P 18 Σαμοσατέως O, Anast. Sin. πρὸ ἐτῶν: πρὸς τῶν O πρὸ ...  
 ἐξήκοντα om. Conc. Ephes. *Coll. Vat. cod. V* 19 ἀπὸ τῶν om. O; ὑπὸ V; ὑπὸ τῶν Conc.  
 Ephes. *Coll. Vat. codd. VMDA* ante ἐπισκόπων add. ἁγίων P ἐπισκόπων: πατέρων Conc.  
 Ephes. *Coll. Vat.* (sed om. codd. DA); πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων Anast. Sin. 22 συμφώνως  
 om. Anast. Sin., codd. MV; post εἶπε(ν) transp. codd. cett. ante Μαρία add. “sanctissima”  
 Arnob. Jun. 22–3 τὴν θεότητα: Θεὸν Iren. Tyr., Thdt., *coll. Pal.*

This present refutation of the two of them—I mean of Paul and Nestorius—is from the declaration that was publicly made, they say, by Eusebius, who at that time was a famous lawyer, and later was entrusted with the government of the Church of Dorylaeum; having a godly zeal, it is said, he was the first to uncover and refute the heresy of Nestorius, and even of Eutyches, running countless dangers because of his piety. Hear, then, from him, to how many and to what sort of collected blasphemies of the Samosatene he compares those of Nestorius, and shows that both have one mindless way of thinking. We leave it to those who can hear and judge securely, whether the deadly song of Theodore and Diodore differs in sound from these Siren melodies.

42. OFFICIAL COMPLAINT DISPLAYED IN A  
 PUBLIC PLACE AND PUBLISHED IN CHURCH

I adjure anyone who receives this paper, by the holy Trinity, to show it to bishops, presbyters, deacons, lectors, and laymen dwelling in Constantinople, and further to give them a copy as an accusation against Nestorius: that he is of like mind with Paul of Samosata, who was condemned one hundred and sixty years ago by the orthodox bishops. The assertions of both are as follows:

1. Paul said: “Mary did not beget the Word.”

Nestorius said, in agreement: “Mary, my friend, did not beget the divinity.”

- 2 a. Παῦλος εἶπεν. "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ αἰώνων."  
 b. Νεστόριος εἶπεν. "Καὶ μητέρα χρονικὴν τῇ δημιουργῶ τῶν χρόνων ἐφιστάσῃ θεότητι."  
 [D] 3 a. Παῦλος εἶπεν. "Μαρία τὸν Λόγον ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι  
 5 πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ Λόγου."  
 b. Νεστόριος εἶπεν. "Πῶς οὖν Μαρία τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἔτεκεν;"  
 4 a. Παῦλος εἶπεν. "Μαρία ἔτεκεν ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον."  
 b. Νεστόριος εἶπεν. "Ἄνθρωπος ὁ τεχθεὶς ἐκ Παρθένου."  
 5 a. Παῦλος εἶπεν. "Κρείττονα δὲ κατὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Πνεύματος  
 10 ἁγίου, καὶ ἐξ ἐπαγγελιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 χάρις."  
 b. Νεστόριος εἶπεν. "Τεθέσθαι," γάρ φησιν 'τὸ Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον  
 [1392 A] ὥσει περιστερὰν, καὶ μένον ἐπ' αὐτὸν," τὸ τὴν ἀνάληφιν  
 αὐτῷ χαρισάμενον—'ἐντειλάμενος,' φησὶν, 'τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὓς  
 15 ἐξελέξατο, διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀνελήφθη"—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ  
 τηλικαύτην τῷ Χριστῷ χαρισάμενον δόξαν."  
 6 a. Παῦλος εἶπεν. "Ἴνα δὲ μήτε ὁ ἐκ Δαυὶδ χρισθεὶς ἀλλότριος ᾗ τῆς  
 σοφίας, μηδὲ ἡ σοφία ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως οἰκῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς  
 προφήταις ἦν,

12-13 Joan. 1.32

14-15 Acta 1.2

[42 cont.] Arnobius Junior, *Confl. cum Serap.* II, 11 (285 C7-8; †); Sev. Ant., *Phil.* (140, ll. 25-6; tr. 114, ll. 27-8); *Coll. Pal.* 37 (78, l. 35; †); 2 a: cf. Test. 43 (p. 506, l. 1); 2 b: Nest., *Sermo* 8 (245, ll. 18-19); cf. etiam: Cyr. Alex., *Adv. Nest. Blasph.* I, 8 (89, ll. 22-3; †); Arnobius Junior *Confl. cum Serap.* II, 11 (286 B9-10; †); *Coll. Pal.* 29 (56, l. 26; †); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12156, f. 89a (†); 3 a (οὐκ ... Λόγου): cf. Test. 43 (p. 506, l. 1); 3 b: Nest., *Sermo* 8 (247, ll. 10-11); cf. etiam: Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12156, f. 89a (†); 4 a: cf. Test. 43 (p. 506, l. 2); 4 b: Nest., *Sermo* 8 (?) (352, l. 1); 5 a (κρείττονα ... ἁγίου): cf. Test. 43 (p. 506, ll. 2-3); 5 b: Nest., *Sermo* 16 (293, l. 20-294, l. 5); cf. etiam: Joan. Cass., *De Inc. Dom.* VII, 17 (372, l. 25-373, l. 1; †); Cyr. Alex., *Adv. Nest. Blasph.* IV, 3 (188, ll. 2-7; †); Arnobius Junior, *Confl. cum Serap.* II, 11 (286 A14-B5; †);

VOP [42 cont.] 1 οὔτε Anast. Sin. 6 οὖν om. Anast. Sin. 10 αὐτῷ: αὐτοῦ Anast. Sin. 12 τεθεάμεθα P 13 ὥσει: ὡς V ὥσει περιστερὰν om. Arnob. Jun. 11 μένον; μεμένηκεν Cyr. Alex. post αὐτὸν add. "item" Joan. Cass.; "item paulo post" Arnob. Jun. 14 ante φησὶν add. γάρ Cyr. Alex. φησὶν post ἀποστόλοις transp. VO ante ἀποστόλοις (...) Ephes. (sed txt. codd. SD), Cyr. Alex., Anast. Sin. τῷ Χριστῷ: αὐτῷ P, *Coll. Cas.* δόξαν: "dispensationem" Arnob. Jun. 17 δέ: δὴ P; om. Conc. Ephes., Anast. Sin. 18 ᾗ: εἴη Anast. Sin. μήτε Conc. Ephes., Anast. Sin. ἡ om. Anast. Sin. οἰκεῖ Anast. Sin. post οἰκῇ add. "in solo Domino principaliter in eo" Tim. Ael., Sev. Ant. τοῖς om. Justn.

2. Paul said: "He did not exist before the ages."  
 Nestorius said: "And they put a temporal mother over the divinity who created time."
3. Paul said: "Mary received the Word and is not older than the Word."  
 Nestorius said: "How did Mary beget one who is older than she?"
4. Paul said: "Mary begot a man like us."  
 Nestorius said: "The man who was begotten of the virgin."
5. Paul said: "Better in every way, because the grace in him was from the Holy Spirit, and from the promises, and from the scriptures."  
 Nestorius said: "For he said, 'I saw the Spirit coming down like a dove and remaining upon him,' giving him the grace of elevation; 'giving commands,' [Scripture] says, 'to his chosen Apostles, he was lifted up by the Holy Spirit.' This is the Spirit which gave such glory to Christ."
6. Paul said: "... So that the anointed one sprung from David was not other than the wisdom, nor did the wisdom dwell thus in another; for it was in the prophets,



μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς κυρίοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ὡς ἐν ναῷ.

Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον.

- 5 b. Νεστόριος εἶπεν. “Μὴ ἐγχωρεῖ τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἄλλο ἅπαξ γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ταῦτα θεότητι.”

Ἰδοὺ δέδεικται σαφῶς λέγων ὁ παραβάτης, “Οὐκ ἐτέχθη ἐκ Μαρίας ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Πατρὸς.” Ἰδοὺ συναινεί τῷ αἵρετικῷ Παύλῳ τῷ [B]λέγοντι ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν Λόγον καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς, ὡς

- 10 ἡ ὀρθοδοξία κηρύσσει.

Ἔως ὧδε ἡ διαμαρτυρία.

#### [43] ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΕΩΣ

- Ἄνθρωπος χρίεται, ὁ Λόγος οὐ χρίεται· ὁ Ναζωραῖος χρίεται, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος μείζων ἦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Χριστὸς γὰρ διὰ σοφίας  
15 μέγας ἐγένετο. Λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν, Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐντεῦθεν. Μαρία τὸν Λόγον οὐκ ἔτεκεν.

[42 cont.] *Coll. Pal.* 29 (60, ll. 1–4; †); p. 502, ll. 15–16 (τοῦτο ... δόξαν) + *ibid.*, ll. 13–14 (τὸ τὴν ... χαρισάμενον); *Cyr. Alex., Apol. Adv. Theodorum IX* (460, ll. 19–21); 6 a: cf. etiam *Justn., Ctr. Mon.* 31 (13, ll. 5–7); p. 502, ll. 17–18 (ἵνα ... οἰκῇ): cf. *Test. 44* (192, ll. 2–3); *Tim. Ael., Ref. Syn. Chalc. Test. 84* (53, ll. 19–20; †); p. 502, l. 18–p. 504, l. 2 (καὶ γὰρ ... ναῷ): *Tim. Ael., ibid.*, *Test 85* (53, ll. 22–4); *Sev. Ant., Phil.* (152, ll. 5–8; tr. 124, ll. 22–6); 6 b, *Nest., Sermo 8* (?) (351, ll. 23–4); cf. etiam: *Joan. Cass., De Inc. Dom.* VI, 9 (336, ll. 15–16)

[43] Paulus Samosatenus, fragmentum hic primo ita inventum (cf. *Test. 42*, p. 500, l. 21–p. 502, l. 10). Cf. etiam: *Coll. Pal.* 52, 4 (178, ll. 19–23: ut *Diodori*); ll. 14–15 (ὁ Λόγος ... ἐγένετο): *Justn., Ctr. Mon.* 30 (13, ll. 3–4; †)

VOP [42] 1 μᾶλλον δὲ: καὶ *Tim. Ael.*; μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ *Justn.* μᾶλλον ... κυρίοις om. P Μωσεί O, *Conc. Ephes.* (sed Μωυσῇ codd. SD) Κύριος *Justn.* ἐν<sup>2</sup> om. O post μᾶλλον δὲ add. καὶ *Justn.* 2 ναῷ: οὐρανῷ *Anast. Sin.*, χὸδ. M post ναῷ add. τοῦ Θεοῦ *Tim. Ael., Sev. Ant.* 3 ἄλλον ... Θεὸν Λόγον: ἄλλος γὰρ ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Λόγος *Justn.* τὸν<sup>1</sup> iter. O post ἄλλον<sup>2</sup> add. εἶναι P 4 Θεὸν om. P, *Conc. Ephes., Anast. Sin.* 5 ἐγχωρεῖν V, *Conc. Ephes.* codd. PA τῶν om. *Anast. Sin.* post αἰώνων add. γεννηθέντα *Joan. Cass., Conc. Ephes.* (sed txt. cod. S), *Anast. Sin.* ἄλλο: ἀλλ' ὁ O 6 post θεότητι add. ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ P; ὈΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ O 7 ἐκ: ἀπὸ *Conc. Ephes.* 8 post ἐκ add. τοῦ *Conc. Ephes.* codd. VMPW τῷ<sup>2</sup> om. VO 9 post ἄλλον<sup>3</sup> add. εἶναι P Χριστὸν ante Ἰησοῦν transp. VO οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς: οὐχὶ ἕνα VO 10 κηρύττει P 11 ἕως ... διαμαρτυρία om. O, *Conc. Ephes.*

[43] 12 ΤΟΥ om. VO ΣΑΜΟΥΣΑΤΕΩΣ O 13 δ<sup>1</sup> om. P ἄνθρωπος ... ἡμῶν: “homo ungitur Jesus, Dominus noster Verbum non ungitur” *Coll. Pal.* ὁ Ναζωραῖος χρίεται secl. Schwartz (sec. *Coll. Pal.*) ante ὁ Κύριος add. οὐχ. Mai, fort. recte 14 ἦν: ἔστι *Coll. Pal.* τοῦ: καὶ P γὰρ<sup>1</sup> om. *Justn.*

still more in Moses and in many lords, still more in Christ as in a temple.” And in another place he says that Jesus Christ is one individual, God the Word another.

Nestorius said: “Surely it is not possible for him who was before all ages to become another all at once, precisely in his divinity?”

Behold, the scoundrel is clearly shown to be saying, “He who was born of the Father was not begotten of Mary.” Behold, he agrees with the heretic Paul, who says that the Word is one individual and Jesus Christ another, and [that] he is not one, as orthodoxy proclaims.

Thus far the official complaint.

#### 43. BY PAUL OF SAMOSATA

A man is anointed, the Word is not anointed; the Nazarene is anointed, our Lord. For the Word was greater than Christ. Christ grew great through wisdom. The Word is from above, Jesus Christ is a man from here. Mary did not beget the Word.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ αἰώνων ἡ Μαρία· οὐκ ἔστι πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ Λόγου Μαρία, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον ἔτεκεν, κρείττονα δὲ κατὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

[C] [44] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΛΧΙΩΝΑ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

5 «...» ἵνα μήτε ὁ ἐκ Δαυὶδ χρισθεὶς ἀλλότριος ᾖ τῆς σοφίας, μήτε ἡ σοφία ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως οἰκῇ.

[45] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Ὁ φαινόμενος οὐκ ἦν σοφία. Οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο ἐν σχήματι εὐρίσκεισθαι, οὐδὲ ἐν θέᾳ ἀνδρὸς· μείζων γὰρ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστίν.

10

[46] ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ

Μέγα τῇ Χριστοτόκῳ Παρθένῳ τὸ τεκεῖν ἀνθρωπότητα, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου θεότητος ὄργανον· ἀρκοῦν αὐτῇ πρὸς τιμὴν ὑπεραίρουσαν τὸ γεννῆσαι μεσίτην τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνημμένον ἀξία.

[D] ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ. Ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ὡς ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἀντιπαρεθήκαμεν, 15 τὴν ἐν τῷ κακῷ συμφωνίαν πρὸς τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν αἵρετικῶν πατέρας τούτων παραστήσαι βουλόμενοι. Ἐξεστὶ δὲ τῷ θέλοντι ἐντυχεῖν τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως γραφείῃ ἐγκυκλίῳ ἐπιστολῇ τῆς αὐτὸν καθελούσης ἀγίας συνόδου, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ διαλόγῳ ὃν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Μαλχίων ἐνεστήσατο. Γνώσεται γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς ὡς γνήσιοι ἐκείνου 20 τυγχάνουσι μαθηταὶ οἱ περὶ Θεόδωρον.

[44] Paulus Samosatenus, *Dialogus cum Malachione*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Tim. Ael., *Ref. Syn. Chalc.* Test. 84 (53, ll. 19–20; ↑)

[45] Paulus Samosatenus, fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Tim. Ael., *Ref. Syn. Chalc.*, Test 164 (89, ll. 18–21)

[46] Nestorius, *Sermo* 8 (247, ll. 5–8). Cf. etiam: Cod. B.M. *Syr. Add.* 12156, f. 89a (79); ll. 11–12 (τῇ Χριστοτόκῳ ... ὄργανον): Arnobius Junior, *Confl. cum Serap.* II, 11 (287 A6–8)

VOP [43] 1 πρὸ αἰώνων om. Coll. Pal. ἡ om. P οὐκ ... Μαρία om. Coll. Pal. ἀλλ P 2 ἔτεκεν om. P

[44] 4 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P ΜΑΛΧΙΩΝΑ Ο ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ· ΛΟΓΟΥ Ο 6 οἰκεῖ V<sup>c</sup>

[45] 7 post ΑΥΤΟΥ add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ P 8 οὐ· οὐδὲ P

[46] 10 ante ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΤΟΥ P post ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ add. ΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΥ Ο 11 μέγα ... τὸ τεκεῖν: "contigit parere" Arnob. Jun. ἀνθρωπότητι P

12 ὄργανον: "ministerium" (fort. pro "instrumentum"?), Arnob. Jun. 13 post Θεοῦ conj. Λόγου Loofs Scholion Leontii 14 ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. V; ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ P

17 Σαμοσατέως Ο ante πολλῶν add. τῶν VO ἀντιπαρετεθείκαμεν V 20 ante Θεόδωρον add. τὸν P

For Mary was not before the ages; Mary is not older than the Word, but begot a man like us, yet better in every respect, because from the Holy Spirit.

44. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM THE DIALOGUE WITH MALCHION

... So that the anointed son of David is no stranger to wisdom, not does wisdom dwell in another in this way.

45. BY THE SAME AUTHOR

He who was seen was not wisdom; for [Wisdom] cannot be found in concrete form, nor in the shape of man—for it is greater than what is seen.

46. BY NESTORIUS

It was a great privilege for the virgin mother of Christ to beget his humanity, the instrument of the divinity of God the Word; it is enough for her surpassing honor, that she begot a mediator united with the dignity of God.

*Leontius*: We have assembled these statements, only a few from many, in our hope to show the agreement of these heretics in evil with their ancient ancestors. It is possible for anyone who wishes to browse through the encyclical letter written against the Samosatean by the holy Synod convoked to depose him, and also in the dialogue which the presbyter Malchion officially held with him. [The reader] will find clearly that the disciples of Theodore are his kinsmen;

σχεδὸν γάρ τι καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χωροῦσι λέξεων, ὥς μὴ συγγραφὴν δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ τούτων συντάγματα ἀλλὰ μεταγραφὴν μᾶλλον, τὰ ἐκείνου εἰς τὰ οἰκεία μεταβαλλόντων. Ὅπως δὲ [1393 A] ἐφρόνησαν περὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅγιοι Πατέρες, αἱ τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
5 κυβερνώμεναι ἀγιώταται ἐκκλησίαι, ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Σαμουσατέως γενομένης ἀγίας συνόδου καὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς σαφῶς ἔστι γινώσκειν ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦσιν αὐταῖς λέξεσι.

[47] "Φησὶ τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν" (ὡς περὶ Παύλου λέγοντες)  
10 "τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας."

## [48] KAI MEΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ γένεσιν συνήπτο, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν.

## [49] KAI ΠΑΛΙΝ

15 Οὐ γὰρ συγγεγενῆσθαι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τὴν σοφίαν, ὥς ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, οὐσιωδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ποιότητα.

## [50] KAI MEΘ' ἙΤΕΡΑ

Τί δὲ βούλεται καὶ τὸ ἑτεροῖαν φάσκειν τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας; Ἡμῶν ἐνὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τούτῳ διαφέρειν αὐτοῦ [B]  
20 τὴν σύστασιν ἀξιούντων, τῷ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐν λυτῷ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος.

[47] *Epistola Encyclica contra Paulum Samosatenum*, fragmentum hic primo inventum. Cf. etiam: Justn., *Chr. Mon.* 30 (13, l. 6; ↓)

[48] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[49] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

[50] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP Scholion Leontii (cont.) 2 μεταβαλλόντων P 4 ante περὶ add. οἱ O  
6 Σαμουσατέως V<sup>ac</sup>; Σαμουσατέως O 7 ἦ: οἷς V

[47] 9 φασὶ P 10 post σοφίας add. τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας μὴ καθέλωμεν Justn.

[48] 12 γέννησιν O post συνήπτο conj. lacunam esse Loofs (*Paulus von Samosata*, 79, n. 3). τούτῳ O

[49] 15 συγγεγενῆσθαι P 16 καὶ om. O

[50] 18 δὲ om. P 19 ἡμῶν om. O ἐν: ἐν O δὴ: δὲ VOP; corr. Mai 20 τῷ: τὸ V ἐν om. O

for they almost run through the same phrases, so that their writings seem not to be their compositions, but rather transcriptions, as if they were transferring his work into their own. How the holy Fathers, and the holy Churches they governed, thought about the union from the beginning, can be learned clearly from the holy synod held against the Samosatean and from their encyclical letter; in it, besides other things, they accuse him of the following, in these words:

## 47. [THE RECORD OF HIS TRIAL]

He says in his commentaries (they are referring to Paul [of Samosata]) that he is preserving the dignity of Wisdom.

## 48. AND FURTHER ON

If he is joined in composition and origin, this happened to the human being.

## 49. AND AGAIN

Wisdom was not joined to the man essentially, as we believe, but in quality.

## 50. AND FURTHER ON

What does it mean to say that the constitution of Jesus Christ was different from ours? We judge that in this one great respect his constitution was different, that God the Word was in him what "the inner man" is in us.

## [51] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ

«...» ἢ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σοφίαν λέγειν, ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸν μὲν τρόπον τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τὸν αὐτὸν δηλοῖ, μέτρῳ δὲ καὶ πλήθει ὑπερφέρειν, οἷον διπλάσιον, ἢ καὶ ὅπως δήποτε πλείον ἢ ἔλαττον τοῦ διπλασίου, γινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ καθολικοὶ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν μετεσχηκέναι σοφίας ἐμπνεούσης ἔξωθεν καὶ ἄλλης οὔσης παρ' αὐτοὺς, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σοφίαν δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐπιδεδημηκέναι οὐσιωδῶς ἐν τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας σώματι.

10

## [52] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ

Καίτοι φησὶ μὴ δύο ἐπίστασθαι υἱούς. Εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς [C] τοῦ Θεοῦ, υἱὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ σοφία, καὶ ἄλλο μὲν ἡ σοφία, ἄλλο δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δύο ὑφίστανται υἱοί.

## [53] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ

15 Τὴν δὲ συνάφειαν ἐτέρως πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν νόει· κατὰ μάθησιν καὶ μετουσίαν, οὐχὶ «κατ'» οὐσίαν οὐσιωμένην ἐν σώματι.

## [54] ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ

Οὔτε δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προηγουμένως παθῶν ἀμέτοχος ἦν ὁ φορέσας καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον Θεὸς, οὔτε τῶν θείων προηγουμένως  
20 ἔργων ἁμοιρον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐν ᾧ ἦν καὶ δι' οὗ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἐπλάσθη

[51] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. ll. 5–9 (τοῦτο ... σώματι): cf. etiam Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 41 (287, ll. 2–6; tr. 211, ll. 19–23); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12155, f. 111<sup>v</sup> (183; tr. 423)

[52] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. ll. 11–13 (εἰ δὲ ... υἱοί) cf. etiam Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 41 (287, ll. 6–9; tr. 211, ll. 24–6); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12155, f. 111<sup>v</sup> (183; tr. 423)

[53] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo Graece inventum. Cf. etiam: Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* II, 32 (249, l. 29–250, l. 1; tr. 195, ll. 16–19); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12154, f. 18<sup>v</sup> (184; tr. 424); Cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 12155, f. 32<sup>v</sup> (184; tr. 424)

[54] *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum

VOP [51] 2 ἢ: εἰ V 4 ὑπερφέρει V δήποτε: ἤδη P ante ἔλαττον add. καὶ P 5 γινώσκοντες P ἢ om. P 7 ἐμπνεούσης: ἐνεργούσης Sev. Ant. αὐτοῖς V 8 ἑαυτῆς: αὐτοῦ P

[52] 10 ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ om. O 11 ὑφίστασθαι V υἱούς ante ἐπίστασθαι transp. P 13 υἱούς O

[53] 14 ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ om. O 15 σοφίαν: οὐσίαν P μάθησιν καὶ om. B.M. Add. 12154 et 12155 16 «κατ'» addidi sec. Sev. Ant., B.M. Add. 12154 et 12155 οὐσιωμένην ἐν σώματι om. Sev. Ant., B.M. Add. 12154 et 12155

## 51. AND FURTHER ON

... or to say Wisdom dwells in him, as in no one else. For this indicates that the manner of indwelling is the same, but that it exceeds [that in other people] in amount and quantity, as if he knew twice as much, or however much more or less than twice as much, from Wisdom than did the others. The catholic canons of the Church do not hold this opinion, but believe that they [= human beings] share in Wisdom as it inspires them from without, a different being from them, while Wisdom itself, of its own accord, came to dwell essentially in the body taken from Mary.

## 52. AND FURTHER ON

Yet he claims not to understand two sons. But if Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and Wisdom is a son, and Wisdom is one thing, Jesus Christ another, there subsist two sons.

## 53. AND FURTHER ON

Understand the connection with Wisdom in a different way: by way of knowledge and participation, not by way of substance realized in a body.

## 54. AND FURTHER ON

He, the God who bore and put on humanity, was not primarily without a share in human passions, nor was the humanity, in which he existed and for whose sake he did these things, primarily without a part in divine works. He was formed

προηγούμενως ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον Θεὸς ἦν ἐν γαστρὶ, συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.

[55] ἘΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ Αὐτοῦ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΩΝ.  
ΠΡΟΣ Αὐτὸν ΠΑΡΑ ΜΑΛΧΙΩΝΟΣ ἈΝΤΙΡΡΗΣΙΣ

- 5 Οὐ πάσαι τοῦτο ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ δίδως οὐσιῶσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ Σωτῆρι τὸν Υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως αἰδίδως ὑπάρχοντα;

[56] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΝ.  
ΠΡΟΕΚΟΜΙΣΘΗ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ἘΝ Τῇ ΚΑΤ' ἘΦΕΣΟΝ ἉΓΙΑ ΣΥΝΟΔῳ,  
Τῇ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΑΧΘΕΙΣΗ

- 10 Εἴ τις οὐ θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς θεότητος.  
Εἴ τις ὡς διὰ σωλήνος τῆς Παρθένου δραμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν αὐτῇ διαπεπλάσθαι λέγει, θεϊκῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπικῶς, θεϊκῶς μὲν ὅτι χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς, ἀνθρωπικῶς δὲ ὅτι νόμῳ κυήσεως, ὁμοίως ἄθεος.  
Εἴ τις διαπεπλάσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶτα ὑποδευκέναι λέγει Θεὸν,  
15 κατὰκριτος· οὐ γὰρ γέννησις Θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ φυγὴ γεννήσεως.  
Εἴ τις εἰσάγει δύο υἱοὺς, ἓνα μὲν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, δεύτερον

[55] *Acta Synodi contra Paulum Samosatenum, fragmentum hic primo inventum*

[56] *Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epist. 101, Ad Cledonium I (ed. P. Gallay, SC 208, 42, l. 10–46, l. 12; PG 37, 177 C6–181 A3). Cf. etiam: Doctr. Patr. 7, IX (51, l. 21); Conc. Ephes., Coll. Vat. 54, 14 (43, ll. 26–33; †); Coll. Ath. (93, ll. 18–25; †); Euth. Zig., Pan. XIV (884 D 10–885 C7; †); l. 10 (εἴ τις ... θεότητος): Tim. Ael., Ctr. Syn. Chalc., Test. 59 (25); Sev. Ant., Ad Neph. II (37, ll. 9–10; tr. 28, ll. 3–4); ll. 10–15 (εἴ τις ... γεννήσεως): Sev. Ant., Ctr. Gram. III, 41 (305, ll. 4–13; tr. 225, ll. 8–16); ll. 11–13 (εἴ τις ... ἄθεος): Sev. Ant., Ad Neph. II (37, ll. 4–9; tr. 27, l. 35–28, l. 3); Ctr. Gram. III, 25 (57, ll. 15–19; tr. 41, ll. 14–18); Ad Serg. I (90, ll. 8–12; tr. 66, ll. 6–9); Antijul. II A (157, l. 27–158, l. 2; tr. 133, ll. 26–30); Syn. Lat. (128, ll. 25–7, ut e Theodoro Faranitano excerptum); ll. 12–13 (θεϊκῶς ... [ἄθεος]): Sev. Ant., Antijul. II B (305, ll. 13–15;*

VOP [55] 3 ΠΕΡΙ om. O 4 ΜΑΛΑΧΙΩΝΟΣ O ἈΝΤΙΡΡΗΣΕΙΣ O  
[56] 7 post ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ P 8 ΚΑΙ om. O 9 Τῇ  
... ΣΥΝΑΧΘΕΙΣΗ om. O ΣΥΝΑΧΘΕΙΣΗ: ΣΥΝΑΘΡΟΙΣΘΕΙΣΗ P 10 ante  
Μαρίαν add. ἁγίαν V ἔσται O, Greg. Naz. Codd. QVT 11 δραμεῖν: διαδραμεῖν  
Greg. Naz. (txt. Codd. QVBT) 12 λέγοι P, Greg. Naz., Coll. Vat. cod. V 13 ὁμοίως  
ἄθεος: ἀνάθεμα ἔστω Conc. Ephes., ὡς περ ἡμεῖς Sev. Ant. Antijul. II B 14 post εἴ τις  
add. γὰρ Pamph. εἰθ' V, Pamph. λέγοι Greg. Naz., Euth. Zig.; post διαπεπλάσθαι transp.  
Greg. Naz. codd. ASPC, Conc. Ephes. 15 γὰρ post γέννησις transp. VO, Pamph. τοῦτο  
post ἐστὶν(ν) transp. Pamph. 16 εἰσάγοι P ante Θεοῦ add. τοῦ Greg. Naz. (txt. cod. W),  
Conc. Ephes., Justin. codd. VM καὶ om. VO δεύτερον: ἔτερον Greg. Naz. codd.  
AS<sup>c</sup>DPC, Vat. Gr. 1431, Justin.

primarily as man in the womb, and in a second respect God was in the womb, essentially united to humanity.

55. FROM THE RECORDS OF HIS TRIAL:  
FROM THE REFUTATION DIRECTED AGAINST  
HIM BY MALCHION

Have I not been saying this all along: that you have not conceded that the Only-begotten Son, who existed eternally before all creation, was made real in the whole Savior?

56. FROM ST GREGORY: FROM HIS LETTER TO CLEDONIUS;  
THIS WAS ALSO PRODUCED AT THE HOLY SYNOD OF  
EPHESUS, WHICH WAS CONVENED AGAINST NESTORIUS

If anyone does not understand that Mary is God-bearer, he has no part in the Godhead.

If anyone says that he ran through the Virgin as through a pipe, but was not formed in her, both in a divine and in a human way—divinely, because apart from a man, humanly because it was by the laws of gestation—he is also godless.

If anyone says that the human being was formed and then put on God, he is accursed; for that is not the begetting of God, but a flight from begetting.

If anyone introduces two Sons, the one from God the Father, the other



δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῆς υἰοθεσίας  
ἐκπέσοι τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τοῖς ὀρθῶς πιστεύουσιν φύσεις μὲν γὰρ δύο  
θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα· υἱοὶ δὲ οὐ δύο, οὐδὲ θεοὶ· οὐδὲ  
γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύο ἄνθρωποι, εἰ καὶ οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
5 καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς προσηγόρευσε. Καὶ εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο μὲν καὶ  
ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἴπερ μὴ ταῦτ' ὁ ἀόρατον τῷ ὁρατῷ, καὶ τὸ  
ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον· οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος—μὴ γένοιτο! Τὰ γὰρ  
ἀμφοτέρω ἐν τῇ συγκράσει, θεοῦ μὲν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ  
θεωθέντος, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάσειε. Λέγω δὴ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, ἔμπαλιν ἢ  
10 ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος

from the Mother, but [does not confess he is] one and the same, he departs from  
the adoption promised to those who believe rightly.

There are, after all, two natures, the divine and the human, since there is also  
soul and body. But there are not two sons, nor two Gods; for here, too, there are  
not two human beings, even if Paul spoke in this way, alluding to an “inner” and  
an “outer” person. And if we must put it concisely, the elements from which the  
Savior is formed are one thing and another, since the invisible is not the same as  
the visible, or the timeless the same as what is in time; but he is not one subject  
and another—far from it! For they are both one by mixture, God being made  
human, a human being made God—or however one might name it. I say “one  
thing and another,” the opposite from how it is in the Trinity. For there it is “one  
subject

[56 cont.] 13–15; tr. 267, ll. 25–8; p. 512, ll. 14–15 (εἴ τις ... κατάκριτος): *Doctr. Patr.* 21, III  
(133, ll. 12–13); p. 512, ll. 14–15 (εἴ τις ... γεννήσεως). *Tim. Ael., Ctr. Syn. Chalc.*, Test. 94 (60); *Sev.*  
*Ant., Ad Neph. II* (36, ll. 25–8; tr. 27, ll. 28–31); *Phil.* (137, ll. 13–16; tr. 111, ll. 28–31); *Ctr. Gram.* II,  
34 (278, ll. 25–8; tr. 217, ll. 26–8); *Pamph. V* (153, ll. 11–14); p. 512, l. 16–p. 514, l. 3 (εἴ τις ... θεοὶ)  
*Ps.-Joan. Mar.*, Test. 9 (194); p. 512, l. 16–p. 514, l. 5 (εἴ τις ... προσηγόρευσε): *Justn., Ctr. Mon.*,  
Test. 154 (32, ll. 25–9); p. 512, l. 16–p. 514, l. 7 (εἴ τις ... ἄλλος): *Vat. Gr.* 1431, *Flor. II*, 15 (35, ll. 2–7);  
p. 512, l. 16–p. 514, l. 7 (εἴ τις ... γένοιτο): *Thdt., Eran. II*, Test. 41 (166, l. 25–167, l. 5); *Justn., Conf.*  
*Rect. Fid.* (82, ll. 30–6); p. 512, l. 16–p. 514, l. 8 (εἴ τις ... συγκράσει): *Sev. Ant., Ctr. Gram.* III, 8  
(148, ll. 8–20; tr. 103, ll. 11–23); p. 512, l. 16–p. 516, l. 2 (εἴ τις ... θεότητι): *Fac. Herm., Def. Tr. Cap.*  
I, 5, 15–16 (30, l. 101–31, l. 114); ll. 2–3 (φύσεις ... θεοὶ): *Conc. Chalc., Ad Marc.*, Test. 3 (114,  
ll. 15–16); *Sev. Ant., Ad Neph. II* (34, ll. 16–18; tr. 26, ll. 5–6); *Leont. Jer., Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 7 (1820  
B1–3); *Syn. Hispal.* III, Test. 7 (181); *Geo. Kaph., Epist. ad Mīnā* (369); *Flor. Marc.* 573. f. 32r;  
ll. 2–5 (φύσεις ... προσηγόρευσε): *Joan. Dam., Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 10 (146, no. 98); *Doctr. Patr.* 2, I  
(11, l. 7); *ibid.* 29, VI (207, l. 3); ll. 2–7 (φύσεις ... γένοιτο): *Innoc. Mar., De Coll.* 59 (179, ll. 25–9);  
ll. 2–8 (φύσεις ... συγκράσει): *Gel., De Duab. Nat.*, Test. 22b (548); p. 514, l. 2–p. 516, l. 2 (φύσεις  
... θεότητι): *Leont. Byz., CNE*, Test. 7 (supra, pp. 34–5); *Theor., Disp. I* (141 B1–14); ll. 5–8 (εἰ δεῖ  
... συγκράσει): *Sev. Ant., Antijul.* III (143, l. 27–144, l. 2; tr. 119, ll. 23–8); p. 514, l. 5–p. 516, l. 2  
([καὶ εἰ] δεῖ ... θεότητι): *Joan. Dam., Ctr. Jac.*, Test. 13 (146 f., no. 101); ll. 5–7 (ἄλλο ... γένοιτο):  
*Sev. Ant., Ad Serg. II* (126, l. 26–127, l. 2; tr. 95, ll. 19–22); ll. 5–8 (ἄλλο ... συγκράσει): *Sev. Ant., Ad*  
*Neph. II* (48, ll. 19–23; tr. 36,

VOP [56] 1 τῆς<sup>1</sup> om. P, Justn. cod. X μητρὸς: *Marías P, Coll. Vat. codd.* A<sup>1a</sup>, *Vat. Gr.* 1431,  
*Sev. Ant.*; ἀγίας *Marías Greg. Naz. Cod. A* 3 οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup>: οὐ P οὐδὲ θεοὶ om. *Thdt.*, *Vat. Gr.*  
1431 θεοὶ: ἄνθρωποι *Leont. Jer.* 4 ante τὸ ἐντος (post τὸ ἐντος cod. S) add. καλεῖ *Thdt.*  
(txt. cod. J); add καὶ *Gel.* 5 προσηγόρευσε om. *Thdt.* (txt. cod. J); ὀνομάζει *Vat. Gr.*  
1431 6 εἴπερ: ἐπεὶ *Thdt.* 6 ὁρατον τῷ ἀοράτῳ *Coll. Vat. cod. D, Thdt.* (txt. cod. J),  
*Innoc. Mar., Doctr. Patr.* τῷ ὁράτῳ om. *Gel.* 7 τὸ ὑπὸ χρόνον τῷ ἀχρόνῳ *Innoc.*  
*Mar.* χρόνον: χρόνων P 7–8 τὰ ... συγκράσει: τῇ εἰς ἄκρον ἐνώσει ἐν τῇ συγκράσει  
*Conc. Ephes. Codd.* A<sup>1a</sup>, *Vat. Gr.* 1431 9 δὴ: δε *Greg. Naz., Conc. Ephes., Leont. Byz. CNE,*  
*Joan. Dam., Euth. Zig., Theor.* post ἄλλο<sup>1</sup> add. μὲν VO

καὶ ἄλλος, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συγχέωμεν, οὐκ ἄλλο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο· ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία καὶ ταυτὸν τῇ θεότητι.

Εἴ τις ὡς ἐν προφήτῃ λέγει κατὰ χάριν ἐνηργηκέναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν συνήφθαι τε καὶ συναναπεπλάσθαι, εἴη κενὸς τῆς κρείττονος  
5 ἐνεργείας, μᾶλλον δὲ πλήρης τῆς ἐναντίας.

Εἴ τις οὐ προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω καὶ τετάχθω μετὰ τῶν θεοκτόνων.

Εἴ τις ἐξ ἔργων τετελειωμένον, ἢ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, υἱοθεσίας ἡξιώσθαι λέγει, καθάπερ οὓς Ἕλληνες  
10 παρεγγράπτους εἰσάγουσιν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Τὸ γὰρ ἡργμένον ἢ προκόπτον ἢ τελειούμενον οὐ Θεὸς, καὶ διὰ τὴν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνάδειξιν οὕτω λέγεται.

[57] ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΙΓ' ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΣΜΑΤΩΝ, Εἰς τὸ "Ἡ ΚΕΦΑΛΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΖ"

Χριστὸν δὲ νῦν λέγομεν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ αἰῶδιον τῆς θεότητος ἀναπέμποντες  
15 τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοδόχον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄφθέντα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφέντα, τὸν τῆς Παρθένου βλαστὸν, ἐν ᾧ  
"κατώκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς," τὴν

[57] 14 Col. 2.9

[56 cont.] ll. 6–10); p. 514, ll. 5–9 (ἄλλο ... ὀνομάσειε): *ibid.* (34, ll. 20–5; tr. 26, ll. 8–16); p. 514, ll. 7–8 (τὰ γὰρ ... συγκράσει): *Sev. Ant. Ctr. Gram.* III, 87 (230, ll. 24–5; tr. 169, l. 25); p. 514, ll. 7–9 (τὰ γὰρ ... θεωθέντος): *Euth. Zig., Pan.* VII (213 B2–3); p. 514, l. 7–p. 516, l. 2 (λέγω ... θεότητι): *Sev. Ant., Ad Serg. II* (126, ll. 21–5; tr. 95, ll. 15–18); *Theor., Disp. I* (148 B12–C1); ll. 3–5 (εἴ τις ... ἐναντίας): *Sev. Ant., Ad Neph. II* (36, l. 28–37, l. 4; tr. 27, ll. 31–5); *Phil.* (137, ll. 17–19; tr. 111, l. 31–112, l. 2); *Ctr. Gram.* II, 32 (249, ll. 19–23; tr. 195, ll. 7–11); *ibid.* III, 23 (16, ll. 26–9; tr. 11, ll. 27–31); *Joan. Max., Lib. Fid.* 12 (5, ll. 35–7); *Petrus Diaconus et al., Epist. ad Episc.* (553, ll. 64–8); l. 6 (εἴ τις ... ἔστω): *Sev. Ant., Ad Neph. II* (37, ll. 10–11; tr. 28, ll. 4–5); ll. 6–7 (εἴ τις ... θεοκτόνων): *Tim. Ael., Ctr. Syn. Chalc., Test.* 60 (25); *Sev. Ant., Ctr. Gram.* III, 41 (305, ll. 14–15; tr. 225, ll. 16–17); ll. 8–11 (εἴ τις ... λέγεται): *Doctr. Patr.* 16, XII (110, l. 7)

[57] Gregorius Nyssenus, *In Canticum Canticorum Orat.* 13 (Cant. 5.11) (ed. H. Langerbeck, GNO 6, 390, l. 22–391, l. 11; PG 44, 1056 A13–B10)

VOP [56] 3 λέγοι Greg. Naz., *Euth. Zig.* post ἐνηργηκέναι add. τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον Petr. Diac. 4 συναναπεπλάσθαι: συναναπλάσθαι P; συνάπτεισθαι Greg. Naz. (txt AS<sup>4</sup>-DPC) *Coll. Vat. cod. P, Euth. Zig.*; διαπεπλάσθαι *Doctr. Patr. cod. B* κρείττονος: τοῦ Λόγου *Sev. Ant. Phil.* 6 οὐ· μὴ P, Greg. Naz. *codd. QWVTS<sup>cor</sup>, Euth. Zig.* 8 τετελειωμένων O, Greg. Naz. *cod. Q* 9 λέγοι Greg. Naz., *Doctr. Patr., Euth. Zig.* 11 ἀνάδειξιν: αὐξήσιν *Conc. Ephes.*

P (om. VO) [57] 13 ΚΑΙ ΦΑΖ: ΚΕΦΑΖ P, Greg. Nyss. (correxī sec. Cant. 5.11 LXX) 16 παρθενίας Greg. Nyss.

and another," so that we might not confuse the hypostases, but not one thing and another. The three are one and the same in divinity.

If anyone says that he worked [in Jesus] by grace, as in a prophet, but was not united in essence and formed together with him, let him be empty of that higher kind of action, or rather let him be full of its opposite.

If anyone does not adore the Crucified One, let him be anathema, and let him be put among God's killers.

If anyone says that he was made perfect by his actions, either after his baptism or after his resurrection from the dead, as the Greeks speak of newly deified humans, let him be anathema. For what is achieved or reached by progress or brought to perfection is not God, even if we may speak this way because God is manifested little by little.

57. BY THE SAME AUTHOR [ACTUALLY GREGORY OF NYSSA], FROM BOOK 13 OF HIS COMMENTARY ON THE SONG OF SONGS, ON THE TEXT, "HIS HEAD IS OF GOLD, PURE GOLD"

We now call him "Christ," not referring this name to the eternity of his Godhead, but to the man who received God, who was seen on earth and walked in human company, the offshoot of the Virgin, in whom "all the fullness of the Godhead dwelt in a bodily way"

ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ κοινού φυράματος, δι' οὗ ὁ Λόγος τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν περιβάλλετο, ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἀκήρατον, πάντων τῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῇ παθημάτων ἐκκαθαρθείσαν· οὕτω γάρ φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι "ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὗρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ," τοῦ "πεπειραμένου κατὰ  
5 πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν, χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας."

[58] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ἈΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΤ' ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ Α' ΛΟΓΟΥ

Ἀλλ' ὁ ὢν φύσει Θεὸς γεννᾶται ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα εἰς ἡ τὰ ἑκάτερα, τέλειος κατὰ πάντα, φυσικῇ καὶ ἀληθεστάτῃ τὴν γέννησιν ἐπιδειξάμενος.

10 [59] ΤΟΥ ἉΓΙΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ, ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ΝΥΣΣΗΣ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΤΙΚΟΥ

Ἀλλὰ μικρὸν, φησὶ, καὶ εὐπερίγραπτον ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, ἄπειρον δὲ ἡ θεότης· καὶ πῶς ἂν περιληφθεῖ τῷ ἀτόμῳ τὸ ἄπειρον; Καὶ τίς τοῦτο φησιν, ὅτι τῇ περιγραφῇ τῆς σαρκὸς, καθάπερ ἐν ἀγγελίᾳ τινὶ, ἡ ἀπειρία  
15 τῆς θεότητος περιελήφθη; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς ἐντὸς κατακλείεται τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ὄρων ἡ νοερά φύσις, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὄγκος τοῦ σώματος τοῖς οἰκείοις μέρεσι περιγράφεται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ

[57] 3-4 Isa. 53.9 (LXX var.) 4-5 Hebr. 4.15

[58] Athanasius (?), *Contra Apollinarem* I, 7 (PG 26, 1105 B2-5). Cf. etiam: Eulog., *Orat.* IV, Test. 2 (V, 35, ll. 2-4); *Doctr. Patr.* 7, XI (52, l. 4); Leont. Byz., CNE, Test. 19 (supra, p. 41, ll. 3-5; ↑); *De Sect.* 9, Test. 1 (↑); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 23 (354, ll. 17-18; ↑)

[59] Gregorius Nyssenus, *Oratio Catechetica* 10 (ed. E. Mühlenberg, GNO III/4, 38.5-23; PG 45, 41 B10-D1). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 7, XII (52, l. 6); Niceph., *Antirr.* III, Test. 9 (345, ll. 17-18); Euth. Zig., *Pan.* VII (216 B12-D3; ↑); ll. 15-16 (καὶ τίς ... περιελήφθη): Thdt., *Eran.* II, Test. 49 (169, ll. 10-11); p. 520, ll. 5-8 (εἰ δὲ ... ἐμπεριείργεσθαι); ibid., Test. 50 (169, ll. 13-15)

P [57] 1 περιεβάλετο Greg. Nyss. 3 ἐκκαθαρθαρείσης P; ἐκκαθαρείσης Greg. Nyss. cod. Σ

VP (om. O) [58] 7 Α': ΠΡΩΤΟΥ P 8 ὁ om. Leont. Byz. CNE, *De Sect.* γεννᾶται: γεγένηται *De Sect.* ἵν' Athan., Leont. Byz. CNE 9 φυσικῇ... ἐπιδειξάμενος: Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός Eulog. τὴν om. Leont. Byz. CNE, *Doctr. Patr.*, *De Sect.*, Niceph.

VOP [59] 10 ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ om. P 11 ΝΥΣΣΙΣ O 12 ἄπειρος P 13 περιληφθῇ P; περιελήφθη Greg. Nyss., Euth. Zig. τῷ: τὸ P τίς: τί *Doctr. Patr.* 14 τῇ περιγραφῇ: ἡ περιγραφὴ O ἐν om. Greg. Nyss. (txt. cod. g), Thdt., Euth. Zig. ἡ ἀπειρία: τὸ ἄπειρον Greg. Nyss. cod. e, Thdt. 16 κατακαίεται O σαρκὸς: ζωῆς P 16-17 τοῦ σώματος: ἐν *Doctr. Patr.*

—the first fruit of our common mass, through whom the Word put around himself our nature, making it pure and cleansed from all the passions that grow up with it. For this is how the prophet speaks of him: "He did not commit sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth," he who was "tempted in every way, in the likeness of our nature, apart from sin."

58. BY ST ATHANASIUS, FROM THE FIRST BOOK  
OF HIS TREATISE AGAINST APOLLINARIUS

But the one who is God by nature is begotten as a human being, so that both might be one person, perfect in every respect, revealing his begetting to be natural and most true.

59. BY ST GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA,  
FROM HIS CATECHETICAL ORATION

But human nature (he says) is a small and easily circumscribed thing, but the divinity something infinite; and how has the infinite been contained in an individual? And who says this: that the infinity of the Godhead has been held in by the circumscription of flesh, as in some container? In our own life, the intellectual nature is not locked up inside the limits of the flesh, but the mass of the body is circumscribed by its own parts, while the soul,

τοῖς τῆς διανοίας κινήμασι πάσῃ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐφαπλοῦται τῇ κτίσει, καὶ μέχρι οὐρανῶν ἀνιούσα, καὶ τῶν ἀβύσσων ἐπιβατεύουσα, καὶ τῷ πλάτει τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπερχομένη, καὶ πρὸς τὰ καταχθόνια διὰ τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης εἰσδύνουσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων θαυμάτων ἐν περινοίᾳ γίνεται, οὐδὲν βαρυνόμενη τῷ ἐφορκίῳ τοῦ σώματος. Εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ κατὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκην συγκεκραμένη τῷ σώματι πανταχοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν γίνεται, τίς ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν θεότητα λέγειν ἐμπεριείργεσθαι, καὶ μὴ διὰ τῶν χωρητῶν ἡμῶν ὑποδειγμάτων στοχασμὸν τινα πρέποντα περὶ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας λαβεῖν;

10

[60] ΤΟΥ ὍΣΙΟΥ ἘΦΡΑΪΜ· ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
Εἰς τὸν ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΘΝ· ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΙΩΝΟΣ

«...» ἃ βλέπεις καὶ ψηλαφᾷς· γενέσθω σοι μαρτύριον ἡ φύσις, ἣν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι Υἱὸς ἄνευ σπορᾶς γίνεται· καὶ δύο ὑπεναντία οὐσιωδῶς ὁμονόησαν, τῆς ὑποστάσεως δεικνυμένης ἐπὶ ἐκάστης φύσεως.

15

[61] ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΗΣ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΝ

Ἐὰν δὲ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ἡ ὡς ἀνέφικτον ἡ ὡς ἀκαλλῇ παραιτώμεθα, ἐμπίπτομεν εἰς τὸ λέγειν δύο υἱούς.

[60] Ps.-Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo adversus Haereses seu de Margarita* (ed. J. S. Assemani II, 268 B8-C4)

[61] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Epist.* 3, *ad Nestorium* 2.6 (ACO I, 1, 1, 28, ll. 7-8; PG 77, 48 B12-14). Cf. etiam: *Doctr. Patr.* 7, XIII (52, ll. 8-9); Leo, *Tomus II*, Test. 27 (130, ll. 14-16; †); Tim. Ael., *Ctr. Syn. Chalc.*, Test. 99 (62; †)

VOP [59] 2 ἀνιούσα: φθάνουσα Greg. Nyss. codd. qf, Niceph. ἐπιβατεύουσα: ἐμβατεύουσα O 3 ἐπερχομένη: περιπολεύουσα Greg. Nyss. codd. qf 4 οὐρανίων: ὑπερουρανίων Greg. Nyss. codd. dgup, Euth. Zig.; ἐπουρανίων Greg. Nyss. codd. eh 8 χωρητικῶν Greg. Nyss. cod. q (χωριτικῶν cod. r), *Doctr. Patr.* codd. ACDE ἡμῶν om. *Doctr. Patr.*

[60] 10-11 ΛΟΓΟΥ ... ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΘΝ· ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΟΥ Ρ· Εἰς τὸν ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΘΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ Ο 11 ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΙΩΝΟΣ om. O 12 ἃ: δ P ante ψηλαφᾷ add. ἃ Ps.-Ephr. μαρτυρία VO 13 ante Υἱὸς add. ὁ Ps.-Ephr. Post Υἱὸς add. τοῦ Θεοῦ Ps.-Ephr. ὑπεναντίων Ps.-Ephr. 14 ὁμονόησαν: ὁμονούσαν P; ὁμονοήσαντων Ps.-Ephr. τῆς ... δεικνυμένης: τῶν ὑποστάσεων δεικνυμένων Ps.-Ephr.

[61] 15-16 ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ· ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ὍΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ Ρ 17 ἔνωσιν om. P 18 παραιτούμεθα Cyr. Alex. (Coll. Vat.) codd. VMDΘ<sup>p</sup>, Tim. Ael., *Doctr. Patr.* (txt. cod. E) λέγειν: ἐλέγχειν P δύο ante λέγειν transp. Cyr. Alex. (txt. codd. SΔ<sup>wmps</sup>)

in the movements of reason, spreads over all creation as far as it can, going up as far as the heavens and embarking into the depths, traversing the breadth of the inhabited world and going down to the regions under the earth by its inquisitiveness; often it becomes even aware of heavenly wonders in its own subtle inquiries, since it is not weighed down by the burden of the body. But if the human soul, mixed by the necessity of nature with the body, comes to be everywhere as far as it is able, why is it necessary to say that the Godhead is hemmed in by the nature of the flesh, and not to grasp some fitting clue about the divine Incarnation through the examples available to us?

60. BY ST EPHREM, FROM HIS SERMON  
AGAINST MARCION, ON THE PEARL

... the things you see and touch. Let nature offer you a witness, which you cannot put into words: the Son comes into being without human seed. Two opposites, then, are in essential harmony, while the hypostasis is revealed in each nature.

61. FROM THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF  
ST CYRIL AGAINST NESTORIUS

If we reject the union in hypostasis as unattainable or as unfitting, we fall into saying there are two sons.

[62] ΤΟΥ ὉΣΙΟΥ ἸΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ ἘΡΗΜΙΤΟΥ.  
ΠΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΒΙΟΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΝ, ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ

- Τὸ "ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς" αὐτὸς  
μὲν ἔφησ' μὴ νοεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι εἰρήσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ "οὐσιωδῶς." Οὐ γὰρ  
5 ἐνέργεια θεότητος, ἣν οὐσία θεότητος τίκτει, τὸν ναὸν ἐκείνον ἐκυβέρνησα  
τὸν ἄχραντον, ἀλλ' οὐσία μυρίας ἐνεργείας ἔχουσα, οὐ μερικὸν ἔχουσα  
χάρισμα ἀλλ' ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν· αὐτὸς φησὶν, ὅτῳ Πατρὶ συμβασιλεύων  
καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ἡνίας κατέχων καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια οἰακίζων,  
ἐνηνθρώπησεν.  
10 [PG 86, 1896 A] ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· Οἶμαι διὰ πάντων ἀποδεδεῖχθαι τὴν  
Θεοδώρου καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πρὸς τε τὸν Σαμοσατέα ὁμοδοξίαν καὶ  
πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους Πατέρας ἐναντίαν καὶ διάφορον γνώμην· τῆς δὲ τῶν  
ἐντυγχανόντων ἡρτήσθω ἐξουσίας, τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ προσθέσθαι καὶ δοῦναι  
ταύτη κατὰ τοῦ ψεύδους ἔχειν τὰ νικητήρια.

[62] 3 Col. 2.9

[62] Isidorus Pelusiota, Epist. IV, 166, Archibio Presbytero (PG 78, 1256 A14–B8). Cf. etiam:  
Doctr. Patr. 7, XIV (52, l. 12); Rust. Diac., Syn.: Coll. Cas. 80, 19 (14, ll. 9–15; †)

VOP [62] 1 ante ἘΡΗΜΙΤΟΥ add. ΤΟΥ P 2 ante ΠΡΟΣ add. ἘΚ ΤΟΥ O  
3 κατοικεῖ P, Isid. Pel. (txt. cod. Vat. Gr. 650) ante αὐτὸς add. μὲν V<sup>ac</sup> 4 δ Isid. Pel.  
5 ἐνέργεια O ἦν: ἡ OP οὐσία O; ἐγουσία Isid. Pel. θεότητος<sup>2</sup> om. Isid. Pel., Rust.  
Diac. ante ἐκυβέρνησα add. ὃν P 6 ἔχουσα<sup>3</sup> addidi sec. Isid. Pel. 7 αὐτὸς: οὕτως V  
φησὶν ante τῶν ἀγαθῶν transp. Rust. Diac. συμβασιλεύων: συμβολεύων Isid. Pel. cod.  
Vat. Gr. 650

Scholion Leontii 10 ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ om. VO 11 καὶ τῶν om. O Σαμωσατέα O  
13 ἡρτήσθω P τε om. O 14 τὸ ψεῦδος conj. Mai

62. BY THE HOLY HERMIT ISIDORE,  
TO ARCHIBIUS THE PRESBYTER, AGAINST NESTORIUS

The text, "In him all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in a bodily way," you say you do not understand; but I myself think this is said with the meaning of, "in a substantial way." For it is not a divine activity, which divine substance produces, that is in control of that spotless temple, but a substance that has countless activities—one that does not contain some partial grace but is the fountain of all good things. He, Paul is saying, who reigns along with the Father and holds the reins over all the universe and steers the rudder of things on earth—he has become human.

*Leontius*: I think that the unity of opinion between Theodore and his followers and Paul of Samosata has been proven by all these passages, as well as his opposite, differing opinion when compared to the holy Fathers. But it must depend on the judgment of those who read them to adhere to the truth, and to let truth bear the prize of victory over falsehood!



ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ὉΣΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ.  
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΣ ἡΜΙΝ  
ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ, ΨΕΥΔΩΣ  
ἘΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑ ἘΙΣ ὌΝΟΜΑ  
ΤΩΝ ἉΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ

By the Same Leontius:  
against those who Present us with  
Works of Apollinarius, Falsely Entitled  
with the Names of the Holy Fathers  
(*Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*)

Τινές τῶν τὰ Ἀπολινάριου νοσούντων ἦτοι τὰ Εὐτυχοῦς, ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ Διοσκόρου, τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν κρατῦναι βουλόμενοι, τινὰς τῶν Ἀπολινάριου λόγων ὡς Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ ἢ Ἀθανασίου ἢ Ἰουλίου ἐπέγραψαν, τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἀπατῆσαι βουλόμενοι—ὁ δὲ καὶ  
 5 πεποιήκασιν. Τῇ γὰρ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ τῶν προσώπων πολλοὺς ἐλεῖν τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας δεδύννηται, καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἂν εὖροις τῶν τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τὴν Κατὰ Μέρους Ἀπολινάριου Πίστιν Γρηγορίου ἐπιγεγραμμένην, καὶ τινὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὰς Ἰουλίου ἐπιγεγραμμένας, καὶ ἄλλους δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ σαρκώσεως λόγους ἦτοι ἐκθέσεις Ἀθανασίου  
 10 ἐπιγεγραμμένας, ὅποια ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιγεγραμμένη Ἐκθεσις Συμφωνοῦσα τῇ τῶν [Β]τιῇ· οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέροις τινὰς τοιούτους. Δῆλον δέ σοι γενήσεται καὶ παντὶ τῷ φιλαλήθει ἐκ τῶν παρατεθησομένων αὐτοῦ τε Ἀπολινάριου λόγων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν, ὧν σὺν ἄλλοις ἐστὶ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος ὁ ὑποτεταγμένος.

15 [1] ὉΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ.  
 ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΣ  
 ΦΑΣΚΕΙΝ ἩΜΑΣ ὍΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ

1 Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀθανασίου τῆς πρὸς  
 Ἐπίκτητον τὸν Κορίνθου Ἐπίσκοπον.

20 Ταῦτα δὲ πόθεν ἐξῆλθεν; Ἡ ποῖος ἄδης ἐξηρεύσατο ὁμοούσιον εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας σῶμα τῇ τοῦ Λόγου θεότητι;

2 Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Εἰ ὁμοούσιος ὁ Λόγος τῷ σώματι ἐκ γῆς ἔχοντι τῆς φύσιν, ὁμοούσιος δὲ ὁ  
 Λόγος τῷ Πατρὶ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πατέρων ὁμολογίαν, ὁμοούσιος ἔσται καὶ  
 25 αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ σώματι τῷ ἐκ γῆς γενομένῳ· καὶ τί ἔτι μέμφεσθε τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς λέγουσι τὸν Υἱὸν κτίσμα, λέγοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Πατέρα ὁμοούσιον τοῖς κτίσμασιν;

1 Valentinus Apollinaristes, *Apologia*: fragmentum hic primo ex integro inventum. Excerpta singillatim:

1 Athanasius, *Epist. ad Epictetum*, 2 (PG 26, 1052 C9–11);

2 *ibid.* 4 (PG 26, 1056 C8–14)

V Introductio Leontii

1 1 20 ἢ om. Athan. ἐξηρεύσατο: ἡρεύσατο Athan.

2 26 καὶ post αὐτοὶ transp. Athan.

Some of those who suffer from Apollinarius's disease, or that of Eutyches, or members of Dioscorus's party, wishing to support their own heresy, have labelled some works of Apollinarius as if they were by Gregory Thaumaturgus or Athanasius or Julius, wishing to deceive the simple—which they have succeeded in doing. For they have been able to captivate many in the Catholic Church by the credibility of these persons, and you may find among many orthodox believers the *Faith in Detail* of Apollinarius, called by Gregory's name, and some of his epistles ascribed to Julius, and other works or expositions of his on the Incarnation ascribed to Athanasius, such as the so-called *Exposition of the Faith in Concord with that of the 318*; and not only these works, but others like them. It will become clear to you and to every lover of truth from the words of Apollinarius that will be presented below, and those of his disciples, to which, among others, Valentinus, who is cited below, belongs.

# I. BY VALENTINUS THE APOLLINARIAN: CHAPTERS IN REPLY AGAINST THOSE WHO SAY THAT WE HOLD THE BODY IS OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH GOD

## 1. From the Epistle of the Blessed Athanasius, to Epictetus, Bishop of Corinth

Where did these ideas come from, what Hell has vomited them forth: to say that the body taken from Mary was of one substance with the Godhead of the Word?

## 2. From the Same Epistle

If the Word is of the same substance as the body which has its nature from the earth, and the Word is of the same substance as the Father, according to the confession of our ancestors, then the Father himself will be of the same substance as the body made from earth; and what would you have then to reproach the Arians with, who say the Son is a creature, if you yourselves say the Father is of the same substance as creatures?

## 3 Τοῦ κυρίου Ἀπολιναρίου· ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σαραπίωνα ἐπιστολῆς·

Ἐδεξάμην τὸ γράμμα τῆς ἀγάπης σου, δέσποτα, καὶ εἰς ὅπερ ἐζήτει  
 πᾶγμα ὃ κομίσας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὰ δυνατὰ συνεπράξαμεν αὐτῷ. [C]  
 Τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ δεσπότου μου, τὴν εἰς Κόρινθον ἀποσταλείσαν,  
 5 σφόδρα ἀπεδεξάμεθα· τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων ὁμοούσιον Θεῷ τὴν σάρκα,  
 πολλὴν μανίαν κατέγνωμεν.

## 4 Καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς·

Τῇ γὰρ ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Λόγον θείᾳ ἢ σὰρξ, οὐ τῇ φύσει, ὥστε ἐν τῇ  
 ἐνώσει καὶ τὸ διαμένειν ἔχει, καθάπερ αὐτός φησι τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι τὸ  
 10 ζωοποιοῦν τὴν σάρκα. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀσώματον γενέσθαι σῶμα δυνατόν,  
 ὥσπερ ἀφρόνως ἕτεροι λέγουσιν.

## [1949 A] 5 Ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·

Ἔμοι καὶ φιλίας ὑπόθεσις ἢ εὐσέβεια, καὶ ἔχθρας οὐδεμία πρόφασις πρὸς  
 τοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττοντας. Μηδὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ καινὸν ζητεῖτω τις νῦν,  
 15 μηδ' ἀποσιώπησιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαιτεῖτω, ὥς ἐκ ταύτης εἰρήνην  
 κατασκευάζων. Ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς ἐπάγειν δύναται ταῦτα τὰ κατὰ τινων  
 λεγόμενα, δηλὸν ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ γεγράφαμεν, οὔτε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγοντες, οὔτε ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ [τὴν σάρκα], καθ' ὅσον ἐστὶ  
 σὰρξ καὶ οὐ Θεός, Θεὸν δὲ καθ' ὅσον εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον ἦνεται τῇ θεότητι.

## 20 6 Καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή

[B] Θαυμάζω πυνθανόμενος περὶ τινων, ὁμολογούντων μὲν Θεὸν ἐν σαρκὶ

1 4 9 (τὸ Πνεῦμα ... σάρκα): cf. Joan. 6. 63; 2 Cor. 3.6

1 3 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Epist. ad Sarapionem*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 159: ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904), 253, l. 15-254, l. 4)

4 Apollinarius Laodicens, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 160: ed. H. Lietzmann, 254, ll. 5-10).

5 Apollinarius Laodicens (Ps.-Julius), *Epist. II ad Dionysium*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 164: ed. H. Lietzmann, 262, ll. 5-16), ll. 16-19 (ὅτι ... θεότητι): cf. etiam Tim. Beryt., *Ad Homonium*, Test. 8 (infra, Test. 2, 8: p. 548, l. 25-p. 550, l. 3)

6 Apollinarius Laodicens (Ps.-Julius), *Epist. I ad Dionysium*, 1 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 256, ll. 19-21). Cf. etiam: Conc. Chalc., *Coll. Nov.*

V 1 5 16 τὰ om. Tim. Beryt. 17 γράφομεν Tim. Beryt. 18 [τὴν σάρκα]  
 seclusi sec. Tim. Beryt. καθ' ὅσον: καθ' ὅ V 19 Θεὸν: Θεός V

6 20 τὸν addidi 21-22 ἐν σαρκὶ: ἐνσαρκον Apoll., Tim. Ael.; "corporalem" Coll. Nov.

## 3. By the Lord Apollinarius: from his Epistle to Serapion

I received your kind letter, my Lord, and in regard to the matter the bearer of  
 the letter asked about, we helped him as far as we could. We very much approve  
 of my Lord's letter sent to Corinth; and we consider that those who say the flesh  
 is of the same substance as God are wholly mad.

## 4. And again from the Same Epistle

For the flesh is divine through its union with the Word, not through its nature;  
 so that it has the capacity of remaining so by the union, also, just as he says that  
 it is the Spirit which gives life to the flesh. For it is impossible for the bodiless to  
 become a body, as others foolishly say.

## 5. From the Letter to Dionysius, of which this is the Beginning

For me, piety is the basis of friendship, and there is no reason for enmity towards  
 those who preserve piety. Let no one seek anything new from me, nor demand  
 that I keep silent about the truth, in order to achieve peace thereby. And that no  
 one can charge us with these things that are said against some, is clear from  
 what we have always written, neither saying that the flesh of the Savior is from  
 heaven, nor that it [the flesh] is the same substance as God, since it is flesh and  
 not God, and God only insofar as it is united with the divinity to form one  
 person.

6. And from Another Epistle to the Same Man,  
of which this is the Beginning

I am amazed to learn about some people, who confess that the Lord is God in  
 the flesh,

τὸν Κύριον, περιπιπτόντων δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει, τῇ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Παυλιανίζόντων εἰσαχθείσῃ.

7 Καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

ὁμολόγηται τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, ἡ θεότης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Τὸ σῶμα  
5 ἐπλάσθη ἐν κοιλίᾳ· ἡ θεότης ἄκτιστος, αἰώνιος. Ἐν τε τῇ συνθέσει μένει  
καὶ τὸ σῶμα σῶμα καὶ ἡ θεότης θεότης· εἰ δὲ τῇ Γραφῇ σύνηθες τὸ ὅλον  
θεολογεῖν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀνθρωπολογεῖν, ἐπώμεθα καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς  
θείοις, καὶ μὴ μερίζωμεν τὰ ἀμέριστα.

8 Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Τερέντιον ἐπιστολῆς.

10 [C] Καὶ αἰτιᾶται μὲν ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν λύνοντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν· οὗτοι δὲ λύουσιν  
ἀντικρυς, ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συνάφειαν. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ  
συνάπτεται, οὐδὲ ὁμοούσιον ὁμοουσίῳ, καθάπερ οὗτοι λέγειν οὐκ  
ᾤκνησαν· οὔτε γὰρ σύνθεσις οὔτε συνάφεια αὕτη, ὅτι μὴδὲν αὐτῷ ἑαυτῷ  
συνάπτεται, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ τὸ συναπτόμενον. Εἰ δὲ ὁμοούσιος μὲν ὁ  
15 Λόγος τῷ σώματι, ὁμοούσιον δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῷ Λόγῳ, ἀόρατα δήπου  
ἐκάτερα, κατὰ τὸ "Οὐδεὶς εἶδεν Θεόν, οὔτε ἰδεῖν δύναται." οὐκ ἄρα  
ἐφανερῶθη κατὰ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ἐψηλαφήθη, ἀφανὴς ὢν, οὐδὲ ἀληθὴς  
Ἰωάννης λέγων, "Ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν."

9 Καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

20 Εἰ δέ τις ἢ δύο πρόσωπα λέγει τὸν Υἱὸν, ἢ τὴν σάρκα ὁμοούσιον

1 8 10 (αἰτιᾶται ... Ἰησοῦν): cf. 1 Joan. 4.3 16 1 Tim. 6.6; cf. Joan. 1.18; 1 Joan. 4.12  
18 1 Joan. 1.1

1 6 (cont.) 9.1 (ACO II, 2, 35, ll. 36-8; ↓, ut Julii); Coll. Cas., Test. 26 (ACO II, 4, 149, ll. 37-8;  
↓, ut Julii); Tim. Ael., Ref. Conc. Chalc., Test. 312 (186, ll. 17-19; ↓, ut Julii)

7 Apollinarius Laodicens (Ps.-Julius), ibid. 10 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 260, ll. 14-21). ll. 6-8 (εἰ δὲ  
... ἀμέριστα): cf. etiam Tim. Ael., Ref. Conc. Chalc., Test. 304 (178, ll. 18-21; ut Julii)

8 Apollinarius Laodicens, Epist. ad Terentium: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 162:  
ed. H. Lietzmann, 254, l. 28-255, l. 9)

9 Apollinarius Laodicens, ibid.: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 163: ed. H.  
Lietzmann, 255, ll. 10-14)

V 1 6 2 Παυλιανίζόντων Apoll. cod. V (= Vat. Gr. 1431)

7 5 ἐπλάσθη: πέπλασται Apoll. 5-6 ἐν τε ... θεότης<sup>2</sup> om. Apoll. codd. ANR, Syr. (txt.  
cod. V) 6 post θεότης<sup>2</sup> add. ἵνα ἐνωθέντος τοῦ Λόγου τῷ σώματι ἀδιαίρετος μείνη ἡ  
θεότης Apoll. post σύνηθες add. καὶ Apoll., Tim. Ael. καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. Tim. Ael. 7 post καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
add. ἡμεῖς Apoll. 7-8 τοῖς θείοις ῥήμασι Apoll. cod. A 8 μερίζομεν V (corr. Mai),  
Apoll. codd. VNR.

8 16 εἶδεν: ἴδεν V

but fall in with the division which has erroneously been introduced by the Paulinians.

## 7. And again from the Same Epistle

The body we confess to be from the Virgin, the divinity from heaven. The body was formed in the womb; the divinity is uncreated, eternal. And in their combination the body remains body and the divinity divinity. If it is usual for the Scripture to call the whole [person] by divine names and the whole by human names, let us follow the divine language and not divide the indivisible.

## 8. From the Epistle to Terentius

And John censures the one who destroys Jesus; but these destroy him openly, confessing the unity [of the Word] with the body. For it is not united to itself, nor is it one substance united to the same substance, as they do not scruple to say; for this would not be a synthesis or unity, because nothing is united to itself, but one thing is united to another. If the Word is of the same substance as the body, the body is of the same substance as the Word, and both will be invisible, according to the saying, "No one has seen God, nor can one see him." According to this, he never appeared, nor was he handled, being invisible, nor does John tell the truth when he says, "We saw him and our hands handled him."

## 9. And again from the Same Epistle

And if anyone says the Son is two personas, or that the flesh is of the same substance

τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σαρκί, ἣ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβεβηκυῖαν καὶ [D]μὴ τῷ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ προσειλημμένην, παθητὴν λέγων τὴν θεότητα, ἀναθεματιζέσθω.

## 10 Ἀπὸ συλλογισμῶν.

Εἰ ὁμοούσιος ὁ Λόγος τῷ σώματι, οὐδὲν ἠνώθη αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ, ἠνώθη  
5 δὲ σώματι, οὐκ ἄρα ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ.

Εἰ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Λόγῳ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἐθεωρήθη καὶ ἐψηλαφήθη—  
ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀόρατα καὶ ἀναφῇ, εἴπερ ὁμοούσια· φησὶ δὲ Ἰωάννης,  
“Ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ ἐψηλαφήσαμεν”. οὐκ ἄρα ὁμοούσιον τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ  
Κυρίου καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀναφές ὁρατῷ συνήφθη καὶ  
10 [1952 A] ἀπτῷ πρὸς ἐνότητα. διὸ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁρατὸς καὶ ἀπτὸς γέγονεν.

Ὁ λέγων σῶμα ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ βλασφημεῖ ἀσώματον ὡς σῶμα  
ἔχοντα· ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸ ἴδιον ἔχει καὶ ἐνωθεὶς σαρκί·  
καὶ οὐ διὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιος εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ μεμέρισται τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος, ἵνα  
μὴ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοούσιον νομισθῇ.

15 11 Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς·

Ἀπολινάριος καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ τάδε φρονούμεν περὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως·  
σάρκα ὁμοούσιον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ ποσειλήφεν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρίας ὁ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ ζῶν Λόγος, καθ’ ἑνωσιν τὴν πρὸς θεότητα, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης [B]  
συλλήψεως τῆς ἐν τῇ Παρθένῳ, καὶ οὕτως ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν· ὅτι σὰρξ  
20 καὶ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ  
“γενέσθαι σάρκα τὸν Λόγον,” τὸ ἐνωθῆναι πρὸς σάρκα ὡς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον  
πνεῦμα. Καλεῖται γὰρ καὶ ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος σὰρξ. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος ὑπὲρ  
ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος· διὸ καὶ ἐπουράνιος, ἕνεκα τοῦ ἰδίου Πνεύματος  
ἐπουρανίου τυγχάνοντος, ᾧ τὸ “φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς” οὐκ ἀντετάξατο.  
25 καὶ οὕτως ἔλβετο ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία, καὶ κατελύθη ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας  
θάνατος· καὶ ἡμεῖς, μετέχοντες τοῦ κατορθώματος πίστει, σωζόμεθα καὶ  
ὁμοιώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἐπουράνιου γινόμεθα, ὄντες χοῦκοῦ

1 10 8 1 Joan 1.1

11 21 cf. Joan 1.14

24 Rom. 8.6 f.

1 10 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Syllogismi*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 112: ed. H. Lietzmann, 233, l. 30–234, l. 10)

11 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Professio Fidei cum Jovio Episcopo*: fragmentum hic primum inventum (ed. H. Lietzmann, 262, l. 4–263, l. 14; 286, l. 16–287, l. 9)

V 1 10 7 ἀναφῇ: ἀφανῇ V δέ: γὰρ V 14 τὸ σῶμα ὁμοούσιον: fort. τῷ σώματι ὁμοούσιος

11 27 «ἐπουράνιου» supplēvi

as God and not as our flesh, or that it has come down from heaven and was not taken up by him who is from heaven, saying that the divinity is possible, let him be anathema.

## 10. Proof by Syllogisms

If the Word is of the same substance as the body, he was not united to it; but he was united to the body; therefore he is not of the same substance as it is.

If the body is of the same substance as the Word, it was not seen or touched—for both would be invisible and impalpable, if they are of one substance; but John says, “We have seen and touched him”; therefore the Spirit of the Lord and his body are not of one substance, but the invisible and impalpable was joined to the visible and palpable for the purpose of union; therefore in it he became visible and palpable.

He who says the body is of the same substance as God blasphemes, by holding that the bodiless has a body, because the Son, who is of the same substance as the Father, retains what is proper to him even when united to the flesh; and he is not separated from his own body because he is of the same substance as God, so that the body need not be considered the same substance.

## 11. And again the Same Author

I, Apollinarius and those in my party think as follows about the divine incarnation:

The living Word of God took from Mary flesh of the same substance as our flesh, in union with his divinity, from the beginning of his conception in the Virgin, and so became human; for a human being is flesh and spirit, according to the Apostle, and this is what it means that the Word became flesh, that it was united to flesh like the human spirit. For a man like us is called flesh; but the Lord is a man above us; therefore he is also heavenly, because of his own heavenly Spirit which belongs to him, to whom the thoughts of the flesh offered no opposition. And therefore sin was destroyed in Christ, and death that comes from sin was destroyed, too; and we, sharing in his right activity by faith, are saved and become heavenly by likeness with the heavenly man, though we come from an earthly



πατρός. Ἀνάθεμα οὖν ὁ μὴ λέγων ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τῆς ἀκτίστου φύσεως λέγων αὐτήν, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λέγων [C]τὴν θεότητα παθητὴν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ πάθη τὰ ψυχικά.

Καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰόβιος ἐπίσκοπος ὁμολογῶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἐξ αἰῶνος μὲν ἄσαρκον Θεὸν Λόγον, ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ δὲ αἰώνων σάρκα ἐξ ἀγίας Παρθένου ἐνώσαντα ἑαυτῷ, εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὑπόστασιν μίαν σύνθετον καὶ πρόσωπον ἓν ἀδιαίρετον, μεσιτεύον Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ συνάπτων τὰ διηρημένα ποιήματα τῷ πεποιηκότι, ὁμοούσιον Θεῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἡνωμένην αὐτῷ σάρκα, προσκυνούμενον δὲ καὶ δοξαζόμενον μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς, ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς ἡμῖν γέγονεν λύτρωσις ἐκ θανάτου καὶ κοινωνία [D]πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον. Ἄκρως γὰρ ἡνωμένη ἡ σὰρξ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτοῦ χωριζομένη, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, οὐ δούλου, οὐ κτιστοῦ προσώπου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τῷ Θεῷ καὶ [οὐχ] ὁμοουσίου τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ ἀρρήτου Πατρός· τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἄκρως ἡνωμένην σάρκα τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτοῦ χωριζομένην λέγοντας ἢ διδάσκοντας ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ, τουτέστιν τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ οὐσίᾳ, τούτους ὡς "διχοστασίας καὶ σκάνδαλα παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν" τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμάθομεν "ποιούντας" ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐκκλίνομεν, κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παραγγελίαν, καὶ ἄλλοτρίους ἡγούμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ παραδόσει καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ εἰρήνῃ.

[1953 A] 12 Οὐαλεντίνος Χριστιανὸς πρὸς τὰ κακῶς καὶ ἀσεβῶς δογματισθέντα ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἀσεβεστάτου Πολεμίου, ἀντέγραψα καὶ ταῦτα.

Ἐπειδὴ Τιμόθεος ὁ Πολεμίου γενόμενος πρῶτος μαθητῆς, ἐκ πολλῆς ἀνοίας ἐπεγείρας ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δογματίζει κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἀσέβειαν τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ Πολεμίου, ἀφρόνως κατηχῶς τὸν ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ Καταφρόνιον, ὡς αὐτὸς γράφει τοῖς ὁμόφροσιν αὐτοῦ Παρηγορίῳ, Οὐρανίῳ, Διοδώρῳ, Ἰοβίῳ, λέγων οὕτως· ὅτι

1 11 19 Rom. 16.17

21 ἄλλοτρίους: cf. Joan. 10.5

1 12 Valentinus Apollinaristes, conclusio Apologiae: hic primo inventum (ed. H. Lietzmann, 287, l. 10-291, l. 30)

V 1 11 16 [οὐχ] seclisit Torres; fort. legendum οὕτως ὁμοούσιος Lietzmann

father. Therefore let him be accursed who does not say that the flesh is from Mary, and who says it belongs to uncreated nature and is of the same substance as God; but also he who says the divinity is passible, and that [Christ's] mental sufferings are derived from it.

And I, Bishop Jovius, confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is God the Word, without flesh, from all eternity, and that at the end of the ages he united to himself flesh from the holy Virgin; that he is God and man, one and the same, one compound hypostasis and one indivisible person which mediates between God and humanity and unites diverse creatures with the creator, of the same substance as God in the divinity which is his from the essence he received from his Father; and of the same substance as humanity, in the flesh united to him from human nature; adored and glorified with his own flesh, because through it we have received redemption from death and a participation in immortality. The flesh which is literally united to the Word, and never separated from him, is not that of a man or a slave or a created person, but of God the Word himself, the creator, the one who is of the same substance as God and of the same substance as the incorporeal essence of the ineffable Father. Those who say or teach that the flesh, literally united to the Word and never separated from it, is of the same substance as God, that is, as the incorporeal essence, we avoid, according to the apostolic instruction, as creating division and scandal in the churches, against the teaching which we learned from the beginning, and we consider them as strangers, because they oppose the ancient tradition and the peace of the Church.

# 12. I, Valentinus, a Christian, Have Written also the Following against the Evil and Impious Teachings of Timothy and his Party, and their Teacher, the Most Wicked Polemius

Since Timothy, the first disciple of Polemius, aroused himself against the Church of Christ out of deep ignorance, and teaches against the truth the impious doctrine of his teacher Polemius, madly teaching his companion Cataphronius in the following way, as he writes to his like-minded friends Paregorius, Uranius, Diodorus, [and] Jovius:

[B] “τῇ ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον θεολογουμένη καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὁμοούσιος ὁμολογουμένη, ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σὰρξ τῇ φύσει μένει ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος”· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ κατηχηθέντος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Καταφρονίου λέγει οὕτως· ὅτι “τῇ ἐνώσει ταῦτον τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογεῖσθαι ὀφείλει, καὶ ὡς Λόγος θεολογεῖσθαι καὶ ὡς Λόγος προσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ ὡς Λόγος ὁμοούσιος τῷ Θεῷ πιστεῦσθαι”. Καὶ ἔτι τούτου ἀσεβέστερον, ὡς Τιμόθεε, ὅτι τὴν σάρκα ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου ἀφανῆ ποιεῖτε, εἶπερ, ὡς ὑμεῖς λέγετε, ὅτι “ὡς Λόγος Θεοῦ ὁμοούσιος ἡ σὰρξ, δι’ ἧς σωτηρίας ἡμεῖς ἐτύχομεν, καὶ πιστεύομεν ὅτι τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπροσκυνεῖται καὶ συνθεολογεῖται καὶ συνδοξάζεται ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σὰρξ, ἣν ἐκ Παρθένου προσείληφεν, δι’ ἧς καὶ μεσιτεία ἡμῖν αἰεὶ φυλάττεται, ἡγεμονομένης εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγον· καὶ οὕτως ἐν πρόσωπον ἀποδέδεικται ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ ἐκ σαρκὸς καὶ Λόγον.”

[C] Τῇ γὰρ ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον θεολογεῖται ἡ σὰρξ, οὐ τῇ φύσει· ὥστε ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει καὶ τὸ διαμένειν ἔχει, καθάπερ αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι τὸ ζωοποιούν τὴν σάρκα. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁμοούσιον γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀσωμάτῳ Θεῷ δυνατόν διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν—ὅπερ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀσεβῶς οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον καὶ Πολέμιον καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολυτροπώτατα φιλοτεχνούντες λέγουσιν, εὐφημίαν ἐπιτιθέναι τῷ σώματι βουλόμενοι, τὴν ἀδύνατον ἀσωματίαν—ἀλλὰ δοξασθῆναι τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου Θεοῦ δυνατόν καὶ πρόπον τῇ φοροῦσῃ αὐτὸ θεότητι. Καὶ οὕτως προσκυνεῖται ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, ὡς δημιουργὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ σαρκοφόρος, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος θεοφόρος.

Τί οὖν ἡ τοσαύτη ἀπαιδευσία, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπιστία ὑμῶν, ὦ Τιμόθεε, [D] σοῦ καὶ τῶν μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου ὑμῶν Πολεμίου, αὐτὸ ὁμοούσιον, αὐτὸ ἑτεροούσιον σῶμα τῇ θεότητι διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγοντες, αὐτὸ ἀμετάβλητον, αὐτὸ μεταβληθὲν λέγοντες, εἶπερ, ὡς ὑμεῖς λέγετε, ὅτι “ὡς Λόγος Θεοῦ, ὁμοούσιος ἡ σὰρξ,” καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντιούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναθεματίζετε, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ κραιπαλὼν καὶ μεθύων οὐκ οἶδεν τί πράττει ἢ τί λέγει, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε ἃ λέγετε οὔτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιούσθε, τούτου τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς δόγματος, τοῦ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν πλειστάκις δογματισθέντος, ἐλέγχοντος ὑμᾶς; Μάθετε οὖν, ὦ ἄπιστοι, ὅτι ἔνωσις οὐχ ὁμοούσιον· εἰ δὲ ὁμοούσιον, οὐχ ἔνωσις· ὅτι

17 τὸ Πνεῦμα ... σάρκα: cf. Joan. 6.63

V 1 12 8 ποιεῖται V<sup>ac</sup> 9 λέγεται V<sup>ac</sup> 13 καὶ<sup>1</sup> secl. Torres  
15 τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον om. Torres 26–27 αὐτὸ ὁμοούσιον, αὐτὸ ἑτεροούσιον ...  
αὐτὸ ἀμετάβλητον, αὐτὸ μεταβληθὲν ut singularia verba scribuntur in V 34 ὁμοούσιον  
<sup>1</sup> et <sup>2</sup>: ὁμοουσιῶν Lietzmann

“Called divine and confessed to be of the same substance as God in its union with God the Word, the flesh of the Lord remains naturally human, and of the same substance as us.” And again he speaks as follows, in the person of his pupil Cataphronius: “It is fitting to confess that [the flesh] is, in union, the same as the Word of God, and that it should be called by the divine title of the Word and adored as the Word and believed to be, as the Word, of the same substance as God.” And it is still more impious than this, O Timothy, that you make the flesh which our Lord Jesus Christ took from the holy Virgin invisible, if, as you say, “as Word of God, the flesh is of the same substance [as God], through which we have obtained salvation, and we believe that the flesh of the Lord, which he took from the Virgin, is worshipped and called by divine titles and glorified along with the Word of God—flesh through which mediation ever goes on for us, since it is guided perpetually by the life-giving Word of God—and thus our Lord Jesus Christ is revealed to be one person, of flesh and the Word.”

The flesh is called by divine titles because of its union with God the Word, not because of its nature; so that in this union it is able to remain what it is, just as the Lord himself says that it is the Spirit which gives life to the flesh. For it is impossible that through the union the body should come to be of the same substance as the incorporeal God—which those who follow Timothy and Polemius and their comrades foolishly and impiously assert, loving to play tricks in their resourceful turns of language and wishing to give his body the impossible honor of being incorporeal. But to be glorified with the glory of the incorporeal God is both possible for it, and fitting for the divinity which bears it. Therefore he is worshipped by all creation as creator and true, flesh-bearing Son of the Father, not as a God-bearing human being.

What, then, is this great lack of education—or rather lack of faith—you all demonstrate, O Timothy: you and those with you, and your teacher Polemius, who say that the one body is of the same substance as, and also of another substance than, the divinity because of the union: the one body, unchangeable and changed—if, as you say, “As Word of God, the flesh is of the same substance [as God]”? You contradict yourselves and anathematize one another, and as the reveling drunkard does not know what he does or says, so you don’t know what you are saying or what doctrines you are so sure of, while this impious teaching, which you so often affirm, accuses you. Learn, then, faithless ones, that union is not consubstantiality; and if something is consubstantial, there is no union;

[1956 A] μηδὲν αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ ἐνοῦται ἢ συνάπτεται, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ τὸ ἐνούμενον ἢ τὸ συναπτόμενον, ὃ ἐστὶ Λόγος Θεοῦ, σαρκὶ συνάψας ἑαυτόν. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον τὸ τοῦ θείου εὐαγγελιστοῦ, "Ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν". τὸ ἐνωθῆναι σαρκὶ ἐμφύχῳ τὸν Λόγον.

- 5 Ἐἴτα οὐδὲ τοῦτο οἴδατε, ὦ ἄπιστοι, ὅτι φύσις καὶ οὐσία ταυτόν ἐστι, μάλιστα ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος τῆς σεβασμίου Τριάδος; Τὸ δὲ σῶμα ὃ ἐφόρεσεν ὁ Κύριος οὐκ αἰδίου οὐδὲ ἀσώματον γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως· διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμοούσιον τῇ ἀρρήτῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ οὐσίᾳ. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος αἰδίου, καὶ πρὸ σαρκὸς ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μετὰ σαρκὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ὁμοούσιος [B] τῷ Πατρὶ. Οὐκ ἦν ἡ σὰρξ ὁμοούσιος· στολὴν γὰρ καὶ περιβόλαιον καὶ προκάλυμμα μυστηρίου κρυπτομένου προσείληφεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου προσήνεγκεν, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀνθρώποις ἐπεφάνη· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐδυνάμεθα Θεοῦ θεωροῖ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ σώματος. Πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιος ὁ Κύριος
- 15 κατὰ σάρκα· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ θεότης ἐκ γυναικὸς—μὴ γένοιτο!—οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ ἀνωθεν, οὐδὲ αἰδίου. Ἵνα ταῦτα λέγητε ἀπίστως καὶ ἀσεβῶς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, μετὰ τοσαύτης τεχνολογίας δογματίζοντες τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς κακοῦργοι καὶ ἄπιστοι καὶ ψευδολόγοι, καταξιώσατε εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ ἔνωσις τὴν φύσιν
- 20 ἐδόξασεν. [C] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοούσιον ἐποίησεν τὸ σῶμα τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς ὑμεῖς φανταζόμενοι τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἐκπεσόντες τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐνυβρίζοντες τὴν ἐκ φιλανθρωπίας Θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν τοῦ Λόγου, πρὸς σώματος συνάφειαν, εἰς ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενομένην—ὁμοούσιον τῇ ἀπαθεί θεότητι διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγοντες· ὅτι ἐστὶν πάσης ἀσεβείας ἐπέκεινα, καὶ
- 25 μυριάκις ἑαυτοὺς θελήσητε σοφίζεσθαι, παρερμηνεύοντες καὶ ῥαδιουργοῦντες τὰς θείας Γραφὰς καὶ τὰς βίβλους τοῦ τρις μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου Ἀπολιναρίου, ὡς τὰ ἔγγραφα ὑμῶν ἐλέγχουσιν ὑμᾶς, ἅπερ ἐποιήσατε πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ σκάνδαλον τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ψυχῶν κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν κορυφῆς, ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
- 30 ἀντεπαθεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι "σκληρὸν ὑμῖν πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν", καὶ περιδρομῇ πολλῇ ἐχρήσασθε. Ὡς περ [D] καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρανομήσαντες, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκανδαλιζόμενοι διὰ τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ πολλοὶ ἔσησθε, εἰς οὐδὲν λογισθήσεσθε διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὑμῶν.

because nothing is united or joined to itself, but a thing is united or joined as one thing to another: which [here] is the Word of God, joining himself to flesh. And this is what the word of the divine evangelist means, "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us": that the Word was united to living flesh.

Furthermore, do you not know, faithless ones, that nature and essence are the same, especially in the case of God, the ineffable and incorporeal God, and in that of the eternal divinity of the sacred Trinity? The body which the Lord bore did not become eternal or incorporeal as a result of the union; therefore it was not of the same substance as the ineffable and incorporeal essence. The Lord is eternal, and even before [the existence of] his flesh is of the same substance as the Father; with the flesh, he is still of the same substance as the Father. The flesh was not of the same substance; for he put on a garment and robe, a veil for the hidden mystery, and wore it as something extra for man's sake, and by means of it appeared to men; for otherwise we would not have been able to see God, except through the body. Again, the Lord is also of the same substance as we, in his flesh: not, however, in his divinity. The divinity does not come from a woman—far from it!—nor does the flesh come from above, nor is it eternal. Since you say this against the truth, in your lack of faith and reverence—cleverly teaching your own impiety, but unmasked by the truth as villains and faithless ones and liars—please take the trouble to realize that it was the union which gave glory to his nature. It did not make his body of the same substance as God, as you dare to say in your flights of fancy, falling away from the truth and insulting the gracious condescension of God the Word, his union with a body, which took place for our salvation—for you say [the body] was of the same substance as the impassible divinity because of the union. For he is beyond the reach of all impiety, even if you should wish to deceive yourselves ten thousand times, misinterpreting and playing fast and loose with the holy Scriptures and the books of our thrice blessed father and teacher Apollinarius. Your writings reveal this about you, the writings you composed to deceive and scandalize simple souls against your own leader, since you struggle against the truth and know that "it is hard for you to kick against the goad" (Acts 9.4), and you use a great deal of subterfuge. Just like the lawless Jews, you who are scandalized because of the flesh of the Savior, many as you are, will be counted for nothing because of your wickedness.

3-4 Joan. 1.14

30 Acta 9.4

V 1 12 6 ἐπὶ τῆς· addidi 9 ἀρρήτῳ καὶ om. Torres 11 στολὴ V  
16 λέγετε V 23 ἀπαθεί V

Εἰ δὲ περιέλοιτε τὸ περιέργον τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον, νοήσατε  
 [1957 A] ἂν Θεὸν ἐν σώματι πεφηνότα, σώματος μετάληψιν διδόντα πρὸς  
 μετάληψιν θεότητος. Τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τὸ προσειλημμένον ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας  
 Παρθένου οὐκ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὴν σωτηρίαν δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ  
 5 Πνεύματος συνουσίας, ὅνυχ' ἵνα τὸ σῶμα ἐξευτελίῃται, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ Πνεῦμα  
 ὑπερδοξάζηται. Μὴ οὖν θελήσητε, πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀφελεστέρων ψυχῶν, τὰς  
 παραθέσεις τοῦ τρις μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου Ἀπολινάριου  
 γράφειν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν δύσφημον παράθεσιν. Ἐκεῖναι γὰρ καλῶς καὶ  
 εὐσεβῶς παρετέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θεοφόρου ἀνδρός· σχέσεως γὰρ  
 10 καὶ τιμῆς εἰσιν δηλωτικαί, καὶ οὐ φύσεως σημαντικαί—ἅτινα δηλοῖ τὸ  
 “ὁμοούσιον”, ἅπερ ὑμεῖς ἀπίστως καὶ ἀσεβῶς παρεθήκατε. Φύσις γὰρ καὶ  
 οὐσία [B] ταυτὸν ἐστίν, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῆς ἀληθινῆς  
 πίστεως ὁμολογοῦνται τοῦτο γινώσκουσιν.

Ἵμεῖς δὲ, ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ καὶ φθόνῳ διαβολικῶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κινηθέντες  
 15 πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐπισκόπους, καὶ ἀγωνισάμενοι κάκιστον ἀγῶνα κατὰ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ σχίζοντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τοιαύτην  
 ἀσέβειαν ἐτράπητε, ὥστε τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα ὁμοούσιον τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ θεότητι  
 διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν λέγοντες—ὅπερ ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀσεβές—τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 ὁμοούσιον σῶμα καὶ Θεῷ λέγειν ὁμοούσιον. Καὶ πῶς “ὄψονται εἰς ὃν  
 20 ἐξεκέντησαν”; Εἰ γὰρ ὁμοούσιον τὸ ὁρατὸν σῶμα τῇ ἀοράτῳ θεότητι, ὡς  
 ὑμεῖς λέγετε, ἐκάτερα δήπου ἀόρατα, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅτι “Θεὸν  
 οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε, οὔτε ἰδεῖν δύναται.” ὁ δὲ Κύριος [C] ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς  
 ὁ Χριστὸς, κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Πατρὸς αἰδίως ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ θεότητα  
 ἀόρατος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν σάρκα ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου ὁρατός.  
 25 Ἀμφότερα οὖν συντιθέσθω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς προσώπου, καὶ τὸ ἀληθές οὐ  
 διαλύσεται· ὥστε οὐδὲ δύο πρόσωπα ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ ὁμοουσία τῷ  
 Θεῷ, ἡγεμονευομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου.

Ὅσοι οὖν τῆς ἀπαραιοῦ ταύτης καὶ ἀληθινῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς  
 πίστεως εἰσιν ὁμολογοῦνται, μὴ παραδεξώμεθα τὰς “βεβήλους” τῶν περὶ  
 30 Τιμόθεον καὶ Πολέμιον καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς “κενοφωνίας,” κατὰ τὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀποστόλου παράγγελμα· κἀκεῖνο δὲ διὰ μνήμης ἔχωμεν, τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 πάλιν εἰρημένον, ὅτι “Αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν  
 νουθεσίαν [D] παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἀμαρτάνει

If you removed the flashy and faithless [covering] from your mind, you  
 would know that God has appeared bodily, granting a share in his body to make  
 possible a share in his divinity. For the body which was assumed from the holy  
 Virgin does not bestow salvation simply of itself, but from the simultaneous  
 presence of the Spirit—not so that the body should be disparaged, but so that  
 the Spirit might be glorified the more. Do not, then, for the sake of deceiving the  
 simple, attempt to adopt the arguments of our thrice-blessed father and teacher  
 Apollinarius, in your writings, as part of your own shameful argument. For they  
 were drawn up well and reverently by the holy, godly man; they express a  
 relationship and honor, not nature—just what the word “homousion”  
 expresses, which you have faithlessly irreverently made part of your own  
 presentation. Nature and essence, after all, are the same, as I have already said,  
 and all those who acknowledge the true faith know this.

But you, motivated from the start by diabolical spite and jealousy and envy  
 against the holy bishops, and fighting an unholy struggle against the truth, and  
 tearing apart the Church of Christ, have turned to such impiety, that you say  
 that the passible body [of Christ] is of the same substance as the impassible  
 divinity, because of the union—which is impossible and irreverent—and say  
 that his body, which is of the same substance as human beings, is also the same  
 as God. And how shall they “look upon him whom they have pierced”? For if  
 the visible body is of the same substance as the invisible divinity, as you say,  
 both will then be invisible, according to the text, “No one has ever looked upon  
 God, nor can one see him.” Our Lord Jesus Christ, however, invisible in the  
 divinity which is eternally his from the Father, is visible in the flesh which he  
 took from the Virgin. Put both together in the one person, and the truth will not  
 be harmed: Christ will not be two persons, nor will the flesh which is guided by  
 God the Word be [thought to be] of the same substance as God.

Those of us, then, who professes this unadulterated, true and apostolic faith,  
 let us not accept the “profane and empty words” of the party of Timothy and  
 Polemius and their comrades, as the Apostle warns us. And let us keep this in  
 mind, as again was said by him: “Reject the heretic after the first and second  
 warning, knowing that such a one is perverse and sins

19–20 Zach. 12.10 (Aquila; Theodotion); Joan. 19.37 21–22 Joan. 1.18; 1 Tim. 6.16  
 29–30 βεβήλους ... κενωφωνίας: 2 Tim. 2.16 32–p. 592, l. 1: Tit. 3.10–11

V 1 12 1 περιέλιπε V νοήσετε V 14 διαβολικῶ om. Torres 26 διαλήσεται V  
 29 βεβήλους: βίβλους conj. Torres 31 ἔχομεν V 32 ἄνθρωπον: ἄνδρα V; correxi  
 sec. NT

ὡν αὐτοκατάκριτος. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Τιμόθεον καὶ Πολέμιον οὐ μόνον αἵρετικοὶ ἀπεφάνθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συκοφάνται· ὁ γὰρ τρις μακάριος διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν Ἀπολινάριος βλασφήμους καὶ μανιώδεις ἐγγράφως ἀπεκάλεσεν τοὺς λέγοντας ὁμοούσιον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ θεότητι. Καὶ  
 5 ὁ μακάριος δὲ Ἀθανάσιος, ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος ἡμῶν, ἔλεγεν ὡς ἐξ ἁδου ἀναφανέντας τοὺς τολμήσαντας εἰπεῖν ὁμοούσιον τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας σῶμα τῇ θεότητι. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἠγνόησαν Τιμόθεος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ Πολέμιος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς [1960 A] τῆς γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, πρὸς Θεὸν ἢ προσκύνησις  
 10 σαρκωθέντα, οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ἢ προσκύνησις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος διὰ τὴν σάρκα προσκυνεῖται, ἀλλ' ἢ σὰρξ τῷ Λόγῳ συμπροσκυνεῖται ὡς στολή καὶ περιβόλαιον, ὡς προείπον. Ὅσοι οὖν τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀληθινῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπαραιοιήτῳ πίστει μὴ στοιχῶσιν, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα. "Βλέπετε οὖν τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε  
 15 τὴν κατατομήν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες."

[2] ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
 ΒΗΡΥΤΟΥ· ΠΡΟΣ ὉΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΣΤΗΝ, ἘΝ ὍΙΣ ἔΧΕΙ  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ

20

[B] Ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀγάπιος ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπακούσας τοῦ τόμου τοῦ συντεθέντος παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως τοῦ Λόγου, ἐκ διαφόρων λόγων τῶν τοῦ τρις μακαρίου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Ἀπολινάριου, παρεκάλεσεν μέρος λαβόντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἰδίως ἐκθέσθαι  
 25 αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἡμετέρας, πρὸς πληροφορίαν ὑμῶν. Καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν τοῦτο, λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σαραπίωνα γραφείσης ἐπιστολῆς τάδε·

1 Καλῶς οὖν λέγεις καὶ αὐτὸς· οὐκ ἴσον ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς· τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν ἢ σὰρξ, ἐπειδὴ Θεοῦ σὰρξ, ὀλίγης χρήζει διαρθρώσεως. Ἄμεινον γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι φύσει μὲν ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν σάρκα  
 30 προσείληφεν, ἐνώσει δὲ θείαν ἀπέδειξεν· αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ σὺ λέγεις,

3-4 (βλασφήμους ... θεότητι) cf. p. 532 supra, l. 11      5-6 (ἔλεγεν ... θεότητι): Athan., *Ep. ad Epictetum* 2 (PG 26, 1052 C9-11; cf. supra, p. 526, Test. 1, 1)      10 (ὡς στολή καὶ περιβόλαιον) cf. supra p. 538, l. 11      14-16 Phil. 3.2-3

2 Timotheus Berytensis, *Ad Homonium*: opusculum hic primo inventum; ed. Lietzmann 277, l. 19-278, l. 29. Excerpta singillatim:

1 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *Epist. ad Sarapionem*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 161: ed. Lietzmann, 254, ll. 19-26)

V 1 12 4 τοῦ Κυρίου om. Torres

16 καὶ καυχώμενοι om. V; supplevi ex N.T.

by his own self-condemnation." Those associated with Timothy and Polemius are not only revealed as heretics, but also as swindlers; for our thrice-blessed teacher Apollinarius called, in writing, blasphemers and madmen those who said the body of the Lord was the same substance as the divinity. And the blessed Athanasius, our holy bishop, said that those who dared say the body taken from Mary was the same substance as the divinity were like apparitions from Hell. Timothy and his teacher Polemius and their colleagues were quite unaware that since the person of God the Word, and the flesh which came to being by [the action of] God the Word, are one, adoration belongs to God made flesh, not to flesh. The Word is not adored because of the flesh, but the flesh is adored along with the Word as his garment or robe, as I said. Those, therefore, who do not submit to this rule [of orthodoxy], and to this true and apostolic and genuine faith, let them remain anathema. "Look to the dogs, look to the workers of evil, look to the circumcision; for we are the circumcision, who worship the Spirit of God and boast in Christ Jesus, and who put no trust in the flesh."

II. BY TIMOTHY THE APOLLINARIAN, BISHOP  
 OF BERYTUS: TO HOMONIUS, A BISHOP AND  
 HIMSELF AN APOLLINARIAN, IN WHICH THERE  
 ARE EXCERPTS FROM APOLLINARIUS

Brother Agapius came to us, and hearing something of the book we put together about the divine incarnation of the Word, from various works of our thrice-blessed teacher bishop Apollinarius, he asked us to excerpt part of it and write it out especially for him, in our own hand, for your encouragement. We did this, taking the following passage from the epistle written to Sarapion:

1. You yourself put it well: we and Christ are not equal. But to say that his flesh is not of the same substance as we are, because it is God's flesh, demands a few further distinctions. For it is better to say that he took flesh that was the same as we are in nature, but that he showed it to be divine by union; you say this too,



ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ Θεοῦ σὰρξ, ἀλλ' οὕτω μᾶλλον [C]διηρθρωμένως ἂν λέγοιτο· φύσει μὲν ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν σάρκα, ἐνώσει δὲ θείαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἔχουσιν τὸ διάφορον.

- Ταῦτα δὲ δεξάμενος ὁ προειρημένος ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐπέδειξεν ὑμῖν. Ἀπερ θεασάμενος σὺν, ὁ κύριός μου Ὁμόνιος, γράψας ἐπέδωκε αὐτῷ πιττάκιον περιέχον οὕτως· “Ἐγὼ Ὁμόνιος ἐπίσκοπος ὁμολογῶ ὅτι ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ σάρκα ἐκ Μαρίας ἔλαβεν ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον· εἰ δέ τις λέγῃ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐνωθεῖσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, καθ' οἷον δήποτε λόγον, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ, ἀναθεματίζομεν.”
- 10 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν μὲν φύσιν τῆς σαρκὸς καλῶς ὡμολόγησας, ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν εἰπὼν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸν σαρκωθέντα Λόγον ἄκραν ἔνωσιν αὐτῆς ἀνεθεμάτισας, κατὰ μηδένα λόγον συνουσιῶσθαι αὐτὴν τῇ [D] θεότητι γράψας ἀλλ' ἔνωσιν μόνον ὀνομάσας, τοιαύτην δ' ἔνωσιν, οἷα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γένοιτ' ἂν ἀγίου πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, οὐκ εἰς μίαν ζωὴν τε καὶ
- 15 ὑπόστασιν συναπτομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν χωρισμῷ τῆς θείας φύσεως θεωρουμένου—καίτοι τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου καὶ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν Ἀπολινάριου εἰπόντος ἐν διαφόροις λόγοις ἐπικοινωνεῖν τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου τοῖς τοῦ Λόγου ὀνόμασί τε καὶ ἰδιώμασιν, μένουσαν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει σάρκα, μὴ μεταβαλλομένην μηδὲ ἐξισταμένην τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως,
- 20 καὶ τὸν Λόγον ἐπικοινωνεῖν τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ὀνόμασί τε καὶ ἰδιώμασι, μένοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκώσει Λόγον καὶ Θεόν, μὴ τραπέντα μηδὲ μεταπεσόντα εἰς τὴν σώματος φύσιν—καταξίωσον δηλῶσαι ἡμῖν πότερον ἀγνοῶν τὰ [961 A]εἰρημένα περὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ σωτηρίου σαρκώσεως τοῦ Λόγου παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν,
- 25 ἀνεθεμάτισας ταῦτα, ἢ ἐπιστάμενος μὲν, ὡς μὴ καλῶς δὲ εἰρημένα καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξέβαλες, καὶ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τόπον διέβαλες ὡς αἵρεσιν παραδεξαμένους, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς εὐσεβείας σὺν αὐτῇ ἀνεθεμάτισας τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ.
- 2 Ἐφη γὰρ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ· “Ἅγιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς «γέννημα» καλῶς ὁμολογεῖται κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὁ Χριστὸς,” οὕτως πως·
- 30 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίως κτίσμα τὸ σῶμα εἰπεῖν, ἀχώριστον ὃν ἐκείνου πάντως οὐ σῶμά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀκτίστου κεκοινωνήκεν ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κλήσεως, ὅτι πρὸς ἐνότητά Θεῷ συνῆπται.

in saying that in this respect it is not of the same substance as we are, because it is God's flesh; but one could say it more articulately thus: the flesh is of the same substance as we are naturally, but in union is divine, and through the union it retains the difference.

When the above-mentioned brother received this, he went and showed it to you; when you saw it, my lord Homonius, you gave him a writing-tablet, on which you had written as follows: “I, Bishop Homonius, confess that the Word of God took from Mary flesh of the same substance as us. And if anyone says the flesh united to the Lord, in any way at all, is of the same substance as God, we anathematize him.”

If, then, you have confessed rightly about the nature of the flesh, saying that it is of the same substance as we are, but you then anathematize the supreme union of it with the Word made flesh, writing that it is in no way made one substance with the divinity, but you call it only a union—such a union as would take place between a holy man and God, not a person joined [to God] in one life and hypostasis, but understood in separation from the divine nature; [and if you hold this,] even though the blessed bishop, our teacher Apollinarius, says in various works that the flesh of the Lord shares in the names and characteristics of the Word, while remaining flesh even in the union, and not transformed or made to depart from its own nature, and [says that] the Word shares in the names and characteristics of the flesh, remaining Word and God even in his enfleshment, not changed or falling into bodily nature; then please be good enough to explain to us whether it is in ignorance of what our Christ-bearing father has said about the divine and saving incarnation of the Word that you anathematize these opinions, or whether you know what he said, but reject both them, as not well said, and us also, on the spot, as being receivers of heresy, and whether you anathematize the herald of piety along with piety itself.

2. For he said this, in the book which begins, “Christ is rightly confessed to be a holy offspring from the beginning, as regards his body”:

It is also wrong to say the body is a creature by itself, since it is surely inseparable from him whose body it is, and also shares in the titles of the uncreated and in language about God, because it is joined to God to form a union.

2 3 Apollinarius Laodicens (Ps.-Julius), *De Unione* 2 (ed. Lietzmann 186; ll. 2–6)

V 1 16 «καὶ» addidi

2 28 «γέννημα» supplevi ex Apoll. 29 post ὁμολογεῖται add. καὶ Apoll. Χριστὸς: Κύριος Apoll. 30–3 ἐκείνου... ἐστὶν om. Apoll. cod. B. M. Syr. Add. 14604 31 παντὸς Apoll. codd. NR

3 καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα.

Οὕτω καὶ Θεῷ ὁμοούσιος κατὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀόρατον, συμπεριλαμβανομένης [B] τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τῆς σαρκός, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοούσιον ἡνιωται· καὶ πάλιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιος, συμπεριλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς θεότητος τῷ σώματι, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον ἡνώθη, οὐκ ἀλλαττομένης τῆς τοῦ σώματος φύσεως ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν ὁμοουσίᾳ ἐνώσει καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ "ὁμοουσίου" ὀνόματος—ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῆς θεότητος ἡλλακται φύσις ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σώματος καὶ τῇ ὀνομασίᾳ τῆς ἡμῖν ὁμοουσίου σαρκός.

10 4 Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, "Σὰρξ καὶ τὸ σαρκὸς ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν πρόσωπον," τάδε φησὶν.

[C] Ἀναμαρτήτος οὖν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὡς Θεὸς—καὶ μετὰ τῆς σαρκός—ὁμοούσιος τῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ, προαιώνιος δημιουργός· ἡ δὲ σὰρξ, ὡς Θεοῦ σὰρξ, Θεός, ὡς ὁμοούσιος τῷ Θεῷ, μέρος ἡνωμένον αὐτῷ, 15 ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ, οὐ κεχωρισμένον· οὐδὲ γὰρ κεχωρισμένως οὐδὲ κινεῖται ἰδιαζόντως, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος ζῶν αὐτενέργητον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεός, κοινωνία τῆς σαρκός, ὁ μὴ ὢν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπος· ἡ δὲ σὰρξ, κοινωνία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ μὴ οὖσα καθ' ἑαυτὴν Θεός. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σαρκὶ ἐπόμενα πάντα, ἐνόητι σαρκός, ἴσχει ὁ Θεός· τὰ δὲ Θεοῦ ἴδια, τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνώσει, 20 προσλαμβάνει ἡ σὰρξ.

3. And a little further on:

So he is of the same substance as God by the invisible Spirit; and his flesh has been put on along with his name, because it is united to one who is of the same substance as God. Once again, he is of the same substance as human beings, and divinity has also been put on along with his body, because it [divinity] was united to what is of the same substance as we are. The nature of the body did not change in its consubstantial union with God and in sharing the name "consubstantial"—just as the nature of divinity was not changed in sharing the human body, and in being called flesh that is substantially the same as ours.

4. And again in another book, which begins, "Flesh and that which guides flesh are one person," he says the following:

The Lord Jesus Christ, then, is sinless, being God—even with the flesh—of the same substance as the only God, creator before all ages; and the flesh, as God's flesh, is God, being of the same substance as God, a part united to him, a part of the same substance as God, not separated; for it does not move separately or on its own, in the way that a human being is a self-moving animal. For God, by sharing in flesh, is the man he would not be on his own; and the flesh, by sharing in God, is the God it would not be on its own. And God has all the consequences of flesh by being united with flesh; while the flesh receives in addition the characteristics of God, in its union with God.

2 3 Apollinarius Laodicensus (Ps.-Julius), *ibid.* 8 (ed. H. Lietzmann, 188, ll. 9–18). Cf. etiam: Tim. Ael., *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 314 (187, ll. 11–21; ut Julii); Sev. Ant., *Ep. II ad Serg.* (131, l. 22–132, l. 1; tr. 99, ll. 15–24; ut Julii); Tim. Ael., *Ref. Conc. Chalc.*, Test. 13 (10, ll. 6–15; ↑; ut Julii); *Ep. de Isaia* (191, ll. 12–18; tr. 132, ll. 24–30; ↑; ut Julii); Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* III, 6 (72, ll. 1–11; tr. 50, l. 30–51, l. 4; ↑; ut Julii); *Antijul.* I (75, ll. 11–19; tr. 57, ll. 19–28; ↑; ut Julii)

4 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *Sermo* (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 153: Lietzmann 248, ll. 15–27)

V 2 3 3 συμπαλαμβανομένης V; txt. Apoll. Θεῷ Sev. Ant. 3–4 Θεὸν ὁμοούσιον: ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ Λόγον Apoll. codd. VNR, B.M. Syr. Add. 14597 συμπεριλαμβανομένοις Apoll. cod. N 5 σώματι: ὀνόματι Tim. Ael., *Ep. de Isaia* 6 ἐλλαττομένης Apoll. cod. V, Vat. Gr. 1431; ἐναλλαττομένης Apoll. codd. NR Θεὸν ὁμοουσίᾳ: Θεῷ ὁμοούσιον Apoll. cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14597, Sev. Ant.; Θεὸν ὁμοούσιον Apoll. codd. B.M. Syr. Add. 14604, 12156; Θεῷ ὁμοουσίᾳ Vat. Gr. 1431 7 ante ὁμοουσίου add. ἡμῖν Sev. Ant. ante τῆς add. ἡ Apoll. 8 ἀνθρωπίνου Apoll. 9 ἡμῖν om. Apoll. codd. VNR, B.M. Syr. Add. 14597

5 Πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ, “Μαρίας ἐγκώμιον, καὶ περὶ σαρκώσεως,” οὕτω φησὶν·

[D] Μείζον ἤδη ὁρᾷ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸν συγκραθέντα· μείζον οὐ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ λέγω σώματος μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πυρὶνων καὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν·  
5 πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων συγκέκρται ὁ Θεὸς, οὐδὲ ζωοποιὸν κόσμου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκείνων οὐδὲν· οὐκ ἐξισοῦται πρὸς Θεὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐδεὶς, ὡς ὁ κεκραμένος ἐκ σώματος καὶ θεότητος ἑαυτὸν ἐξισοῖ τῷ Θεῷ, λέγων· “Ὡς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτως ἔδωκεν καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.”

10 6 Καὶ μεθ’ ἕτερα πάλιν·

[1964 A] Καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐνεργοῦν εἰδὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοιαύτην ἐνέργειαν οἷα καὶ χωρισθείη ἂν, θεῖον ἡγῆ σαυτὸν, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ χρωτὸς ἀποφερόμενον ὕφασμα δύνασθαι νόσους ἰᾶσθαι; Τὸ δὲ ἀχωρίστως Θεῷ συναφθὲν, καὶ ταῦτόν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν οὐσιώδη  
15 γενόμενον—“Ὁ Λόγος” γὰρ, φησὶ, “σὰρξ ἐγένετο”—τοῦτο οὐ θεῖον οὐδὲ Θεὸν ὑπέληφας;

7 Πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Οὐχ ἡδονὴ κρεοφαγίας παρὰ Θεῷ,” φησὶν οὕτως·

Οὐ μὴν ὅτι τὸ συναμφοτέρων ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἡνωμένον τῷ οὐρανίῳ  
20 καὶ πρόσωπον ἐν μετ’ αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς, οὐράνιον κατὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐστίν, καὶ ὡς οὐράνιον προσκυνεῖται τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνήσει, καὶ ὡς οὐράνιον σώζει τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δυνάμει.

8 Καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή, “Εμοὶ [B] καὶ φιλίας ὑπόθεσις ἡ εὐσέβεια,” μετ’ ὀλίγα φησὶν οὕτως·

25 “Ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς ἐπάγειν δύναται ταῦτα <τὰ> κατὰ τινων λεγόμενα,

5. Again, in another work entitled, “In praise of Mary, and on the Incarnation,” he says this:

He sees the body as greater, because of him who was united with it: greater, I say, not only than his own body, but greater than the fiery and the angelic spirits. For God was not united with any of them, nor was any of their bodies able to give life to the world; none of the angels is an equal of God, in the way that he who is compounded of body and divinity makes himself equal to God when he says: “As the Father has life in himself, so he gave the Son also the power to have life in himself.”

6. And again, further on:

And when you realize that the Spirit is working in you, with a kind of activity that can be taken away again, do you consider yourself divine, so that the robe around your flesh can heal the sick? Do you not, then, consider that body to be divine, even to be God, which is inseparably joined to God and has become one with him through substantial union—for he says, “The Word became flesh”?

7. Again in another work, which begins: “There is no pleasure in eating meat with God,” he speaks this way:

Not because both are from heaven, but because it is united with the heavenly one and has become one person with him, is [the body] heavenly by union; it is worshipped as heavenly, with the worship we direct towards the God of heaven, and saves as a heavenly being, with the power of one from heaven.

8. And from the letter to Dionysius, which begins, “To me piety is also a basis for friendship,” he says, after a short while, the following:

And that no one can charge us with these things that are said against some,

5 8–9 Joan. 5.26      6 15 Joan. 1.14

2 5 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Laudatio Mariae, et de Incarnatione*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 11: Lietzmann 207, ll. 19–29)

6 Apollinarius Laodicens, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 12: Lietzmann 208, ll. 1–8)

7 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Sermo* (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 154: Lietzmann 248, ll. 28–34)

8 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Epist. ad Dionysium*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 164, ll. 4–9: Lietzmann 262, ll. 11–16). Cf. etiam: Valent. Apoll., *Apol.*, Test. 5 (supra, p. 528, ll. 16–19)

V 2 5 4 <καὶ> addidi      5 οὐδὲ: οὐδὲν V

7 20 γεγονώς V; corr. Mai

8 25 <τὰ> addidi sec. Valent.

δηλόν ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ γεγράφαμεν, οὔτε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγοντες οὔτε ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ, καθ' ὅσον ἐστὶ σὰρξ καὶ οὐ Θεός, Θεὸν δὲ καθ' ὅσον εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον ἡνῶται <τῇ> θεότητι.

9 Πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Δοξάζομεν πρεπόντως τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,” φησὶν οὕτως περὶ τὸ τέλος.

Ζῶν δὲ Χριστὸς σῶμα θεόπνουν καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν σαρκὶ θεϊκόν, νοῦς οὐράνιος οὐ μετασχεῖν εὐχόμεθα (κατὰ τὸ “Ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν”), σὰρξ ἁγία θεότητι συμφυῆς καὶ τοῖς μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς ἐνιδρύουσα [C] θεότητα, θεμέλιος αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἀρχηγὸς ἀφθαρσίας ἀνθρώποις, αἰωνίου κτίσεως δημιουργὸς, τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος πατήρ.

10 Πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ συλλογιστικῶ, συγκεκλιμένῳ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Διὰ τοῦ Λόγου τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν,” φησὶν οὕτως.

Πῶς οὐ Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ὁ λέγων, “Τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε”;—τὴν ὡς ἀνθρώπου συνδιατριβὴν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ δηλῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπου Θεὸν ἀποδεικνύς, ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχυντέον ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀνθρώπου λέγειν, θεότητος εἶδει τῷ πατρικῷ γνωριζόμενον, ὡς ἡ ὕλη τῷ σώματι;

[D] 11 Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς φησὶν οὕτως.

20 Οὔτε οὖν τὸ θεϊκόν [ἀνθρώπινον] ποιεῖ, τῇ διαίρεσει τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ἐν ἰσότητι τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ποιητικῇ καὶ ἀνανεωτικῇ, ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἑτέραν φύσιν, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν ἰσότητι, περιορίζεσθαι ἀνθρώπου περιορισμῷ, ὡς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καὶ οὐ Θεοῦ.

is clear from what we have always written, saying that the flesh of the Savior is not from heaven; nor is it the same substance as God, insofar as it is flesh and not God. [It is] God only insofar as it is united with the divinity to form one person.

9. Again in another work, which begins, “Let us fittingly glorify our Lord Jesus Christ,” he speaks near the end as follows:

The living Christ is a body full of God's spirit and a divine spirit in flesh, a heavenly mind in whom we pray to share (as in “We have the mind of Christ”): holy flesh organically joined to the divinity and establishing the divinity of those who share in it; the foundation of eternal life; the initiator of incorruption for humanity; the creator of eternal creation; the father of the coming age.

10. Again in another work, a syllogistic treatise composed on the Evangelist John, which begins, “Through the Word all things came to be, according to the Evangelist,” he says this:

How is he not true God, who says, “Have I been with you so long a time, Philip, and you do not know me?”—indicating his presence as man among men for such a time, and revealing that the man is God, so that one should not be ashamed to say that such a man is of the same substance as God, recognized by the form of his Father's divinity, just as matter [is recognized] in the body?

11. Again in what follows he says this:

The divine reality, in its distinction with regard to his body—that element which is equal to God in power to create and to renew—does not make it impossible that another nature of Christ, the human, recognized in his body, should, even in his equality to God, be defined by the definition of man, as the body of a man and not of God.

9 7-8 1 Cor. 2.16

10 14-15 Joan. 14.9

2 9 Apollinarius Laodicensis, Sermo (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 155: Lietzmann 249, ll. 1-8)

10 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *Opus Syllogisticum in Joannem*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 114: Lietzmann 234, ll. 21-9)

11 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 115: Lietzmann 234, l. 30-235, l. 5)

V 2 8 1 γράφομεν V; correxi sec. Valent.  
ὅσον: δ Valent. 3 <τῇ> addidi sec. Valent.

10 τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος πατήρ om. Torres

11 20 [ἀνθρώπινον] seclusi

2 post Θεῷ add. τὴν σάρκα Valent.

12 Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ συλλογιστικῶ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, "Τὸ διάφορον ἔχον ζωὴν, διάφορον ἐνέργειαν," φησὶν οὕτως·

Ζωοποιεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν συνουσιωμένην αὐτῇ θεότητα. [1965 A] τὸ δὲ ζωοποιὸν θεϊκὸν· θεϊκὴ ἄρα σὰρξ, ὅτι Θεῷ συνήφθη. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν σώζει, ἡμεῖς δὲ σωζόμεθα, μετέχοντες αὐτῆς ὡς περὶ τροφῆς· τὸ δὲ θρεπτικὸν, ἐνεργὸν ὃν ἐν τῷ τρεφομένῳ, οὐχ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ τρεφόμενον. Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰ τὸ ζωοποιόν, οὐ ζωοποιούμενόν ἐστιν ὁμοίως τῷ ζωοποιούμενῳ, οὐχ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῷ. Ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἦν σῶμα θανάτου ὡς τὸ ἡμέτερον, ζωοποιεῖσθαι δεόμενον· οὐ "σῶμα δὲ θανάτου" ἀλλὰ ζωῆς, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐκ ἄρα ὁμοούσιον ἀνθρωπίνῳ τὸ θεῖον.

13 Καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φλαουιανὸν λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, "Ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτελῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥαπίζεται Χριστὸς," μετὰ πολλὰ φησὶν·

[B] Πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀσώματος πρὸς σῶμα κράσεως, μένει τὸ τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἐνωθέντων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ σῶμα σῶμα, καὶ τὸ ἀσώματον ἀσώματον. Καὶ τελεωτάτην ἔνωσιν λέγεται Θεὸς σεσωματωμένος, καὶ σῶμα τεθεωμένον· καὶ καθ' ὃ μὲν Θεὸς ὁ σεσωματωμένος ἄνθρωπος, τὸ συναμφοτέρων· καθ' ὃ δὲ σῶμα τεθεωμένον Θεός, πάλιν αὐτὸ συναμφοτέρων.

14 Ἐπειτα μετὰ βραχεία φησὶν οὕτως·

20 «Οὐκ» ἤδη ἀφίσταται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πλαστὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν μορφῇ δούλου, ἀλλὰ δεδόξασται τῇ πρὸς ἄκτιστον ἐνώσει φυσικῇ, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν γέννησιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου. Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐ μετέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ πλαστὸν εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἄκτιστον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἦνται τῷ ἀκτίστῳ, καὶ Θεὸς ὢν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔνωσιν, ἄκτιστόν ἐστιν ἡ Θεός. Καὶ [C] ἐπειδὴ τοῦ 25 Πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο σῶμα—οὐ γὰρ σωματοῦται Πατὴρ—κατὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀγέννητον ῥηθεῖν ποτέ· οὔτε ἰδίᾳ φύσει ἀγέννητον, ὥς περ οὐδὲ γεννητὸν Θεοῦ, οὔτε ἐνώσει ἀγέννητον γενόμενον. ὥς περ Υἱὸς καὶ γέννημα τῇ πρὸς τὸν γέννητον Υἱὸν ἐνώσει φυσικῇ τε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

12 9 (σῶμα θανάτου) Rom. 7.24

2 12 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *Opus Syllogisticum* (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 116: Lietzmann 235, ll. 6–17)

13 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *Ad Flavianum*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 147: Lietzmann 246, ll. 20–8)

14 Apollinarius Laodicensis, *ibid.*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 148: Lietzmann 246, l. 29–247, l. 10)

V 2 12 5 ὡς περὶ: ὡς περὶ V; corr. Mai

14 20 «οὐκ» addidi

6 «οὐχ» addidi

6–7 καὶ οὐ: fort. οὐδὲ

12. And again in another syllogistic work, which begins, "Having a different life, a different activity," he says this:

His flesh gives us life through the divinity which is united substantially with it; and what gives life is divine. It is divine flesh, then, because it is joined to God. And it saves, while we also are saved by sharing in it as in food. Now what nourishes, being active in that which is nourished, is <not> the same substance as it is, and is not itself nourished. Similarly, if it gives life, it does not receive life like what is vivified, nor is it of the same substance. Otherwise, after all, it would be a "body of death" like ours, in need of vivification; but Christ's body is not a "body of death" but of life. Therefore the divine is not of the same substance as the human.

13. And in the work addressed to Flavian, which begins, "Even now, Christ is still scourged by worthless men," after many other things, he says:

Much more, in the mixture of the incorporeal with a body, the characteristics of the nature of what is united remain. For the body is body and the incorporeal is incorporeal. And by a most perfect union, God is said to be embodied, and the body divinized; and in that the embodied God is a man, he is both; and in that the divinized body is God, it is, again, both.

14. Again, a little further on, he says this:

The body has <not> already ceased from being a creature and having the form of a servant, but it has been glorified by its natural union with the uncreated, even in the moment of its conception by the Virgin. In this it did not change from being something formed into being uncreated, but it was united with the uncreated; and being God by union with God, it is uncreated insofar as it is God. And since it did not become the Father's body—for the Father did not become corporeal—therefore it is never called unbegotten: it is neither unbegotten in its own nature, just as it is not begotten of God, nor has it become unbegotten by union. As Son, it is begotten [of God], through union with the Son who is begotten by natural union and from the beginning.



15 Καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Διόδωρον λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ, μετὰ τὸν περὶ Τριάδος λόγον, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ιδ', οὕτως φησὶν.

Τὸ ἐξαίρετον ἦν καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον καὶ τὸ εἰς ἅπαξ, οὐκ ἐκ δευτέρου γινόμενον, ἢ πρὸς σάρκα ἔνωσις Θεοῦ, ἣν οὐδαμῶς ἡ σὴ ψυχὴ παραδέχεται, οὐδὲ τῶν σε προαγόντων εἰς τῆς ἀσέβειαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἀπιστίαν. Καὶ διαπαίζεις τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν, [D] καὶ λέγεις οὐκέτι μένειν τὰ ἴδια τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐὰν ἔνωσις ᾗ, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν Δαυὶδ, ἐὰν κατὰ σάρκα τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἐκ Δαυὶδ.

16 Καὶ ἐν τῷ κζ' κεφαλαίῳ φησὶν.

Ἀγανακτεῖς γοῦν ὅτι χάριτι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσειληφέναι τὴν ἀθανασίαν τὸ "ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ" οὐ προσιέμεθα. Κἂν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτηθῶμεν, λέγομεν· διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν.

17 Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ξα' κεφαλαίῳ.

15 Καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεται φύσιν μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγων, γένεσιν δὲ διάφορον—μάταιον ὃν καὶ περιττὸν τὴν ἐκ Παρθένου γέννησιν εἰσάγεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐπάξιον εἴη τῆς γεννήσεως ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν τοις ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς γεννωμένοις—χλευάζων τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν ὥς [1968 A] ἄκραν ἀσέβειαν, ἣν αἱ θεῖαι σαφῶς εἰσάγουσιν Γραφαί, οὔτε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀναιρετικὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιοῦσαι, οὔτε τῷ θεϊκῷ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀνατρέπουσαι.

18 Καὶ ἐν τῷ β' λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν Διόδωρον, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ κβ', οὕτως φησὶν.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρακαλεῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποκρίνασθαι πῶς σπέρμα τοῦ Δαυὶδ τὸ ἐκ τῆς θεϊκῆς οὐσίας, ἄκουε ὅτι κατὰ σάρκωσιν. Πῶς τὸ κτιστὸν ἄκτιστον; Ὡς ἐνωθέν τῷ ἀκτίστῳ. Πῶς δημιουργὸς τῆς κτίσεως ὁ καρπὸς τῆς Δαβὶδ κοιλίας; Ὡς ἐνωθέν τῷ δημιουργῷ. Πῶς τὸ ἐξ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸ Ἀβραάμ; Ὡς ἐνωθέν τῷ πρὸ Ἀβραάμ.

15 8-9 (κατὰ σάρκα ... Δαυὶδ) Rom. 1.3

16 12 (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ) Rom. 1.3; 2 Tim. 2.8

18 23 (σπέρμα τοῦ Δαυὶδ) Rom. 1.3; 2 Tim. 2.8

26 (πρὸ Ἀβραάμ) cf. Joan. 8.58

2 15 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Contra Diodorum* I, 14: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 140: Lietzmann 241, ll. 3-13)

16 Apollinarius Laodicens, *ibid.* 27: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 141: Lietzmann 241, ll. 14-17)

17 Apollinarius Laodicens, *ibid.* 61: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 142: Lietzmann 41, ll. 18-26)

18 Apollinarius Laodicens, *ibid.* II, 22: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 143: Lietzmann 241, ll. 27-34)

V 2 15 5-6 «τοῦ» ἀντιχρίστου: ἀντίχριστον V 7 μένει V 9 Δαυὶδ om. Torres

17 15 γένεσιν: fort. γέννησιν

15. And in the first book against Diodore, after the section on the Trinity, in chapter 14, he says:

What was outstanding and wonderful and unique, what has not happened a second time, was the union of God to flesh. Your soul can never accept this, nor can the souls of those who led you to this impiety and lack of faith proper to Antichrist. You make sport of the supreme union, and say that the characteristics of God and the characteristics of the flesh no longer remain if there is union, but rather that David destroys the supreme union, if we confess the supreme union in the flesh taken from David.

16. And in the twenty-seventh chapter he says:

You are annoyed, it seems, because we do not accept the idea that he who was of David's seed received immortality by God's grace. And if we are asked for the reason, we say: because of the supreme union.

17. Again in the sixty-first chapter:

And he is not ashamed to say the nature is the same, but the generation is different—even though it is silly and superfluous to introduce [the idea of] virginal conception, if that which is begotten is not worthy of such a begetting, but is the same as those begotten of man and woman—and to jest at the supreme union as being the supreme impiety, although the holy Scriptures clearly indicate it: they neither suggest that the human destroys God, nor do they overturn the human by the divine.

18. And in the second book against the same Diodore, in chapter 22, he says this:

And since you ask us to answer how that which is of the divine essence is the seed of David, hear that it happened by incarnation. How is the created uncreated? By being united to the uncreated. How is the fruit of David's womb creator of the world? By being united to the creator. How is he who comes from Abraham before Abraham? By being united to him who is before Abraham.

[B] 19 Καὶ ἐν τῷ λς' κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φλυαρῶν, λεγέτω πῶς τῷ Θεῷ καθ' ἐνότητα προσώπου συναφθὲν οὐχὶ Θεὸς σὺν αὐτῷ. Πῶς τὸ τῷ ἀκτίστῳ καθ' ἐνότητα ζωτικὴν ἐνωθὲν οὐκ ἄκτιστον σὺν αὐτῷ; Εἰ γὰρ οὐ κοινὴ ἡ ἐπωνυμία, οὐδὲν οὕτως  
5 ἔσται τὸ συγκεκραμένον· πάντων δ' ἀλογώτατον, εἰ τοῖς μὲν τοῦ σώματος «ὀνόμασιν» ὀνομάσωμεν τὸ ἀσώματον, λέγοντες σάρκα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Λόγον, τῷ δὲ τοῦ ἀσώματου μὴ προσαγορεύσωμεν τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὴν  
ἐνωσιν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο. Καὶ εἰ θαυμάζει πῶς τὸ κτιστὸν εἰς τὴν  
τοῦ ἀκτίστου προσηγορίαν ἐνοῦται, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἕτερος θαυμάσει  
10 δικαίως πῶς τὸ ἄκτιστον τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῆς κτιστῆς σαρκὸς ἥνεται.

[C] 20 Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακεφαλαιώσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου φησὶν·

Εἰ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ὠνόμασται διὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν, ἔπεται καὶ τὴν σάρκα  
Λόγον ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν· ὥς δὲ Λόγος, οὕτω καὶ ἄκτιστος—  
οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκτισται, ἀλλ' ὅτι Λόγος ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀπεφάνθη.

15 21 Πάλιν ἐξῆς οὕτως φησὶν.

Ὡς ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ὁμοούσιοι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἄλογον,  
ἑτεροούσιοι δὲ καθ' ὃ λογικοὶ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιος  
ὢν κατὰ τὴν σάρκα, ἑτεροούσιός ἐστιν καθ' ὃ Λόγος καὶ Θεός.

[D] 22 Καὶ ἐν συλλογιστικῷ λόγῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ, Ὅσα δύο ὄντα ἐνοῦται, ἡ  
20 εἶδει ἡ ὁμονοία, δύο μένει" φησὶν τάδε·

Ὅργανον καὶ τὸ κινοῦν μίαν πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖν ἐνέργειαν· οὗ δὲ

2 19 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *ibid.* 36: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 144: Lietzmann 242, ll. 1–12)

20 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *ibid.* summarium: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 145: Lietzmann 242, ll. 13–17)

21 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *ibid.* fragmentum primo apud Theodoretum, *Eran.* II, Test. 97 (184, ll. 19–21) inventum (= frag. 146: Lietzmann 242, ll. 18–22; frag. 126: Lietzmann 238, ll. 8–12)

22 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *Opus Syllogisticum contra Diodorum ad Heracleum*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 117, ll. 3–5: Lietzmann 235, l. 26–236, l. 2). Cf. etiam: Justn., *Ctr. Mon.*, Test. 62 (17, ll. 9–11); Syn. Lat. (320, ll. 37–8; cf. 436, Test. 78–9, l. 195: cit. ab Anastasio Antiocheno); *Doctr. Patr.* 12, XX (77, ll. 11–14); Conc. Const. III, 10 (449 D13–E3; 1); huius textus etiam mentionem fecit Ambrosius, *De Incarnationis Domini Sacramento* 6, 51 (CSEL 79, 250, ll. 50–1)

V 2 19 6 «ὀνόμασιν» add. Lietzmann 7 προσαγορεύσομεν V, corr. Mai 8 ἐκεῖν V<sup>ac</sup>

21 16 ὡς om. Thdt. 17 κύριος: Θεός Thdt. (txt. cod. J) 18 Θεός: ἄνθρωπος Thdt. cod. V

22 21 ante ἐνέργειαν add. τὴν Justn., Syn. Lat., Conc. Const. III, *Doctr. Patr.* οὗ: εἰ Justn., Conc. Const. III; ὦν Syn. Lat., *Doctr. Patr.* (ᾧ cod. E)

19. And in the thirty-sixth chapter of the same book:

But let the one who talks such nonsense explain how what is united in a unity of person with God is not God along with him. How is what is united to the uncreated in a living union not uncreated along with him? If the names they are called are not shared, that which is combined will amount to nothing, and it would be most illogical of all, if we call what is incorporeal by the names of a body, saying that the Word became flesh, but do not call the body by the name of the incorporeal—though [only] because of its union with it. And if he wonders how the created is united in name with the uncreated, much more justly will someone else wonder how the uncreated shares in the name of created flesh.

20. And in the summary of the same book he says:

If the Word is called flesh because of the union, it follows that the flesh will be called Word because of the union; like the Word, it is also [called] uncreated—not because it was not created, but because the Word is revealed by the union.

21. Again, he next says:

As men are of the same substance as irrational animals as far as their irrational body is concerned, but of a different substance as far as they have reason, so the Lord, too, being of the same substance as men in the flesh, is of a different substance insofar as he is Word and God.

22. And in the syllogistic work which begins, "If two beings are united, either in form or in agreement, they remain two," he says the following:

The instrument and the mover generally produce one activity. If a being

μία ἢ ἐνέργεια, μία καὶ ἡ οὐσία· μία ἄρα οὐσία γέγονεν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τοῦ ὀργάνου.

23 Πάλιν ἐν διαλόγῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον λέγεις τὸν Χριστὸν”; μετ’ ὀλίγα τὰ πρῶτα ἐρωτήσαντος τοῦ δι’ ἐναντίας, “Καὶ πῶς τὸ σῶμα  
5 Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης”; ἀπεκρίνατο εἰπὼν ὅτι.

Θεοῦ σῶμα καὶ δημιουργοῦ καὶ δεσπότου τὴν ἐνότητα ἔχον, ἣν οὐχ εὐρήκαμεν οὐσαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς Θεόν.

[1969 A] 24 Πάλιν ἐν λόγῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Τὸ πίστεως ἀγαθὸν φυλάξωμεν,” φησὶν οὕτω, περὶ τὰ τέλη.

10 Ἄθλιοι δὴ καὶ ὄντως ταπεινοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ τὸ οὕτω σεμνὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ παγκόσμιον σέβασμα μικρὸν ἡγούμενοι.

ἈΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· Ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα δεῖξαι τοῖς μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμοσι τοῦ Ἀπολιναρίου εἶναι τὰς ἐπ’ ὀνόματι Ἰουλίου φερομένας ἐπιστολάς, πλὴν ὧν Ἀθανάσιος καὶ οἱ ἱστορικοὶ μέμνηται αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῶν. Οἱ γὰρ αὐτοῦ

15 Ἀπολιναρίου μαθηταὶ παλαιότεροι πάντων τῶν ταύταις χρησαμένων—οὐ μόνον ἀποσχιστῶν (τῶν Ἰουλίου, ὡς εἰκὸς, ταύτας ἐπιγραψάντων), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων εἰσὶν, ὧν οἱ τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ συναρπαγέντες, ὀρθῶς ταύτας καίνοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἠνέχθησαν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἀξιόπιστον—  
20 τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπίστασθαι διδασκάλου.

[B] Ἵνα δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας τῶν μαθητῶν τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγινώσκωμεν λόγους, καὶ τε Ἰούλιον, καὶ τε Γρηγόριον, καὶ τε Ἀθανάσιον ψευδῶς τινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ χαρακτήρος, φέρε πρὸς αὐτὸς οἱ προειρημένοι αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ  
25 παρήγαγον αὐτοῦ χρήσεις λόγων, καὶ ὀλοτελεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλοκλήρους παραθῶμεν λόγους, πρὸς τελεωτάτην πληροφορίαν τῶν φιλαληθῶς ἐντυγχανόντων τῆς ἐν τούτοις τε καὶ τοῖς ψευδεπιγράφοις ταυτότητος.

23 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *Dialogus* (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 157: Lietzmann 249, ll. 14–20)

24 Apollinarius Laodicensus, *Sermo* (?): fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 156: Lietzmann 249, ll. 9–12)

V 2 22 1 γέγονεν ante οὐσία transp. *Doctr. Patr.* 1–2 τοῦ ὀργάνου: τῆς σαρκὸς Justn., Syn. Lat., *Doctr. Patr.*

Scholion Leontii 12 ἈΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ· addidi δεῖξαν addidi 18 ἠνέχθησαν: ἴσως ἠνεσχέθησαν conj. in marg. V Torres 23 ἐπιγράφουσιν V, corr. Mai 24 αὐτὸς V

has one activity, it has one essence. Therefore the essence of the Word and its instrument has become one.

23. Again in the Dialogue which begins, “Do you say Christ is God or man?,” after some preliminaries, the adversary asks, “And how is the body God and creator and master?” He answers that:

The body of God, the creator and master, has a unity, which we do not find in a man related to God.

24. Again in the work entitled, “Let us preserve the good of faith,” he says this, towards the end:

They are wretched and truly unfortunate in spirit, who consider such a venerable and great mystery, regarded with awe by all creation, to be a small thing.

< Leontius: > This is enough, for those who are not overly stupid, [to show] that the letters circulated under the name of Julius are by Apollinarius, except for those of his letters which Athanasius and the historians record. For the disciples of Apollinarius himself are prior to all the others who cite them—including not only the schismatics (who wrote these works under Julius’s name, as it seems), but also the orthodox, who were carried away by the title and believed that they were correct in thought and language, because of the credibility of the person. In any case, it is likely that they [the Apollinarians], more than all the orthodox, know the words of their own teacher.

And so that we might recognize his words not only from the testimony of disciples, whether they falsely entitle them by the name of Julius or Gregory or Athanasius, but from the similarity and distinctive style of the language, now, in addition to those excerpts of his works which the aforementioned disciples produced, let us present complete and entire works, to convince fully those lovers of the truth who read them of the identity between their content and that of the forgeries.

[3] ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ· ἘΚ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΥ ἈΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΥ  
 ἘΥΡΕΘΕΝΤΟΣ ἘΝ Τῇ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚῇ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ  
 ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ἈΝΔΡΕΟΥ

- [C] Κυρίως τιμιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.  
 5 Προσεδοκῶμεν, γράμματα τιμῆς ἀποστείλαντες, ὁμοίως τεύξεσθαι  
 παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης, κύριοι τιμιώτατοι, οἷων ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
 μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου, εἰδότος ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῖς δόγμασι  
 συμφώνους αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ πάντα πειθηνίους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντεγράψατε,  
 διὰ τοῦτο λογισάμενοι μὴ ποτε τὸ μήκος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς οὐ σαφῇ τῇν  
 10 γνώμην ἡμῶν κατέστησεν ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ σαφῶς γράφομεν ἀκόλουθα τῷ  
 κοινῷ διδασκάλῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν· λέγω δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς θείας  
 σαρκώσεως, ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἕνεκα πολὺς θόρυβος, οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν κινηθεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρων, [D] περὶ ὧν σιωπῶ. Ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν οὐκ εἰς ἄνθρωπον  
 ἅγιον ἐπιδημηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν προφήταις, ἀλλ'  
 15 αὐτὸν τὸν Λόγον σάρκα γεγενῆσθαι, μὴ ἀνελιφότα νοῦν ἀνθρώπινον,  
 νοῦν τρεπόμενον καὶ αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον λογισμοῖς ῥυπαροῖς, ἀλλὰ θεῖον  
 ὄντα νοῦν, ἄτρεπτον, οὐράνιον· διὸ καὶ οὐ σῶμα ἄψυχον, οὐδὲ ἀναίσθητον,  
 οὐδὲ ἀνόητον εἶχεν ὁ Σωτὴρ—οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν, τοῦ Κυρίου δι' ἡμᾶς  
 ἀνθρώπου γεγεννημένου, ἀνόητον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ—Υἱὸς τε ὧν  
 20 ἀληθῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, γέγονε καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου· καὶ μονογενὴς ὧν Υἱὸς τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ, γέγονεν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Διὸ οὐδὲ  
 ἕτερος ἦν ὁ πρὸ Ἀβραάμ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλ' εἰς  
 τέλειος τοῦ Θεοῦ Μονογενὴς, τέλειος δὲ θεία τελειότητι καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπίνη. Τοῖς [1972 A] ταῦτα φρονοῦσιν ὁμολογοῦμεν κοινωνεῖν· τοῖς  
 25 δὲ τὰναντία φρονοῦσι καὶ γράφουσιν οὐ κοινωνοῦμεν.

[4] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ· ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ

Ἐπειδὴ τινες παρηνόχλησαν ἡμῖν, ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τὴν

Scholion ad [3], ll. 10–11, τῷ κοινῷ διδασκάλῳ: περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου V (Σ')

3 Apollinarius Laodicens, *Epist. ad Episcopos Diocaesarienses*: epistula hic primo inventum (Lietzmann 255, l. 15–256, l. 17)

4 Apollinarius Laodicens (Ps.-Gregorius Thaumaturgus), *Fides secundum Partem*, 30–1 (Lietzmann 178, l. 8–179, l. 10). Cf. etiam:

V 3 4 Διοκαισαρίᾳ V 17 ante οὐράνιον add. καὶ Mai  
 4 27 ante ἐπειδὴ add. καὶ Apoll. παρηνόχλησαν V<sup>ac</sup> ἀνατρέπειν ... τὴν εἰς: ἐπ'  
 ἀνατροπῇ χωροῦντες τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς εἰς Apoll. cod. M

III. BY APOLLINARIUS: FROM AN ANCIENT  
 COPY FOUND IN THE LIBRARY OF THE MOST HOLY  
 BISHOP ANDREW OF SIDON

To the reverend lord bishops in Diocaesarea, greeting in the Lord.

We expected, after sending you letters of respect, to receive similar letters from your love, my reverend sirs, such as we always received from the blessed bishop Athanasius, who knew that we were in agreement with his teachings and were obedient on all points. But since you have not replied, we therefore concluded that the length of our epistle did not clearly establish our opinion for you; see, then, we write clearly here what would agree with your common teacher and mine. I say these things about the Incarnation, even though there is a great disturbance about what I say—not begun by us, but by others, about whom I will be silent. We confess that the Word of God did not dwell in a holy man, as happened with the prophets, but that the Word himself became flesh, not taking up a human mind, a mind capable of change and held captive by filthy thoughts, but a mind that was divine, changeless, heavenly; thus the Savior did not have a body without a soul, nor one incapable of perception or thought—for it would have been impossible, since the Lord became man for us, that his body was without intelligence; but being truly Son of God, he also became son of man. And being the Only-begotten Son of God, the same one became the first-born of many brethren. Therefore the Son of God before Abraham was not different from him who was after Abraham, but one perfect Only-begotten of God—perfect with a divine and not a human perfection. We confess that we share communion with those who think this way; but we do not communicate with those who think and write the opposite.

IV. BY THE SAME AUTHOR: FROM "FAITH IN DETAIL"

Since some have caused us annoyance, by trying to upset our faith

πίστιν ἡμῶν, τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς Θεὸν σαρκωθέντα, ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον Θεῷ συναφθέντα, τοῦτου χάριν ὁμολογίαν ποιούμεθα περὶ τῆς προειρημένης πίστεως, ἐκβάλλοντες τὴν ἄπιστον ἀντιλογίαν καὶ τὸν εὐπρόσωπον αὐτῆς σχηματισμὸν, τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Θεὸς ἦν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον ἀναλαβὼν, ἐπειδήπερ ὅλος ἄνθρωπος οὐ καθαρὸς ἀμαρτίας ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ζωῇ, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ταῖς θείαις ἐνεργείαις εἰς ταῦτον ἅγειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος [B]θανάτου. Θεὸς δὲ σαρκὶ ἐνωθεὶς ἀνθρωπεῖα καθαρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν, νοῦς ἀήττητος ὢν τῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ σαρκικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ ἁγὼν τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὰς σαρκικὰς κινήσεις θεϊκῶς τε καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀκράτητος θανάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύων θάνατον. Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἄσαρκος ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς, τέλειος τῇ ἀληθινή καὶ θείᾳ τελειότητι. οὐ δύο πρόσωπα, οὐ δύο φύσεις τέλειαι καθ' ἑαυτάς, ὅτι

Scholion ad 4, ll. 13–14, οὐ δύο πρόσωπα ... καθ' ἑαυτάς: τὰ ὡς ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκεφάλων προφερόμενα V (Σ')

5–6 (ὅλος ἄνθρωπος ... ζωῇ): cf. Job 14.4, 33.9 (LXX)

4 p. 560, l. 27–p. 562, l. 12 (ἐπειδὴ ... θάνατον): Sev. Ant., *Antijul.* III (78, l. 9–79, l. 3; tr. 66, ll. 21–5; ut Greg. Thaum.); ll. 8–10 (Θεὸς ... παθημάτων): *ibid.* (82, ll. 12–15; tr. 69, ll. 11–14; ut Greg. Thaum.); ll. 11–p. 564, l. 4 (οὐ μόνον ... τιθέντας): Conc. Chalc., *Coll. Novar.* 9, 4 (ACO II, 2, 39, ll. 31–6; ut Greg. Thaum.); ll. 12–p. 564, l. 1 (καὶ ἔστιν ... προσκυνεῖν): Eulog., *Or.* 3 (23, ll. 16–19; ut Apoll., etiamsi Greg. Thaum. attributum); ll. 9–p. 220, l. 3 (καὶ ἔστιν ... ἅγιον): Leont. Jer., *Ctr. Mon.* (1873 C11–15; ut Greg. Thaum.); ll. 12–p. 564, l. 4 (καὶ ἔστιν ... τιθέντας): Sev. Ant., *Ad Neph.* 2 (19, l. 23–20, l. 1; tr. 15, ll. 21–6; ut Greg. Thaum.); *Antijul.* I (114, ll. 16–21; tr. 88, ll. 22–7; ut Greg. Thaum.); *ibid.* (262, l. 24–263, l. 5; tr. 202, ll. 17–23; ut Greg. Thaum.); *ibid.* III (75, l. 22–76, l. 2; tr. 63, ll. 29–34; ut Greg. Thaum.); *ibid.* (80, ll. 2–7; tr. 67, ll. 8–13; ut Greg. Thaum.); ll. 12–p. 564, l. 9 (καὶ ἔστιν ... Χριστοῦ): Sev. Ant., *Ctr. Gram.* I, 9 (99, l. 23–100, l. 8; tr. 78, ll. 15–25; ut Greg. Thaum.); *ibid.* III, 41 (289, ll. 10–20; tr. 213, ll. 12–21; ut Greg. Thaum.)

V 4 1 post Κύριον add. ἡμῶν Apoll., Sev. Ant. ante Χριστὸν add. τὸν Apoll. cod. V ὡς: οὐ Apoll., Sev. Ant. 2 ἀποφαίνοντες: ὁμολογοῦντες Apoll., Sev. Ant. post αὐτὸν add. ἀλλ' Apoll., Sev. Ant. Θεῷ om. Apoll. cod. M 4–8 καὶ ... θανάτου om. Apoll. Sev. Ant. 8 Θεὸς ... ἀνθρωπεῖα: Θεὸς γὰρ σαρκωθείς ἀνθρωπίνῃ σαρκὶ Apoll. Sev. Ant. 9 σαρκικῶν καὶ ψυχικῶν Apoll. cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14597 10 ἁγίων: ἁγίων Apoll. cod. M 12 post θάνατον add. "et mors est mortis" Conc. Chalc. εἰς: Θεὸς Apoll., Conc. Chalc., Sev. Ant., Leont. Jer., Eulog. ὁ ἄσαρκος ... φανερωθεὶς om. Sev. Ant. *Antijul.* I, III (63) 12–13 τέλειος ... τελειότητι om. Sev. Ant. *Antijul.* III (80) 13 θεῖα τελειότητι: τελεία θεότητι Apoll. cod. M οὐ δύο πρόσωπα om. Leont. Jer. οὐ<sup>2</sup>: οὐδὲ Apoll., Eulog. 13–p. 564, l. 1 τέλειαι ... λέγειν om. Apoll., Conc. Chalc., Sev. Ant., Leont. Jer., Eulog.

in the Lord Jesus Christ as God made flesh, asserting that he is a man joined to God, we therefore made profession of this faith we have mentioned, rejecting what would contradict it as lack of faith, even with its attractive form: saying that God was assuming a whole man. Our reason, surely, is that the whole man is not free from sin in this present life, according to the Scriptures, because he is unable to bring his own activity into harmony with God's, and is therefore not free from death. But God, united to human flesh, preserves his own activity pure, being mind unconquered by spiritual and fleshly passions; he leads the flesh and the actions of the flesh in a godly and sinless way, not only unmastered by death, but even destroying death. And he is truly one, fleshless but appearing in flesh; perfect with a true and divine perfection; not two persons, nor two perfect natures in themselves, because



μηδὲ θεμιτὸν δύο υἱοὺς λέγειν, μηδὲ τέσσαρα προσκυνεῖν, Θεὸν καὶ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον πρὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δοξάζειν—διὸ καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντας τοὺς ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ θείᾳ δοξολογίᾳ τιθέντας μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πρὸ  
 5 τοῦ [C] Πνεύματος. Ἄνθρωπον δὲ ὅλον ἀναλαμβάνομενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φαρμέν ἐκαστον ἡμῶν, τῶν ἁγιαζομένων καὶ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου” λαμβανόντων “ἀνθρώπου” καὶ θεοποιουμένων πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ φύσει καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ, κατὰ σάρκα δὲ ἀνθρώπου, Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

## 10 [5] &lt;ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ&gt; ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ

Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓνα Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ὡς μονάρχην, καὶ ἓνα Υἱὸν, ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἐξ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ, φυσικῶς τὴν πατρικὴν θεότητα ἔχοντα—τουτέστιν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ—καὶ ἐν Πνεύμα ἁγίον φύσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, τὸ πάντων ἁγιαστικὸν καὶ θεοποιὸν, ὑπάρχον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ δι’  
 15 Υἱοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἢ τὸν Υἱὸν ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κτίσμα λέγοντας ἀναθεματίζομεν, [D] καὶ τοὺς μὴ εἶναι ποτε φάσκοντας τὸν Υἱὸν ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Τὰ δὲ πάντα ὁμολογοῦμεν ποιήματα καὶ δοῦλα καὶ κτισθέντα ὑπὸ Θεοῦ δι’ Υἱοῦ, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ἁγιασθέντα. Ἔτι ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου γεγενῆσθαι, οὐκ ὀνόματι ἀλλ’ ἀληθείᾳ  
 20 προσλαβόντα σάρκα ἐκ Μαρίας Παρθένου, καὶ εἶναι ἓνα τέλειον, οὐ δύο τέλεια ἠγνωμένα, αὐτὸν

4 6–7 (τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ... ἀνθρώπου): cf. 1 Cor. 15.49

5 Apollinarius Laodicensis (Ps.-Gregorius Thaumaturgus), *ibid.* 27–9 (Lietzmann 176, I. 19–177, I. 12 et 178, II. 4–7) II. 18–20 (ὁμολογοῦμεν ... Παρθένου): cf. etiam Thdt., *Eran.* I, Test. 68 (110, II. 24–5)

V 4 1 μηδὲ: οὐδὲ γὰρ Apoll., Sev. Ant., Eulog.; οὐδὲ Conc. Chalc., Leont. Jer. τέσσαρας Leont. Jer., Eulog. post προσκυνεῖν add. λέγομεν Apoll., Conc. Chalc., Sev. Ant., Leont. Jer., Eulog.; post προσκυνεῖν λέγομεν add. “nec enim fas est quattuor adorari” Conc. Chalc. 2 υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου: ἄνθρωπον Apoll., Sev. Ant., Leont. Jer. 2–3 μηδὲ ... δοξάζειν om. Apoll., Conc. Chalc., Sev. Ant. 3 ὡς: τοὺς οὕτως Apoll., Conc. Chalc., Sev. Ant. 4–5 μετὰ ... Πνεύματος om. Apoll., Sev. Ant. 5 ἄνθρωπον ... Θεοῦ: ἡμεῖς γὰρ φαμεν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι (γεγεννησθαι Apoll. cod. M) τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν, ἵνα τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου λάβωμεν καὶ θεοποιηθῶμεν πρὸς ὁμοιότητα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀληθινοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ Apoll., Sev. Ant. 8 ante ἀνθρώπου add. υἱοῦ Apoll. codd. Graec., Sev. Ant. Ctr. Gram. I

5 10 <ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ> addidi ἘΚ ΠΡΟ V 11 post ὁμολογοῦμεν add. οὖν Apoll. ὡς μονάρχην: μίαν ἀρχὴν Apoll. 12 Θεὸν om. Apoll. cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14597 14 τὸ: τῶν Apoll. ὑπάρχον post Θεοῦ transp. Apoll. Θεοῦ: Πατὴρ Apoll. cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14597 14–15 δι’ Υἱοῦ om. Apoll. 16–17 καὶ τοὺς ... Πνεῦμα om. Apoll. 17 ante πάντα add. ἄλλα Apoll. καὶ om. Apoll. 18 δι’ Υἱοῦ: διότι Apoll. cod. M ἁγίῳ post Πνεύματι transp. Apoll. καὶ om. Apoll. codd. Graec. 19 γεγενῆσθαι Apoll. cod. M ἀλλὰ Apoll. 20 σάρκα post Παρθένου transp. Thdt. cod. V Μαρίας: τῆς ἁγίας Apoll. cod. B.M. Syr. Add. 14597 ante Παρθένου add. τῆς Thdt. ἓνα om. Apoll. 21 οὐ ... αὐτὸν om. Apoll.

it is wrong to speak of two sons, nor to adore four [persons]—God, and the Son of God, and the son of man, and the Holy Spirit—nor to glorify a human being before the Holy Spirit, and therefore we anathematize as impious those who put a man in the holy doxology after God and the Son, before the Spirit. We say that the whole man is taken up by God to save each of us, who are made holy and receive the likeness of the heavenly man, and are divinized so that we become like him who is truly God by nature, and who is man according to the flesh, our Lord Jesus Christ.

## V. &lt;BY THE SAME AUTHOR:&gt; FROM THE CHAPTER BEFORE THIS

We confess one true God as sole ruler, and one Son, true God from true God, having his Father's divinity by nature—in other words, who is of the same substance as the Father—and one Holy Spirit in truth and by nature, who makes all things holy and divine, existing from the substance of God through the Son; and we anathematize those who say that either the Son or the Holy Spirit is a creature, and those who say that the Son or the Spirit at one time did not exist. We confess that all things are the handiwork of God, his creatures and servants, made through God the Son and also sanctified in the Holy Spirit. Again, we confess that the Son of God became son of man, taking flesh from the Virgin Mary not in name [only] but in truth, and that he is one perfect individual, not two perfect individuals united, the same individual

Υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, μίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον, καὶ μίαν τὴν προσκύνῃσιν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς· καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς [1973 A] δύο λέγοντας καὶ διαφόρους προσκυνήσεις ποιοῦντας, μίαν θεϊκὴν καὶ μίαν ἀνθρωπίνην, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἕτερον ὄντα παρὰ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεόν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ πάθος τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ σάρκα, τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν δυνάμει θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἀνάβασιν εἰς οὐρανὸν, παρουσίαν ἐρχομένην ἐνδοξον ἐπὶ κρίσει ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωῇ αἰωνίῳ τῶν ἀγιαζομένων.

10 [6] ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ· ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Εἰς τὴν ΠΑΡΑΛΟΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ, 'ΟΥ' Η' ΑΡΧΗ, "ΤΟΝ ΕΚΠΕΣΟΝΤΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΙΧΕΝ Ο ΑΠΑΤΗΣΑΣ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ"

Εἰ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου καὶ Θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὁ εὐσεβὴς νοῦς οὐ προσκυνῶν, τὸν δὲ Θεὸν προσκυνῶν, εὐρεθήσεται τὸν αὐτὸν [B] 15 προσκυνῶν καὶ μὴ προσκυνῶν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος οὐχ ἡγούμενος προσκυνητὸν—οὐ γὰρ ἀσεβήσῃ—ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἰδὼς ἑαυτὸν προσκυνητὸν· ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν ἑαυτὸν εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ· ἀδύνατον ἄρα τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου, ἀλλ' ἐν μονότητι συγκράτου φύσεως θεϊκῆς σεσαρκωμένης, 20 ὥστε πρὸς Θεὸν ἀφορᾶν ἀχώριστον τῆς σαρκὸς τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας,

6 Apollinarius Laodicens, *De Incarnatione, seu in Traditionem Renuntiationis et Fidei*: fragmentum hic primo inventum (= frag. 9: Lietzmann 206, l. 14–207, l. 4). ll. 17–19 (ἀδύνατον ... σεσαρκωμένης): cf. etiam Justn., *Chr. Mon.*, Test. 76 (19, ll. 5–7); *Doctr. Patr.* 9, XII (64, ll. 2–5); Niceph., *Antirrhet.* IV (2) (Spic. Sol. IV, 379, ll. 26–30)

V 5 1 ante υἱὸν<sup>2</sup> add. αὐτὸν Apoll. μίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ om. Apoll. 2 post σαρκὸς add. ἣν ἀνέλαβεν Apoll. 3 δύο λέγοντας καὶ om. Apoll. 3–4 μίαν θεϊκὴν καὶ μίαν ἀνθρωπίνην: μιᾶς θεϊκῆς καὶ μιᾶς ἀνθρωπίνης Apoll. cod. M 4 τοὺς om. Apoll. προσκυνοῦντες Apoll. cod. V; προσκυνοῦνται cod. M 5 post Θεόν add. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι "ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἦν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος", γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν προσκυνοῦμεν οὐχ ὡς ἴσον ἐν ἴσῳ γενόμενον τῷ σώματι, ἀλλ' ὡς δεσπότην προσλαβόντα τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν. Apoll. 7 ἀνάβασιν εἰς οὐρανὸν: τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάβασιν Apoll. παρουσίαν ... ἐνδοξον: τὴν ἐνδοξον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἐρχομένου (περιερχομένου cod. M) Apoll. 8 ἀγιαζομένων: ἀγίων Apoll. 6 11 'ΟΥ' Η' ΑΡΧΗ add. Mai 16 δὲ om. Justn., *Doctr. Patr.*, Niceph. 17 ἑαυτὸν: ἐν ταύτῳ *Doctr. Patr.* cod. C 18 ἑαυτὸν εἰδέναι: εἶναι *Doctr. Patr.* cod. E εἶναι post Θεόν τε transp. *Doctr. Patr.* cod. E 19 μονότητι: κενότητι μετὰ τῆς *Doctr. Patr.* cod. E post θεϊκῆς add. καὶ *Doctr. Patr.* cod. E

Son of God and son of man, one hypostasis and one person, and [we confess] that there is one adoration of the Word and the flesh. And we anathematize those who say they are two, and produce different kinds of adoration, one of a divine and one of a human kind, and those who worship the man from Mary as if he were a different individual alongside the God who is from God. We confess the suffering of the Lord in the flesh, his resurrection in the power of his divinity, his ascension into heaven, his coming glorious reappearance for the judgment of living and dead and the eternal life of those who are made holy.

VI. BY THE SAME APOLLINARIUS: FROM HIS WORK ON THE TRADITIONAL FORMULATIONS OF THE RENUNCIATION [OF SIN] AND THE FAITH, <WHICH BEGINS>, "THE DECEITFUL DEVIL HELD MAN CAPTIVE, WHEN HE HAD FALLEN FROM GOD"

If the same individual is completely human and God, and the religious mind does not adore the human being but adores God, it will be found to be adoring and not adoring the same individual, which is impossible. And he himself will not, as human, consider himself adorable—for he would not commit sin—but as God, he will know that he is adorable. But it is impossible that the same person should know himself to be adorable and not adorable; therefore it is impossible that the same person is God and a human being completely. But he exists in the singleness of a mixed nature, divine yet made flesh, so that those who worship him contemplate God inseparable from the flesh,

καὶ μὴ ἀφορᾶν εἰς ἓνα μὲν οὐ προσκυνητὸν, εἰς ἕτερον δὲ προσκυνητὸν, μηδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον προσκυνεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ προσδεχόμενον τὴν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν προσκυνούντων προσκύνῃσιν, ἀλλ' ἓνα εἶναι τῷ ὄντι κατὰ τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν, καὶ οὐδαμῶς δύο τινὰς ἐν  
5 προσώποις ὑφ' ἑστῶσι κατ' ἴδια μέτρα καὶ ἰδίας ἀξίας.

[C] <ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ> Οἶμαι τὸν μὴ πάνν φιλονεικεῖν ἐγνωκότα μηκέτι οἷεσθαι τούτοις εὐλόγως ἀντειπεῖν δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς, καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἀβιάστως, πείθεσθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ πάσαις ψήφοις ὁμολογεῖν ὡς εἶεν Ἀπολινάριον αἱ ψευδῶς Ἰούλιον, Γρηγόριον τε καὶ Ἀθανάσιον  
10 ἐπιγραφόμεναι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἥτοι περὶ σαρκώσεως λόγων. Οὐ χρὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς θαναμάζειν, εἰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Οὐαλεντίνον καὶ οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον, μαθηταὶ ὄντες Ἀπολινάριου, οἱ μὲν τὸ "ὁμοούσιον" ὁμολογοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀθετοῦσι, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ἐκ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀλλήλους καταγωνίζονται. Καὶ γὰρ  
15 Γρηγόριος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Νεκτάριον ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων. "Διαβεβαιοῦται [D] γὰρ," φησί, "μὴ ἐπίκτητον εἶναι τὴν σάρκα κατ' οἰκονομίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ προσληφθεῖσαν ἐπὶ μεταστοιχειώσει τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ τὴν σαρκώδη ἐκείνην φύσιν εἶναι." Καὶ ἔτι εἰπὼν ὀλίγα, ἐπάγει. "Καὶ οὐπω τοῦτο δεινόν· ἀλλὰ τὸ  
20 πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, τὸν κριτὴν πάντων, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, τὸν καθαιρέτην τοῦ θανάτου, θνητὸν εἶναι κατασκευάζει, καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ θεότητι τὸ πάθος καταδέξασθαι, καὶ ἐν τῇ τριμέρῳ ἐκείνῃ νεκρώσει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν θεότητα συναπονεκρωθῆναι τῷ σώματι, καὶ οὕτω παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πάλιν ἀπὸ  
25 τοῦ θανάτου διαναστῆναι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα προστίθῃσι τοιαύταις ἀτοπiais, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι."

Οὐ θαῦμα οὖν εἰ διὰ μέσου τῆς ἐλάττονος ἀσεβείας, τῆς ὁμοούσιον [976 A] τῇ θεότητι τὸ σῶμα γεγενῆσθαι λεγούσης, ἐπὶ τὰς μείζους προέκοψεν, ἀγνοίᾳ προσλαμβάνων ἄγνοιαν, καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἀσεβείᾳ. Καὶ φαίνεται  
30 μᾶλλον ὅτι Τιμόθεος εἶναι τῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ ῥαδιουργίας θαρρουμένων· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ τὰ συστατικά αὐτοῦ γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικούς ἠδυνήθη παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου λαβεῖν, ὡς κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας

Scholion Leontii 16–19 Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epist. 202, ad Nectarium, 10 (ed. P. Gallay et M. Jourjon (SC 208), 90, ll. 14–17; PG 37, 332 B10–14). 19–26 Gregorius Nazianzenus, ibid. 15–17 (ed. P. Gallay et M. Jourjon, 92, ll. 15–24; PG 37, 333 A7–16)

V Scholion Leontii 6 <ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ> addidi 20 ante πάντων add. τῶν Greg. Naz. 22 τὸ om. Greg. Naz. (txt. codd. AS<sup>8</sup>DC)

and do not contemplate one individual who is not to be adored and another who is to be adored, nor is there in him one individual who will not allow himself to be adored and another who accepts the adoration, for the salvation of the adorers. But he is actually one, in regard to a single substance, and never two individuals, in persons that exist by their own standards and in their own rank.

<Leontius:> I think that anyone who is not exclusively determined to win arguments will not think he can reasonably respond to these things any further, but will immediately, and, so to speak, without being forced, give his allegiance to the truth, and will acknowledge, with full conviction, that the letters or works on the Incarnation falsely labelled with the names of Julius, Gregory and Athanasius are by Apollinarius. There is no need for us to wonder, if, of those who follow Valentinus and those who follow Timothy, being disciples of Apollinarius, the one group confesses the phrase "of the same substance" [i.e. when referring to the human Christ] and the others reject it, and both contend with one another on the authority of their master. For indeed Gregory the Theologian, in his epistle to Nectarius, presents other, worse blasphemies of Apollinarius, quoting from his own words: "For," he says, "he insists that the flesh which was assumed by the Only-begotten Son in the divine plan of salvation was not something specially acquired, to transform our nature, but that there was from the beginning a fleshly nature in the Son." And again, after some further words, he says: "And this is not so terrible, but the most grievous thing of all is that he makes the only begotten God himself, the judge of all things, the author of life, the overthrower of death, to be mortal, and to have received suffering into his own very divinity, and that in that three-day death of his body his divinity, too, became dead along with the body, and so was raised again from death by the Father as well. As for the other things he adds to these absurdities, it would take long to recount them."

It is no wonder, then, if he advanced through the intermediate stage of the lesser evil, in which he said the body is of the same substance as the divinity, to greater irreverence, adding ignorance to ignorance and impiety to impiety. And Timothy seems rather to belong to the group of those who were entrusted with the hidden mysteries of impiety and fraud; for through Apollinarius's influence he was able to get letters of introduction to the Westerners from the great Athanasius, as one eagerly campaigning against Arius's impiety,

Ἀρείου σπουδάζων, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὡς πρὸς ἐπίσκοπον κομίσασθαι γράμματα. Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τέλος αὐτοῦ διέλαθεν ἡ σκευωρία· τὸ δεύτερον γὰρ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀθανασίου κοίμησιν, ἐπὶ Ῥώμην πάλιν σταλεῖς, δέχεται τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καθαίρεσιν καὶ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Ἀπολιναρίου.

and to obtain writings from them for the bishop. But his intrigue did not remain unnoticed all his life; for being sent to Rome a second time, after the death of Athanasius, he received both his own deposition and that of Apollinarius, who sent him.

*Fragmenta Incerta*

Fragments of Uncertain Authorship,  
Attributed to Leontius of Byzantium



[1] Εἶδος ἐστὶν οἶον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος, βοῦς· ὁμοίως γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης, καθ' ὃ ζῶν ἐστι, γένος· καθ' ὃ θνητός καὶ λογικός, διαφέρει, καθ' ὃ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, εἶδος· οὕτω καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι. Γένος δὲ καὶ διαφορὰ καὶ εἶδος συμπληρωτικά τῆς ἐκάστου εἰσὶν οὐσίας· διὸ καὶ οὐσιώδη λέγονται. Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἐπουσιώδη, ἐπειδὴ ὑπάρχει τινι· τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός πόρρω ὑπάρχει, ἐπειδὴ πῇ μὲν ὑπάρχει, πῇ δὲ οὐχ ὑπάρχει· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ χωριστὰ καλεῖται. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον τὸ γελαστικόν· τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός τὸ μέλαν, τὸ κινεῖσθαι, τὸ ἵστασθαι, τὸ καθῆσθαι.

[2] Τῶν γινομένων ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπός, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ παρακολούθημα, τὸ γνήσιον, ἡ τάξις, ἡ ἀποδεικτική τοῦ χάριν ἣτοι δηλωτικὸν τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἡ αἰτία, ἡ ἐπιγραφή.

[3] Ὁμοούσιος Θεὸς Λόγος τῇ προσληφθείσῃ σαρκί, ἢ ἑτεροούσιος; Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὁμοούσιος, πῶς οὐ γέγονε τετράς ἢ Τριάς, ἑτέρου παρεισκριθέντος προσώπου; Τὸ γὰρ ὁμοφύες καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς μίαν οὐσίαν ἀναγομένων ἀτόμων λέγεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ τῶν ὑποστάσεων τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἀναφερομένων τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατηγορεῖται. Εἰ οὖν ὁμοούσιος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος τῇ σαρκί, δύο ἔσται ὑποστάσεις· εἰ δὲ ἑτεροούσιος ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, πῶς οὐ δύο φύσεις ὁ Χριστός;

[4] Εἰ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ὡμολόγηται, οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ φύσει ἢ ἐστὶ θεός, ταύτῃ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, πῶς οὐ δύο φύσεις αἷς θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστός;

[1] Cp. Ammonius Hermeiou, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* (ed. A. Busse. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* IV, 3 (Berlin, 1891)), 32, l. 2–33, l. 16

[2] Cp. Ammonius Hermeiou, *ibid.* 21, ll. 8–9

[4] Cp. Leontius Byzantinus, *Eaporemata* 20 (*supra*, p. 324, ll. 6–9)

[1] Excerpta Leontina 18 (*infra*, p. 583, ll. 15–22)

[2] *Ibid.* 19 (*infra*, p. 584, ll. 1–3)

[3] Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus* X (cod. Oxon. Thomas Roe 22, f. 220<sup>v</sup>)

[4] *Ibid.*

[1] hewpmrd (= A) 1 εἶδος ... βοῦς om. m 1–2 καθ' ὃ: καθ' ὃν m 4 εἰσὶν: ἐστὶν r 7 ἔστι μὲν: ἔστι μὰς r; ἔτι μὰς m

[2] hewpmrd (= A) 9 γινομένων wp 10 τάξις m τοῦ<sup>1</sup> om. rd ἣτοι: ἡ τὸν m τοῦ<sup>2</sup> om. m. 11 ἡ αἰτία: ἵσως ἡ αἰτίας conj. scriptor in marg. d

[3] Roe 22 15 οὐσίας cod.

1. A species is something like a human being, a horse, an ox; in the same way, Socrates, inasmuch as he is a living thing, is a genus, but insofar as he is mortal and rational, he is differentiated, and insofar as he is a human being, he is a species. Genus and difference and species complete the substance of each being; therefore they are said to be “substantial.” The proper characteristic and the accident are said to be added on to the substance, since they exist for someone. Further, the accident exists in that it exists in some places and not in others; these are called “separable” [characteristics]. An example of a proper characteristic is being able to laugh; of an accident, being black, moving, standing up, sitting down.

2. To contingent things, we can ascribe a goal, usefulness, side-effects, legitimacy, arrangement, features that demonstrate the purpose or clarify the goal, an explanation, a responsible author.

3. Is God the Word consubstantial with the flesh he took on, or of a different substance? If he is of the same substance, how did the Trinity not become a tetrad, with yet another person judged to be added to it? For being of the same origin and consubstantial is usually predicated of individuals referred to one substance, and “consubstantial” is predicated of hypostases which are referred to one and the same species. If, then, God the Word is consubstantial with the flesh, there will be two hypostases [i.e., named ‘Son’]; but if the flesh of God the Word is of a different substance, why is Christ not two natures?

4. If Christ, even in your view, is confessed to be God and a human being after the union, but is not also human in the same nature in which he is God, how are there not two natures, by which Christ is God and a human being?

[5] Εἰ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος λέγομεν τὸν Χριστὸν  
 συντεθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀδιάφορον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος  
 λέγειν τὸν Χριστὸν, τί τὸ κωλύον ὑμᾶς, ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι τὸν  
 Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντας, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν αὐτὸν ἀκολουθῶς ὁμολογεῖν, εἰ  
 5 μὴ πεπλασμένον καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως τὸ ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι  
 τέλειον ὁμολογεῖν προσποιεῖσθε;

[5] Cp. Leontius Byzantinus, *Epaporēmata* 3 (supra, p. 314, ll. 11–15)

[5] Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus* X (cod. Oxon. Thomas Roe 22, f. 220<sup>v</sup>)

[5] Roe 22      3 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς cod.      6 προσποιεῖσθαι cod.

5. If we say that Christ is put together from divinity and humanity, and it is equally acceptable, in your view, to say Christ is from divinity and humanity, what is there to prevent you, since you confess Christ in divinity and humanity, to confess as a result that he is in two natures—unless this is all a front, and you are only pretending to confess that he is perfect in his divinity and his humanity?

## Appendix III. Excerpta Leontina ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΩΝ

- [1] Ὅτι οὐ ταῦτὸν ὑπόστασις καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ὥσπερ ἕτερον οὐσία καὶ ἐνούσιον. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις τὸν τινὰ δηλοῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐνυπόστατον τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑπόστασις πρόσωπον ἀφορίζει τοῖς χαρακτηριστικοῖς ιδιώμασι, τὸ δὲ ἐνυπόστατον τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ συμβεβηκὸς δηλοῖ, ὅπερ ἐν
- 5 ἑτέρῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεωρεῖται—τοιαῦται δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ποιότητες, αἱ τε οὐσιώδεις καὶ ἐπουσιώδεις καλούμεναι, ὧν οὐδετέρα ἐστὶν οὐσία, τουτέστι πρᾶγμα[τος] ὑφ' ἑστῶς—ἀλλ' αἱ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν θεωρεῖται, ὡς χρῶμα ἐν σώματι, καὶ ὡς ἐπιστήμη ἐν ψυχῇ. Ὁ τοίνυν λέγων, "Οὐκ ἔστι φύσις ἀνυπόστατος," ἀληθῶς μὲν λέγει, οὐ μὴν ὀρθῶς
- 10 συμπεραίνει, τὸ μὴ ἀνυπόστατον συνάγων εἰς τὸ ὑπόστασιν [2005 A] εἶναι· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις μὴ εἶναι λέγοι σώμα ἀσχημάτιστον, ἀληθὲς λέγων, ἔπειτα συνάγοι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς, τὸ σχῆμα σώμα εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ σώματι θεωρεῖσθαι. Ἀνυπόστατος μὲν οὖν φύσις, τουτέστιν οὐσία, οὐκ ἂν εἴη· οὐ μὴν ἡ φύσις ὑπόστασις, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἀντιστρέφει. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις καὶ
- 15 φύσις, ἡ δὲ φύσις οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ὑπόστασις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον ἐπιδέχεται· ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις, καὶ τὸν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸ εἶναι· καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰδούς λόγον ἐπέχει, ἡ δὲ τοῦ τινός ἐστι δηλωτικὴ· καὶ ἡ μὲν καθολικοῦ πρᾶγματος χαρακτήρα δηλοῖ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἀποδιαστέλλεται. Καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν μιᾶς λέγονται τὰ ὁμοούσια, καὶ ὧν ὁ
- 20 λόγος τοῦ εἶναι κοινός· ὑποστάσεως δὲ ὅρος ἡ τὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν μὲν ταῦτά, ἀριθμῷ δὲ διαφέροντα, [B] ἡ τὰ ἐκ διαφορῶν φύσεων συνεστῶτα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ εἶναι κοινωνίαν ἅμα τε καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις κεκτημένα· οὕτω γέ τοι φημι "κοινωνοῦντα τοῦ εἶναι," οὐχ ὡς συμπληρωτικὰ τῆς ἀλλήλων οὐσίας, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν

[1] CNE 1: supra, p. 132, l. 19–p. 134, l. 20

[1] hewpmrd (= A) 2 ΤΩΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ d ΛΕΟΝΤΙΩΝ: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ e  
1 post ταῦτὸν add. ὦ οὗτοι VOG 2 post δὲ add. γε OG 4 ὅπερ: ὅτιπερ m;  
δ VOG 7 πρᾶγμα: πρᾶγμα τὸ d; πρᾶγμα VOG ἀλλ' αἱ: ἀλλὰ εἰ d post ἀλλ'  
add. δ V 9 ἀληθῶς: ἀληθὲς V 10 εἰς: εἰ d τὸ: τὸν r 11 μὴ εἶναι post  
ἀσχημάτιστον transp. G «λέγου» addidi ex VOG 12 συνάγει A (txt. VOG) τῷ  
om. OG 13 post εἴη add. ποτέ VOG 15 οὐκ ἔστι: οὐκέτι VOG καὶ om. G  
post φύσις<sup>3</sup> add. ἡ r<sup>ac</sup> 16 ἐπιδέχεται: ὑποδέχεται wr αὐτό: ἑαυτὸ O; ἑαυτὸν  
VG 17 μὲν: μᾶς rm : δηλωτικὸν hewpmrd; δηλωτικὸν r (txt. VOG) 19 συντόμως  
w<sup>ac</sup> p<sup>ac</sup> ante λέγονται add. κυρίως VOG λέγεται VOG 22 ἀλλήλους rm  
22–3 οὕτω ... εἶναι om. d 23 κοινωνοῦνται epd

καὶ τῶν οὐσιωδῶς κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορουμένων, ὡς ἡ ἐν σώματι ποιότης, λευκότης, μελανότης· ὅπερ ἂν τις εὖροι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὧν κοινὴ μὲν ἡ ὑπόστασις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἡ φύσις, καὶ ὁ λόγος διάφορος.

- 5 [2] Ὅτι διττός ὁ τῆς τελειότητος ὅρος, ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς λεγόμενος, ὁ δὲ σχέσει θεωρούμενος.

- [3] Ὅτι εἴ φύσει παθητὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος ἡ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐδέχετο περιγραφὴν, ἔσται τοῖς ἀπὸ Νεστορίου ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι σαρκὶ [C] συνάπτειν καὶ ὅλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἵνα μὴ περιγραφῇ· εἰ δὲ φύσει ἄτρεπτός
- 10 ἔστι καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος καὶ ἀπαθής, κἂν ἐν σώματι γένηται, σῶζοι ἂν τὸν ἴδιον τῆς ἀπαθείας καὶ παντελῆ τῆς ἀτρεψίας λόγον. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κόσμον κτίζων καὶ εἰς τὸδε τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παντός ἄγων αὐτόν, οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερκοσμίου καὶ ὑπερουσίου εἰς τὸ περικόσμιον τοῦτο ἡ ἐγκόσμιον ἐκπεπτωκῶς φαίνεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπεριγράπτου εἰς τὸ
- 15 περιγεγράφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγληλυθῶς· οὔτε τοίνυν οὐδὲ πρότερον ἦν ἡνίκα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα παρήγαγεν, οὔτε ὕστερον ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐν μικρῷ κόσμον, τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἑαυτῷ περιέπηξε, περιεγράφη. Καὶ τί θαῦμα; Ὅπου γε καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ οὐχ ἀπλῶς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐν σώματι [D] αὐτὴν εἶναι πάσχει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι πάσχειν καὶ
- 20 χωρὶς σώματος.

[2] CNE 2: supra, p. 138, ll. 10–11

[3] CNE 3: supra, p. 140, l. 12–p. 142, l. 3

VOG, hewpmrd (= A) [1] 1–2 ὡς ... μελανότης: ποιότητες δὲ αὐταὶ καλοῦνται—ἀλλ' ὡς τῆς θατέρου φύσεως καὶ οὐσίας μὴ καθ' ἑστένην θεωρουμένης, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς συγκεκριμένης καὶ συμπεφυκυίας VOG 2 ἐν ἄλλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ: ἐφ' ἑτέρων μὲν πραγμάτων, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ VOG

[2] 5 post διττός add. καὶ e 5–6 διττός ... θεωρούμενος: διττὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς τελειότητος ὅρον, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀπλῶς λέγεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖσθαι VOG

[3] 7 post εἰ add. μὲν οὖν VOG ἦν om. VOG τὴν: τῶν wr ἐνταῦθα: ἐν τόπῳ VOG ἐδέχετο: ἐδέχεται τὸ m; δέχεται VOG 8–9 ἔσται ... περιγραφῇ: ἔσται ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ περιγραφτὸν καὶ παθητὸν σώμα ἔνωσιν, καὶ ἔσται οὕτως παθητὸς καὶ περιγραπτὸς, κἂν μὴ πέπονθε μὴδὲ περιγεγράφῃ VOG 8 αὐτῶν mr 9 post συνάπτειν add. τὰ d<sup>ac</sup> μὴ om. e περιγραφῆς r 11 παντελὲς d παντελῆ τῆς om. V<sup>cor</sup> post καὶ γὰρ add. καὶ e 12 τοῦ παντός om. V<sup>cor</sup> 14 ἐμπεπτωκῶς d καὶ: ἡ V 15 περιγεγεγράφθαι wr οὔτε: οὐ VOG οὐδέ: οὔτε VOG 15–16 ἡνίκα ... ὕστερον om. d τὸν: τὴν r 16 αὐτῶν mr 17 ἑαυτῶν mr περιέπηξε wr post περιεγράφη add. οὔτε ὕστερον d<sup>ac</sup> 18 τοῦ om. d 19 αὐτὴν ante ἐν σώματι iter. d; om. e πάσχει: πάσχειν r

[4] Ὅτι ἄρρητος ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνεννόητος μόνῃ ἢ κατ' οὐσίαν τε καὶ οὐσιώδης καὶ ἐνυπόστατος ἔνωσις. Πῶς γὰρ τὰ τοσοῦτον κατὰ φύσιν παρηλλαγμένα καὶ μακρῶ διωκισμένα ἀλλήλοις τε συνέβη καὶ κραθέντα οὐ συγκέχυνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔστιν ἓν, καὶ γνωρίζεται δύο;

- 5 [5] Ὅτι δεῖ ἀντιστῆναι ὡς οἱ τὴν ἔνωσιν μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἢ εὐδοκίαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ σχέσιν δογματίσαντες, κατ' οὐδὲν μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐγγίζουσι, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, πολυσχιδὲς ὄν, ἐμερίσαντο· ποία γὰρ ἂν εἴη ταύτη, καὶ ποῦ τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀξία ὀνόματος, τῆς ὑπερφουδὸς καὶ μόνῃς μετὰ τὴν μόνην καὶ πρώτην, ἢ μὴ τὰ πράγματα συνδέουσα [2008 A]
- 10 καὶ εἰς ταῦτον ἄγουσα; Ὅθεν καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισέ μοι ὅτ' ἂν, αὐτῶν τὴν τοιαύτην ἔνωσιν πρεσβευόντων, τὸ "ἀσύγχυτον" προσρίπτεται καὶ τὸ "ἄτρεπτον". ποίαν γὰρ καὶ ὑφορᾶσθαι τροπὴν αὐτοὺς δίκαιον ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς μὲν ἀξίας εἰς μίαν ἀξίαν συγγέοντας (οὐ γὰρ αἱ ἀξίαι ἀξία ποτ' ἂν γένοιτο ἀσυγχύτως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ αἱ φύσεις μία
- 15 φύσις ἀτρέπτως), τὰς δ' ἐξουσίας χωρίζοντας; Οὐ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἔνωσις ἢ τῆς ἀξίας ἔνωσις· ἢ οὕτω γ' ἂν καὶ πάντα τοὺς τῆς θείας λελογχότας ἀξίας εἰς ταῦτον ἄξιομεν τῇ θεῖᾳ οὐσίᾳ, καὶ δύο φύσεις ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἁγίων δογματίσομεν. (Τὸ γὰρ ποσὸν τῆς ἀξίας οὐ πάντῃ χωρίζει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διάφορα, ἀλλ' ὁπόση ἂν εἴη, κατὰ τοσοῦτον συνάψει καὶ τὰς
- 20 φύσεις.) Εἰ δέ τι ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριάδι [B] συνάψαι βούλονται τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Χριστὸν λοιποὺς ἁγίους, τῆς ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ αὐτῶν ἔστω ἐξουσίας· κεχρηματίκασιν γὰρ θεοὶ τε καὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματα ἅγια, κατὰ τὸ "ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι ἔστιν."

[4] CNE 7: supra, p. 164, ll. 16–19

[5] CNE 7: supra, p. 166, l. 1–23

VOG, hewpmrd (= A) [4] 1 post ἄρρητος add. γὰρ VOG ὄντως post ἐστὶ(ν) transp. G μόνῃ om. ■ 2 post κατὰ add. τὴν VOG 3 μακρῶς διορισμένα d<sup>cc</sup>; μακρῶς διορισμένα d<sup>com</sup> 4 συγκέχυνται eVOG

[5] 5 δεῖ ἀντιστῆναι ὡς om. VOG 6 ante σχέσιν add. τοιαύτην VOG 7 τῇ: τὴν mr ὄν m post ἐμερίσαντο add. ἄλλοις ἄλλην τινὰ μοῖραν αὐτοῦ παρασπασάμενοι, καὶ εἰς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες τῇ ἀποτεύξει τῆς ἀληθείας VOG 8 ταύτη: αὕτη VOG ποῦ: πῶς VOG 9 τὰ iter. w 12 post γὰρ add. δὴ OG τῇ: τὴν mr 14 γένοιτο G 15 τὰς δ' ἐξουσίας: τὰς δὲ οὐσίας dVOG οὐ: ὁ wp 16 λελογχότας AVG<sup>cc</sup>; λελαχότας O 17 ἄξιομεν VG 18 δογματίσωμεν hwpVOG; δογματίσωμας mr (txt. ed) 19 εἴη: fort. legendum ἦ καὶ om. wp 20 post φύσεις add. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντῃ αὐτὰς χωρίζει, τοῦ συνάπτουτος μὴ πάντῃ κεχωρισμένου. Ὅποσον γὰρ μετέχουσι τῆς ἀξίας, μετέχειν ὀφείλουσι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου φύσεως VOG post ἐτέρῳ add. τρόπῳ d τῶν ἐν om. d βούλονται: βούλοιντο d 22 οἱ θεοὶ τε καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ wp 23 τῶν κυρίων mr

[6] Ὅτι, φησὶν, ἔδει τοὺς ἀθέους Νεστοριανοὺς εἰδέναι ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῆς ποικίλης διανομῆς πρόσσεστι τοῖς ὑπερτέροις πρὸς τοὺς ὑφειμένους, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τὸ ἐφάπασι τῆς ἐνεργείας χάρισμα καὶ τῆς ἀξίας δώρημα· καὶ ἡ κακείνους μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἢ εἴ γε βούλονται ἐνὸς τῶν

5 ἐν τῇ Τριάδι θεωρουμένων, ἢ καὶ ὅλης τῆς σεβασμίας Τριάδος, εἰς δύο συνάπτειν φύσεις, καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ὑποστάσεις διαιρεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου συνάπτειν [C] καὶ εἰς ἓνα Υἱὸν συντιθέναι ἢ ὁμωνύμως αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, ὡς τὸν πρωτότυπον Υἱόν.

[7] Ὅτι μία ἐστὶν ἡ φυσικὴ υἰότης, ἐξ ἧς κατὰ μετοχὴν πᾶσα υἰότης· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀποσχεδιασθέντα τοῖς Νεστοριανοῖς ἄνθρωπον ἢ τῆς φυσικῆς μετέχειν υἰότητος ἢ τῆς ἐκ χάριτος γινομένης.

[8] Ὅτι τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσεως μεγαλοφώνως κηρυτέσθω ἡ ἀλήθεια.

[9] Ὅτι τῶν ἐνώσεων καὶ τῶν διακρίσεων διττὸς ὁ λόγος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ

15 ἡνῶται τοῖς εἵδεσι, διήρηται δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, τὰ δὲ διήρηται μὲν τοῖς εἵδεσιν, ἡνῶται δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι· καὶ τῶν ἡνωμένων μὲν τοῖς εἵδεσιν, διηρημένων δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, ἡγουν τῶν διηρημένων μὲν τοῖς εἵδεσιν, ἡνωμένων δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, τὰ μὲν ἀπλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἔνωσιν τε καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν, τὰ δὲ σύνθετον· περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπλῆν ἐχόντων τὴν διττὴν

20 σχέσιν, τὰ νῦν λέγειν ἀφείσθω· οὐ γὰρ τῆς παρούσης σκέψεως ἡ ἐκείνων εἰς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐξάπλωσις. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ σύνθεσιν [D] ἡγουν συμπλοκὴν ἢ κράσιν ἢ ἔνωσιν ἢ ὅπως ποτὲ φίλον καλεῖν τὰς οὐσιώδεις τῶν ἑτεροειδῶν σχέσεις λεκτέον ἡμῖν, τοῖς ὀνοματομάχοις καταλιποῦσι τὰς, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐμφαντικωτέρας ἢ κυριωτέρας τῶν σημασιῶν.

25 Οὐ γὰρ ἐκλογῆς λέξεων ἡμῖν σχολή, ἐπὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπειγομένοις.

[6] CNE 7: supra, p. 168, ll. 1–8

[7] CNE 7: ibid., ll. 10–12

[8] CNE 7: ibid., ll. 20–21

VOG, hewpmrd (= A) [6] 1 post ἔδει add. γὰρ VOG Νεστοριανούς om. VOG 4 τοῦ: τοὺς d κακείνας codd. εἰ: οὐ VOG 5 ante Τριάδι add. ἁγία VOG σεβασμίου VOG 7 τοῦτων V 8 ante συντιθέναι add. ἡ VOG

[7] 9 ὅτι μία ... υἰότης: μίας γὰρ οὐσης τῆς φυσικῆς υἰότητος VOG ἐξ om. VOG 10 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο om. VOG τοῖς Νεστοριανοῖς: αὐτοῖς VOG 11 τῆς<sup>2</sup>: ἧς m

[8] 12 post τῆς add. δὲ VOG

[9] 14 post τῶν<sup>1</sup> add. δὲ VOG 14 μὲν om. VOG 17–18 ἡγουν ... ὑποστάσεσιν supplevi; cf. Loofs, 67 18 τὴν<sup>2</sup> om. O 19 οὖν om. wp 20 ἀφορίσθω d 21 εἰς om. d post ἐξάπλωσις add. καὶ ἄλλως τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διαφεύγει γνώσιν τε καὶ μάθεσιν VOG post κατὰ add. τὴν d 23 τοὺς ὀνοματομάχους O 24 αὐτὸν γ' ἐμφαντικωτέρας G 25 ἡμῖν om. O

Τῶν τοίνυν οὐσιωδῶς ὑπαρχόντων καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνουμένων τὰ μὲν καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει σφύζει τὸν ἴδιον τῆς ὑπάρξεως λόγον, τὰ δὲ συγχεῖ τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζει αὐτὸν, τὴν ἀκρότητα τῶν ἡνωμένων λυμαινόμενα. Τῶν οὖν προτέρων ἢ μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις θεωρουμένη σχέσις ἐν μὲν τι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἔν εἶναι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἀποδεί [2009 A] κινῶσι, τὸ διάφορον σφύζουσα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἐν τῷ ταύτῳ τῆς ἐνότητος. Καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα ἐν μὲν ζώοις ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἢ φυσικοῖς σώμασιν ἢ τῶν αὐθυποστάτων καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ εἶναι δυναμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλα ποιά σχέσις. Οἶον ἐπὶ λαμπάδος ἔστι θεωρησαί· ἄλλο μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἢ θρυαλλίς, ἕτερον δὲ πάλιν ἢ φλογώδης τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσία.

[10] Ὅτι καθόλου φάναι, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνουμένων τροπὴν ἢ σύγχυσιν ὑφίσταται, μὴ οὐχὶ ἑκατέρου τῶν ἐνουμένων παθητικὰς ἔχοντας ποιότητας. Τῶν γὰρ μὴ τοιούτων ἢ μὲν δραστήριος ποιῆσαι ἂν καὶ οὐ πάθοι, ἢ δὲ παθητικὴ πάθοι ἂν καὶ οὐ δράσειεν.

[11] Ὅτι δεῖ τὸ κατὰ τὴν θείαν αἴσθησιν ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῶν καθάραι παντὸς ἄχθους, τοῦ ἐκ προλήψεως συνισταμένου καὶ ἀποκωφούντος τὸν νοῦν, ἥδη δὲ τὸ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων τὸ νέφος ὑποδέξασθαι.

[12] Ὅτι ἀσεβῆς οὐκ αἰδεῖται πρόσωπον ἐντίμου, ἀσήμους δὲ καὶ [B] οὐκ ἐγνωσμένας χρήσεις προκομίζουσι. Δειξάτωσαν πρῶτον ὅτι μὴ τῶν Πατέρων εἰσὶν αἱ χρήσεις τῶν ἐγκρίτων, καὶ τότε ἐκείνας ἄς φάσι προαγέτωσαν.

[13] Οὐκοῦν ὁ τοὺς Πατέρας μὴ δεχόμενος, τοὺς διαφανεῖς τε καὶ ἐν τῇ

[9] CNE 7: supra, p. 170, ll. 3–25

[10] CNE 7: supra, p. 172, ll. 19–22

[11] CNE, introductio ad florilegium: supra, p. 176, ll. 11–13

[12] cf. CNE, introductio ad florilegium: supra, p. 178, ll. 2–5

[13] CNE, introductio ad florilegium: ibid., ll. 16–18

VOG, hewpmrd (= A) [9] 1 post καὶ add. τὸ G ἐνουμένων: ἡνωμένων O; νοουμένων A (txt. VG) καὶ: καὶ VOG 2 λόγον ante τῆς ὑπάρξεως transp. OG τε om. m 3 ἀφανίζει G αὐτὸν suppl. Evans (42, n. 52) λυμαινόμενα m 4 τι: τοι p 5 τῷ: τῶν mr δείκνυσι O 6 σφύζουσα: σφύζοντα codd.; corr. Evans (46, n. 57) ἐν om. O ταύτῳ: αὐτῷ wp 8 ἢ: καὶ G 9 post οἶον add. ὡς VOG 10 ἄλλο: ἄλλον m post γὰρ add. τι VOG

[10] 13 ἑκατέρων G ἐνωμένων d ἐχόντων G 14 τῶν: τούτων d μὴ supplevi e VOG 15 δράσοι O

[11] 16 δεῖ om. VOG καθάραι 17 παντὸς: παντὸς ἐκκαθάρωμεν VOG ἄχθου wrd τόν: τὸ m 18 ἥδη δὲ τὸ: ἢ δείδετο m καὶ om. VOG τὸ om. VOG ὑποδέξασθαι om. VOG

[12] 19 ἀσεβῆς ... ἐντίμου: "Ἀσεβῆς γὰρ," φησὶν, "ὅς οὐκ ἠδέσθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου" VOG 20 post ἐγνωσμένας add. ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων, τούτοις ἐναντίας VOG προκομίζοι VOG δειξάτω VOG 20–2 ὅτι μὴ ... προαγέτωσαν: ὅτι μὴ αὐταὶ ἐκείνων οὐσαι τυγχάνουσι καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνας δεξαίμεθα VOG 21 ἄς iter. d 22 προαγέτωσαν wr

[13] 23 τε om. e τῇ: τὴν mr

Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ περιβοήτους, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαταττόμενος τούτοις, προφανῶς τῇ διαταγῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνθέστηκε.

[14] Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνώσεως, τὴν τε μίαν ὑπόστασιν τῶν δύο φύσεων;

[15] Καὶ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς διαφορᾶς ὄντα δηλωτικὰ τῶν οὐσιωδῶς ἡνωμένων φύσεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[16] Ὁ τρόπος δηλαδὴ τῆς ἐνώσεως οὐσιωδῶς ἀλλ' οὐ σχετικῶς γέγονεν· ὡς εἶναι ἐν τῇ τελείᾳ ἀνθρωπότητι τὸν Λόγον, ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν "ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος", κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον, συνυφαστῶς, καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ ὅλου ὄρον

10 συντελών μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν.

[17] Ἐπειδήπερ, ὡς ἔφημεν, μὴ περὶ λέξεων ἢ διαμάχῃ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα τούτων ἐνώσεως τε καὶ συμφυίας, ἣν οἱ Πατέρες οὐσιωδῶς γεγενῆσθαι ἐφρόνησαν, Νεστόριος δὲ σχετικὴν τε καὶ γνωμικὴν ταύτην εἰσάγει.

15 [18] Ὅτι εἰδός ἐστιν οἶον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος, βοῦς· ὁμοίως γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης, καθ' ὃ ζῶον, ἐστὶ γένος, καθ' ὃ θνητὸς καὶ λογικὸς, διαφέρει, καθ' ὃ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, εἶδος· οὕτω καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι. Γένος δὲ καὶ διαφορὰ καὶ εἶδος συμπληρωτικὰ τῆς ἐκάστου εἰσὶν οὐσίας· διὸ καὶ οὐσιώδη λέγονται. Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς, ἐπουσιώδη, ἐπειδὴ ὑπάρχει τινὶ· τὸ δὲ 20 συμβεβηκὸς πόρρω ὑπάρχει, ἐπειδὴ πῇ μὲν ὑπάρχει, πῇ δὲ οὐχ ὑπάρχει· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ χωριστὰ καλεῖται. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον τὸ γελαστικόν· τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκὸς τὸ μέλαν, τὸ κινεῖσθαι, τὸ ἵστασθαι, τὸ καθῆσθαι.

[14] DTN 42: supra, p. 442, ll. 3–4

[15] DTN 42: supra, p. 440, ll. 9–10

[16] DTN 42: supra, p. 442, l. 13–p. 444, l. 3

[17] DTN 42: supra, p. 444, ll. 10–14

[18] Fragmentum incertum 1: supra, p. 574, ll. 1–8

VOG, hewpmrd (= A) [13] 1 ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαταττόμενος τούτοις om. VOG 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ ante διαταγῇ transp. OG

[15] 5 ὄντα: ὅτ' ἂν O post δηλωτικὰ add. ἢ O

[16] 7 οὐ: οὐκ d γεγονώς VOP 8 τὸν Λόγον om. P 9 ὑφεστῶς e

[17] 11 ἐπειδὴ P ἔφημεν: ἔφην VOP 13 Νεστόριος: ὑμεῖς VOP 14 τε om. P γνωμικὴν: ἀγνωμικὴν O εἰσάγει: εἰσάγετε VOP 15 εἰδός ... βοῦς om. m hewpmrd (= A)

[18] 16 καθ' ὃ: καθ' ὃν m 18 εἰσὶν: ἐστὶν r 20 πόρρω m 21 ἔστι μὲν: ἔστι μὰς r; ἔτι μὰς m



[19] Ὅτι τῶν γινομένων ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπὸς, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ παρακολούθημα, τὸ γνήσιον, ἡ τάξις, ἡ ἀποδεικτικὴ, <τὸ> τοῦ χάριν ἥτοι δηλωτικὸν τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἡ αἰτία, ἡ ἐπιγραφή.

## Appendix IV

A tabular comparison of the extracts in Leontius's florilegia with the florilegia of other ancient authors.

### Symbols:

- \*: same *incipit* and *explicit* as extract in Leontius.
- ↑: extract begins before Leontius's *incipit*, has same *explicit*.
- ↓: extract has same *incipit* as that of Leontius, ends after his *explicit*.
- ↕: extract begins before Leontius's *incipit* and ends after his *explicit*.
- ⤴: extract begins before Leontius's *incipit* and ends before his *explicit*.
- ⤵: extract begins after Leontius's *incipit* and ends after his *explicit*.
- : shorter extract, contained within that of Leontius.
- M: extract only mentioned (in summary by another writer), of uncertain extent.
- ⋈: two extracts, separate in Leontius, are connected in the other florilegium.

For abbreviations, cf. key to the apparatus of Leontius's florilegia.

[19] Fragmentum incertum 2: *ibid.*, ll. 9–11

hewpmrd (= A) [19] 1 γινομένων wp 2 τάξις m <τὸ> addidi τοῦ om.  
rd ἥτοι: ἡ τὸν m τοῦ<sup>2</sup> om. m 3 ἡ αἰτία: ἴσως ἡ αἰτίας conj. scriptor in marg. d

FLORILEGIUM: CNE (Columns 1-26)

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7   | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22  | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| (a) JOAN. CASS., <i>De Inc. Dem.</i>    |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (b) CONC. EPHES.                        |   |   |   |   |   |   | ↑ ↓ |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (c) CYR. ALEX., <i>Ad mon. Aeg.</i>     |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (d) THDT., <i>Eran.</i>                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |     |    | *  | ↓  |    |
| (e) LEO, <i>Tomus I</i>                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     | *  | *  |    |    |
| (f) <i>Tomus II</i>                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     | *  | *  |    |    |
| (g) CONC. CHALC., <i>Ad Marc.</i>       |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |     |    |    | -  |    |
| (h) <i>Coll. Sangerm.</i>               |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (i) TIM. AEL., <i>Ep. de Isala</i>      |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (j) <i>Ref. Conc. Chalc.</i>            |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (k) GELASIUS, <i>De Duab. NaT.</i>      |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (l) VAT. GR. 1431                       |   |   |   |   |   |   | ↑   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (m) FLOR. CYR.                          |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (n) JOAN. CAES., <i>Apol. Conc. Ch.</i> | - |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    | M  |    | *  |    |    | ↑ ↓ | *  | *  |    |    |
| (o) SEV. ANT., <i>Ad Neph.</i>          |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    | -  |    |    |
| (p) Phil.                               |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22  | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| (q) Ctr. Gram.                          | - | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓   | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  | ↓  |
| (r) Ad Serg.                            | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   | -  | -  | -  | -  |
| (s) Antijul.                            |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    | ↑ ↓ | *  | *  |    |    |
| (t) Exp. Fid.                           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (u) FULG. RUSP., Ep. 14                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (v) INNOC. MAR., <i>Ep. ad Thom.</i>    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (w) LEONT. JER., <i>Ctr. Mon.</i>       |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (x) LEONT. BYZ., CA                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (y) DTN                                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (z) EPHR. AM., <i>Ad Domn. et Ioan.</i> |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (aa) Ad Or. Mon.                        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (bb) Def. Cyr.                          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (cc) JUSTN., <i>Ctr. Mon.</i>           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (dd) Conf. Rect. Fid.                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (ee) FAC. HERM., <i>Def. Tr. Cap.</i>   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (ff) COD. NOVAR. 30                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (gg) RUST. DIAC., <i>Syn.</i>           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |
| (hh) PAMPHILUS                          | * | ↓ | * |   |   |   | ↑ |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  |    | ↑ ↓ |    |    |    | -  |

FLORILEGIUM: CNE (Columns 1-26)—continued

[illegible]

|       |                            |   |       |     |       |   |     |   |   |   |   |        |   |       |
|-------|----------------------------|---|-------|-----|-------|---|-----|---|---|---|---|--------|---|-------|
| (ww)  | JOAN. DAM., Ctr. Jac.      | - |       |     |       |   |     | - | * | * | * | *<br>↑ |   | ↓ ↗ ↑ |
| (xx)  | NICEPH., Antirrh. II       |   |       |     |       |   | ↓   |   | * | * | * |        |   | ↖ - ↘ |
| (yy)  | EUTH. ZIE., Pan.           |   |       |     |       |   | ↓ ↑ |   |   |   |   |        |   | ↖ - ↘ |
| (zz)  | THEOR., Disp.              | ‡ | ↓ < ↓ | ↑ > | ↓ < ↓ | * | /-  |   | * |   |   |        |   | - / - |
| (aaa) | FLOR. EDES. ANON.          |   |       |     |       |   |     |   |   |   |   | ↓      |   |       |
| (bbb) | FLOR. B.M. SYR. ADD. 12157 |   |       |     |       |   |     |   |   | ↑ | * | *      | * |       |
| (ccc) | FLOR. LEN. 131             |   |       |     |       |   |     |   | * | * | * | *      | * | -     |
| (ddd) | FLOR. MARC. 573            |   |       |     |       |   |     |   |   | * | * | *      | * |       |
| (eee) | FLOR. VAT. 1455            |   |       |     |       |   |     |   | * |   |   |        | * |       |

[illegible][illegible]





FLORILEGIUM: CNE (Columns 67-88)

|     | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76    | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| (a) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (b) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (c) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (d) |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (e) |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (f) |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (g) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (h) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (i) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (j) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (k) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (l) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    | ↓     |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    | ↑  | ↓  |    | ↑  |
| (m) |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    | *? |    |    |    |    | ↓  | ↓  | ↗  | ↑  |
| (n) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -  |
| (o) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |       |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    | ↓  | ↓  | ↗  | ↑  |
| (p) |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    | 5 X - |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    | ↓  | ↓  | ↗  | ↑  |
| (q) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 4 X - |    |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↓  |

|      | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| (r)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (s)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (t)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (u)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (v)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (w)  |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    | -  | -  |    |    |    | -  | ↑  | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    | -  |
| (x)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (y)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (z)  |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    | -  |
| (aa) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (bb) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (cc) |    |    |    |    | -  |    |    | ↑  | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |
| (dd) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ee) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ff) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (gg) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (hh) |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    | -  | ↑  |    |    |    | *  | *  | -  |
| (ii) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  |    |
| (jj) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -  | *  | *  |    |
| (kk) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  |    |
| (ll) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  |    |
| (mm) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

FLORILEGIUM: CNE (Columns 67-88)—continued

|       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| (nn)  | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
| (oo)  |    | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (pp)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (qq)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (rr)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ss)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (tt)  |    | —  | —  | —  | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    | —  |    |
| (uu)  | ↑  | —  | —  | *  | *  |    |    |    |    | —  |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | ↑  | —  |    |    |    | *  |
| (vv)  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | —  |    |    |    |    |
| (ww)  |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | —  |    |    |    |    | ↑  | *  | ↓  | —  | *  |    | *  |    |
| (xx)  |    |    | *  | *  | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  | *  | *  | *  |    | *  |
| (yy)  |    |    | —  | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | —  | *  |
| (zz)  | —  | —  | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    | —  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |
| (aaa) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (bbb) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ccc) | *  | —  | *  | —  | *  | *  | *  | *  | *  |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  |
| (ddd) |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (eee) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

*FLORILEGIUM: CA*

## TESTIMONIA:

[illegible]



FLORILEGIUM: DTN (Columns 1-28)—continued

TESTIMONIA:

|                                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| (s) INNOC. MAR.                       |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (t) LEONT. JER, <i>Ctr. Mon.</i>      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (u) LEONT. BYZ, CNE                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (v) JUSTIN., <i>Ctr. Mon.</i>         |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (w) Conf. Rect. Fid.                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (x) Chr. Tr. Cap.                     |   |   |   |   |   | * |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (y) CONC. CONST. II                   | - |   |   |   |   | - |   |   |   |    |    |    | -  |    |    | *  |    | *  |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  |
| (z) VIGILIUS, <i>Const. II</i>        |   |   |   |   |   | - |   |   |   |    |    |    | -  |    |    | *  |    | *  |    | ↑  |    |    |    |    |    | *  | *  | *  |
| (aa) FAC. HERM., <i>Def. Tr. Cap.</i> |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (bb) PELAGIUS II, Ep. 3               |   |   |   |   |   | - |   |   |   |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (cc) RUST. DIAC., <i>Syn.</i>         |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (dd) PAMPHILUS                        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ee) EULOGIUS, Or. 4                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ff) <i>De Sectis IX</i>              |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (gg) SYN. HISPAL. (619)               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (hh) SYN. LAT. (649)                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| (ii) Ps.-JOAN. MARON                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

|                                  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (ji) GEORG. KAPH.                |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (kk) ANAST. SIN, <i>Hod. X</i>   |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (ll) Doctr. Patr.                |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (mm) JOAN. DAM., <i>Ctr. Jac</i> |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (nn) THEOD. BAR KONI             |  |  |  |  |  | - |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (oo) NICEPH., <i>Antirrh. II</i> |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (pp) EUTH. ZIG., <i>Pan.</i>     |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (qq) THEOR., <i>Disp.</i>        |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (rr) FLOR. MARC 573              |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (ss) B. M. SYR. ADD. 12154       |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (tt) B. M. SYR. ADD. 12155       |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (uu) B. M. SYR. ADD. 12156       |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (vv) B. M. SYR. ADD. 14669       |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | * |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

FLORILEGIUM: DTN (Columns 29-62)

## TESTIMONIA:

|     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-------|----|--|----|----|----|----|
| 29  | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55    | 56    | 57 | 58   | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 |
| (a) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | ↓  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       | ↑     |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (b) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | ↓  | ↓  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (c) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -     |       |    | <div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div> |    |    |    |    |
| (d) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (e) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (f) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       | -     |    |  |    |    | ↕  |    |
| (g) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  | -  | ↓  | -  |    |    | ↑  | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 3 × - |       |    |  |    |    | ↕  |    |
| (h) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (i) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (j) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       | -     |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (k) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       | -     |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (l) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2 × - |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (m) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    | 2 × - |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (n) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | -  | -  | *  |       | 7 × - |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (o) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 3 × - |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (p) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 3 × - |       |    |  |    |    |    |    |
| (q) |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       | -     |    |  |    |    |    |    |

[illegible]

FLORILEGIUM: DTN (Columns 29-62)—continued

## TESTIMONIA:

[illegible]

## AFA

## TESTIMONIA:

[illegible]



## Index to Introduction

- Agapetus of Rome, Pope 19  
 Akoimetai (= "Sleepless monks") 32,  
     (n. 190)  
 Alcison of Nicopolis 52 (n. 345)  
 Ammonius Hermeiou (6th century  
     commentator) 30 (n. 175), 53, 91,  
     94 (n. 519)  
 Anastasius I, Emperor (491-518) 2  
 Anastasius of Sinai 14, 57  
 Andrew of Sidon 52 (n. 344), 71  
 Anthimus of Trebizond, patriarch of  
     Constantinople 19  
 anthropology, theological 40  
 Antioch, city of 6  
 Antipater of Bostra (critic of Origen) 9f.  
 "Aphthartodocetists" 39-41  
 Apollinarian school 50-2  
 Arians 7  
 Aristotle, Neoplatonic commentaries on 3,  
     77  
 Athanasius of Alexandria 51, 81  
  
 Balsamon, George 48 (n. 321)  
 Barsanuphius, monk 15  
 Barth, Karl 74  
 Basil the Cilician 22f.  
  
 Canisius, Heinrich (editor) 98  
 Chalcedon, Council of (451) 1  
 Christology: corruptibility of Christ's  
     human nature 42-4  
     double consubstantiality of Christ 38  
     formulas: "from two natures" 38f.  
         natures distinct "only in concept" 35,  
         38  
         "one nature of the Word, made  
         flesh" 38  
     manner of union 31, 36, 44, 47, 76  
     models of 2, 14f., 36, 38  
     terminology of Chalcedon 75  
*Collatio* of 532 with non-Chalcedonians 17  
  
 Colonna family, Rome 78  
 conceptual distinction of natures 35  
 Councils, Church: Chalcedon (451) 1 f.  
     Constantinople I (381) 1  
     Constantinople II (553) 66, 76f.  
     Nicaea (325) 1  
 Cyriacus, monk of Judaeen desert 14  
 Cyril of Alexandria 2, 47, 80  
     *Against Diodore and Theodore* 67  
     *Thesaurus de Trinitate* 81  
 Cyril of Skythopolis 6-18  
  
*De Sectis* 16, 57, 73  
 Didymus the Blind 7  
 Diodore of Tarsus 6, 45-7, 65  
*Doctrina Patrum* (eighth-century  
     florilegium) 16, 56-8, 67f., 92f.  
 Domitian, abbot of Martyrius (later bishop  
     of Ancyra) 8ff., 11, 12 (n. 65), 19  
  
 Enhypostatic natures 28 (n. 159), 73-5.  
 Ephrem of Amida, Patriarch of Antioch 3,  
     10, 40, 57  
 Eusebius of Dorylaeum 65  
 Eusebius, presbyter (*πάππας*), treasurer of  
     Church of Constantinople 8, 10, 17  
 Eustathius, monk, defender of  
     Chalcedon 78  
 Euthymius Zigabenus, twelfth-century  
     theologian 16, 54, 58, 93f.  
 Evagrius of Pontus 7, 17  
 "Excerpta Leontina" 53, 89  
  
 Facundus of Hermiane 6 (n. 29), 12 (n. 65)  
 Firminus, monastery of (Judaeen desert) 8  
  
 florilegia in Leontius's works 54-72  
     anonymous: Cod. Lenin Gr. 131 57 (n.  
         369)  
     Cod. Marcianus Gr 131 57 (n. 368)  
     sources of florilegia 54-56

- Gaza, synod of (539/540? 542?) 10 (n. 55)  
 Gelasius, abbot of Great Lavra 9f.  
 George, abbot of Great Lavra 11  
 Germanus of Constantinople 27 (n. 149)  
 Great Lavra (Judaean desert) 8f.  
 Gregory of Nazianzus 38  
 Gregory Thaumaturgus 51
- Harnack, Adolf von 73f.  
 Hombergen, Daniel 13 (n. 70), 74  
 "Home Synod" of Constantinople, 536 18ff  
 Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus 8 (n. 44), 10 (n. 55), 17, 52f.  
 hypostasis 27ff., 76  
 hypostatic union 76f.
- Ibas of Edessa 6  
 incorruptibility of Christ's humanity 40–44  
 Innocent of Maroneia, *Letter to Thomas* 17
- Januensis* 27 (manuscript in Genoa) 80  
 John of Caesaraea 3, 40 (n. 265), 57, 62  
 John of Damascus 16, 57f., 93  
 John the Hesychast (monk, disciple of Sabas) 9  
 John of Skythopolis, "neo-Chalcedonian" 22, 52 (n. 345)  
 (Ps.-) John Maron, *Libellus Fidei* 58  
 John Maxentius 3  
 Julian of Halicarnassus 4f., 39f., 42 (n. 276), 62  
 Julius of Rome 51f.  
 Justin I, Emperor (518–27) 2  
 Justinian I, Emperor (527–65) 2f., 5  
 Christological position 40, 52 (n. 345)  
 Christological writings 57, 78  
 edict against "three chapters" 12 (n. 65)
- Laudianus Graecus* 92<sup>b</sup> (manuscript in Oxford) 79f.  
 Leontius of Byzantium, life of 3–25  
*Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum* 50–3, 70f.  
 at *collatio* of 532 17  
 at "home synod" of 536 20f  
 author of the six treatises 15–17
- Christology of 49, 72–8  
 chronology of works 49 (n. 326)  
 "collected edition" of works in antiquity 50  
*Contra Aphthartodocetas* 39–44  
*Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* 27–32  
*Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos* 44–50  
 designation of author in works 4  
 early life and education 4  
*Epaporēmata (Thirty Chapters against Severus)* 37–9  
*Epilyseis (Solution of Arguments of Severus)* 32–7  
 florilegia in works 54–72  
 fragments attributed to Leontius 53–4  
 manuscripts of works 78–88  
 Mary, understanding of 42  
 name common in sixth century 15  
 opponents, allusions to 5  
 Origenism of 12–15, 48  
 passibility of Christ in humanity 42  
 political strategy 48–9  
 scholia in manuscripts 94–6  
 "strict Chalcedonian" 75f.  
 "substantial union" in Christ 77  
 terminology 77  
 works 4, 25–54
- Leontius of Jerusalem 57, 73  
 Liberatus, archdeacon of Carthage, chronicler 11 (n. 58)  
 Loofs, Friedrich 73
- Macarius, patriarch of Jerusalem 11  
 Mai, Cardinal Angelo 96  
 Marcianus, monastery of 9  
*Marcianus Graecus* Z 575 (manuscript in Venice) 83  
 Martyrius, monastery of (Judaean desert) 8  
 Mary: possessed normal human nature 42  
 Maximus Confessor 78, 79  
 Melitas, abbot of Great Lavra 8f.  
 Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople 11 (n. 58), 18f.  
 "monophysites" 7

- Nature: definable reality 76  
 relation of human nature to the supernatural 43  
 as uniting many hypostases 30  
 Nature of Christ: composite? 34  
 distinction of natures 35f  
 singular? 34
- Nicephorus I, Patriarch of Constantinople 57, 93  
 Nonnus, monk of Judaean desert 7f., 9f., 11, 17, 94  
 "Neo-Chalcedonian" Christology 2, 13, 49
- Nestorians, sixth century 6, 32, 46  
 New Lavra (Judaean desert) 7f., 9  
 Nicephorus I, Patriarch of Constantinople 57, 93  
 Nicetas Choniates, twelfth-century chronicler 54, 94  
 number, as individualizing generic substance 33, 38
- "one composite nature" in Christ 34  
 Origen, condemnation of (sixth century) 11, 48f.  
 Origenists, sixth century 6–15, 48f  
 Otto, Stefan 74
- Parisinus Graecus* 1335 (manuscript in Paris) 82f.  
*Parisinus Suppl. Gr.* 163 (manuscript in Paris) 80, 84f.  
 Paul of Samosata 46, 67f.  
 Dialogue with Malchion 82  
 Paul the Tabennesiot, Patriarch of Alexandria 10  
 Pelagius, Roman deacon 10 (n. 55), 11 (n. 58)  
 Peter, bishop of Apamea 19  
 Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem 10  
*Philippicus Graecus* 80 (manuscript in Berlin) 82  
 Philoxenus of Mabbug 23 (n. 136)  
 Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople 78  
 Possevino, Antonio, SJ 98f.  
 Proclus of Constantinople 47
- properties, natural 39  
*prosōpon* (perceptible role, "persona") 76
- Rabbula of Edessa 47  
 relationship, category of 30, 38  
 Relton, Herbert 74
- Sabas, St 7f., 18  
 Salviati, Cardinal Giovanni 78, 97  
 Saoli, Filippo, bishop of Brugnato 81  
 "scholastic" theology in sixth century 3  
 "Scythian monks" 3  
 Serapion of Thmuis 80  
 Seripando, Cardinal Girolamo 97  
 Severus of Antioch 4, 19, 33, 53 (n. 344), 57, 62f.  
 "singular natures" 34  
 Sirleto, Cardinal Guglielmo 97  
 Sirmond, Jacques 82  
 "Sleepless monks": see Akoimetai  
 Sophronius, abbot of monastery of Theodosius 9f.  
 soul-body analogy for two natures in Christ 29
- Theodora, Empress 19  
 Theodore Abu Qurra 81  
 Theodore Askidas, monk of New Lavra (later bishop of Caesaraea) 8ff., 11, 12 (n. 65), 19, 48  
 Theodore of Mopsuestia 6, 45–7, 65  
 fragments of works on Christology 65  
 Theodore of Skythopolis, critic of Origen 14  
 Theodoret of Cyrus 6  
 Theodosius, Monastery of 9  
 Theorian, twelfth-century controversialist 58  
 "Three chapters" controversy in West 6, 49 (n. 325)  
 Timothy Aelurus, anti-Chalcedonian 66f.  
 Timothy of Berytus, Apollinarian 70, 80  
 Titus of Bostra 80  
 Torres, Francisco, SJ (Turrianus) 7, 81, 95–100.

- "*Hoplothea*" (theological armory) 98f.  
 scholarly activities 97f.  
 Trent, Council of 97  
 Trinity: concepts related to Christology 38, 75  
 Union in Christ 31, 36, 39  
   "final product" (*apotelesma*) 36  
   not same as nature 39
- Valentinus, Apollinarian 70  
*Vaticanus Graecus* 2195 (manuscript) 78f., 85f.  
 Vigilus of Rome, Pope 10 (n. 55), 66  
 Zachary of Mytilene 81  
 Zeno, emperor (474–91) 1  
 Zoilus, Patriarch of Alexandria 11  
 Zoöras, Stylite of Constantinople 19

## Index to Works of Leontius

### English Translation

- accidents distinguish hypostases 308f.  
 Agapius, Apollinarian 542f.  
 Andrew, bishop of Sidon 560f.  
 anthropological model of  
   Incarnation 134–41, 150–63  
 Apollinarian community 526f.  
 Apollinarius, hid behind Arian  
   conflict 446f.  
   revered teacher 542f.  
   works 528–35, 542–59  
 Arius 128f., 428f., 446f.  
 Athanasius: rejected by "Nestorians" 416f.  
   corresponded with Apollinarius 438f.  
   used as pseudonym by  
     Apollinarians 526f., 558f., 568f.
- Barsaumas, disciple of Theodore 426f.  
 Basil of Caesarea 440f.  
 begetting of Son as human  
   impossible 486–91
- Cappadocian Fathers: rejected by  
   "Nestorians" 416f.  
 Cataphronius, Apollinarian 534–37  
 "Catholic" Epistles rejected by  
   Theodore 422f.  
 Chalcedon, Council of: claimed by  
   "Nestorians" 416f.  
   rejects "Nestorian" Christology 444f.  
 characteristics, natural 308–11  
   hypostatic 326f.  
 characteristics unite Son to Father, to us, in  
   different ways 326–9  
 Christ as new Adam 378–81  
   called "Son of God" as a holy human  
   being 476f.  
   inadequate models of his personal  
   unity 444f.  
   must be *like* us to save us 348f., 354f.
- Chronicles, Books of, rejected by  
   Theodore 424f.  
 circumscription of Logos in  
   Incarnation 140–5  
 completeness of Christ's humanity and  
   divinity 324f.  
 "composite nature" in Christ cannot be  
   simple 318–23  
 composition 282–5, 332f.  
 conception, bearing of Jesus by Mary  
   352f.  
   his gradual human development 384f.  
 confusion of natures 168–75, 302f.  
 consubstantiality of Christ with Father and  
   us 324f.  
 controversy with Antiochenes is about  
   "manner of the Mystery" 442f.  
 corruptibility of Christ's flesh 364–9  
 creed of Nicaea revised by Theodore 424f.  
 Cyril of Alexandria 440f., 446f.
- death of Christ 366f., 376f.  
 difference not the same as separation  
   316f.  
 differences, constitutive 324f.  
 Diocaesarea, Letter of Apollinarius to  
   bishops assembled there 560f.  
 Diodore of Tarsus 494–9  
   controversy with Apollinarius 554f.  
   indwelling of Word in Jesus 494f.  
   no "two births" of Son 496f.  
   Christ Son of David 496f.  
   saving purpose of death of Christ 498f.  
   Christ Son of God "by grace" 494f.  
   Christ Temple of God 496f.  
 Diodorus, Apollinarian 534f.  
 Dionysius, Apollinarian 548f.  
 distinction of agents in sayings of  
   Christ 488f.

- division: actuality precedes concept 298f., 302f.
- elements united: complete and incomplete 304f.
- Epiphanius of Salamis 434f.
- exchange of qualities 170f., 342f.
- exchange of names for Christ 476–9
- Eucharistic presence as test of Christology 492f.
- Eunomius 426f.
- Eusebius of Dorylaeum, *Contestatio* 500–5
- Eutyches 128f., 444f.
- Ezra, Book of: rejected by Theodore 424f.
- flesh of Christ: like my flesh 348f., 536–9, 542–5  
     same substance as God (according to Apollinarius) 546–9, 552f.
- formulas for speaking of union in Christ: less important than the realities united 444f.  
     “one nature after the union” 292f.  
     “one nature, from two natures” 314–17, 330f.  
     “one nature, made flesh” 294f., 320–3
- Gnostics 342f.
- Gregory of Nazianzus 440f., 568f.
- Gregory of Nyssa 440f.
- Gregory the Wonder-Worker (used as pseudonym by Apollinarians) 438f., 526f., 558f., 568f.
- Hell: its punishments do not corrupt bodies 364f.  
     Christ “not abandoned to Hell” 368–71
- heresies and synods 286–9
- Homonius, Apollinarian; correspondent of Timothy of Berytus 542–59
- human nature: one, although composite 150–55
- humanity of Christ capable of corruption, was not corrupted 368–71  
     did not pre-exist Incarnation 306f.  
     pre-lapsarian in qualities? 376–9  
     “subsists in the Logos” 306f.
- undergoes normal human experiences and needs 344f., 350f., 372–5, 378f.  
     works our salvation 346f.
- hypostasis, definition of 126f., 134f., 272f., 308f.  
     relationship to nature (substance) 132–5, 284–7, 296f., 326–9  
     possibility of two complete hypostases in Christ 144–7
- Imitation of Christ 380f.
- impassibility of Word 342f.
- Incarnation of Word, Apollinarian model of 560–5
- incorruptibility of humanity of Christ 342f.
- indwelling as mode of divine presence in Christ, us 454–8, 486f., 494f., 508–11  
     God dwells in Christ “as in a Son” 456–9, 490f.  
     not simply by divine activity 522f.
- Introduction (*προθεωρία*) 114–23
- Job, Book of 422f.
- John Chrysostom: rejected by “Nestorians” 416f.  
     regained Theodore to monastic life 420f.
- Joshua, son of Nun 474f.
- Jovius, Apollinarian 534f.
- Julian (of Halicarnassus) 340f.
- Julius of Rome, Pope (used as pseudonym by Apollinarians) 526f., 558f., 568f.
- Leo, annihilated position of Eutyches 444f.
- Macedonius 446f.
- Manichees 342f.
- Marcellus of Ancyra 444f.
- Mary “bore a man like us” (Paul of Samosata) 504–7, 510–13  
     not transformed in body to bear Christ 350–5  
     conceived Jesus by power of the Spirit 352f.
- miracles of Christ 360–3

- mixing of soul and body requires divine power 300f.
- modality 162–9
- names, common and proper 328f.
- natural activities: related to preternatural and supernatural 358–61
- nature (substance):  
     “one composite nature” in Christ 282–5  
     nature and the conception (*ἐμίνωια*) of nature 290–3  
     characterized by consistent qualities 306f., 314f.  
     nature as generic and as individual 270–3  
     nature and hypostasis: how related 132–5, 178f., 326f.  
     characterized by one intelligible substance 314f.  
     nature and union 300f.  
     Christ must be two natures after the union 324f.  
     unique objects said to be one nature 284–7
- natures of Christ share qualities and experiences with each other 364f.
- “Nestorians”: condemned along with Nestorius himself 446f.  
     critical of monastic life 416–19  
     Leontius’s early experiences with them 412–15  
     model of Christ’s person 444f., 476f.  
     only recognize Diodore and Theodore as authorities 416f.  
     political influence 416f.  
     resemble modalist Trinitarian theologians 444f.
- Nestorius 128f., 342f., 436f., 444f.  
     attitudes of current “Nestorians” to him 418–21  
     sayings quoted 500–5
- number and individuation 272–7  
     number not cause of separation 316f., 318f., 330–3
- oneness by union different from natural oneness 156f.
- Origen 438f.  
     otherness of humanity and divinity 318f.
- Paregorius 534f.
- participation of humanity in divine titles 478f.  
     mutual participation of God and flesh in each other 546f.
- parts, perfect and imperfect 136–41
- Paul of Samosata 444f., 500–13  
     followers (“Paulinians”) 530f.  
     letter of synod condemning him 506–9
- perfection, incorruptibility, given to us gradually by grace 382f.
- Photinus of Sirmium 444f.
- Polemios, teacher of Timothy of Berytus 534f., 542f.
- political character of debates on Christ 126–9
- Proclus of Constantinople, refuted Nestorius 446f.
- properties belong to things, indicate natures 324f.
- Psalms, inscriptions of: rejected by Theodore 422f.
- Rabbula of Edessa, attacked by “Nestorians” 446f.
- relation, category of 316f.
- relationships defining Christ 146–51
- resurrection of bodies: union of incomplete parts 304f.
- Sabellius 128f.
- Sarapion (of Antioch?) 438–41, 542f.
- Severus (of Antioch) 340f.
- Song of Songs: rejected by Theodore of Mopsuestia 422f.
- sonship, natural 168f.
- soul of Christ necessary for our salvation 348f.
- soul–body analogy for Incarnation 140f.
- sufferings of Christ 354–7  
     not due to sin on his part 358f.  
     result of his human nature 358–61

- supernatural does not abrogate the  
natural 358f.
- synthesis of two natures in Christ 288–93
- terminology same for Trinity, Incarnation  
(relying on Gregory of  
Nazianzus) 128–31, 178f., 276–83,  
304f., 318f.
- testimony of the Fathers 176–9, 270f.,  
286–91, 296f., 326f., 374f., 386f.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia 420–37  
“assumed man” Christology 482f.,  
490–3.
- baptism of Jesus the start of special  
relationship to God 464f., 478f.
- divided Christology 424f., 430f., 472f.,  
478f.
- exegetical positions 420–5, 450f.
- Eucharistic anaphora of 424f.
- grace given to Jesus to make him model  
for us 482f.
- indwelling, modes of 452–9, 470f., 482f.  
*On the Incarnation*, hard to find 448f.
- Jesus specially guided by Word 458–63
- Jesus led by the Holy Spirit 464f.
- Jesus’s fear of death 434f., 470f.
- Jesus’s limited knowledge, virtue 432f.
- natures of God and man remain distinct  
in Christ 466–9
- problem text: John 1.14 468f.
- questions divine judgment 426f.
- rejects (most of) Book of Job, Song  
of Songs, inscriptions of Psalms,  
Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Catholic  
Epistles from Biblical canon  
422–5
- revises Creed of Nicaea 424f.
- similarity to Eunomius, other  
heretics 426f., 436f.
- temptations of Christ 480f.
- theological positions: creation, the fall,  
angels, Antichrist 428–31.
- union of Logos and human in  
*prosōpon* 466f., 474f.
- works translated into Armenian,  
Syriac 428f.
- virtues of Jesus 480f.
- Theophilus of Alexandria 420f.
- Timothy of Berytus, radical disciple of  
Apollinarius 438f., 542f., 568–71
- torch, analogy of 170–3
- transformation of the natural: in qualities,  
not natural structure 360f.
- unconfused realities of humanity and  
divinity in Christ 316f.
- union, logical (and distinction) 168–71,  
326f.
- of divine and human contains the  
incommunicable 300f.
- does not abolish Christ’s natural human  
qualities 354–7
- manner of 162–9
- natural or by grace 168f.
- of natures, not of hypostases 294f.
- by relationship 166f.
- substantial, concrete union of  
essences 164f., 444f.
- substantial union denied by Paul of  
Samosata 508f.
- unconfused and inseparable union 166f.,  
172–5, 302–5
- Uranus 534f.
- Valentinus (Apollinarian writer) 526f.
- virginal conception of Jesus: unique 554f.
- Wisdom dwelt uniquely in Christ 510–13
- Word acts as the “inner man” in  
Christ 444f., 508f.

## Greek Terms

- ἀκέφαλοι (abusive name for  
anti-Chalcedonians) 270f.
- ἄκρα ἔνωσις 544
- ἀκροφιλοσόφους 126
- ἄλλος, ἄλλοιός 272
- ἀντηνδοσις τῶν ἰδιωμάτων 170–2
- ἀνθρωποτόκος (title for Mary) 482–5
- ἀπλή φύσις 318
- ἀποτέλεσμα of union 284, 294, 304
- ἀρχαί, πρῶται ἀρχαί (of our  
understanding of Christ) 442
- ἄφθαρτος (of Christ’s humanity) 340f.
- διαίρεσις 292
- διάκρισις 298
- διαφορά 324
- Ἐκθεσις συμφωνοῦσα τῇ τῶν τιῇ 526
- ἐναντιοδοκῆται 128, 338
- ἐνέργεια of God gives life to Christ’s  
flesh 522
- ἐνυπόστατον 132–4
- ἐνοίκησις (of God in creation, saints,  
Christ) 452–8, 482f.
- ἐνότης ζωτική of Word and flesh 556
- ἔνωσις (different from τὸ φύσει ἔν) 156
- ἄκρα ἔνωσις 544
- causes Christ’s flesh to be considered  
divine 544
- causes Christ’s flesh to be  
incorruptible 348
- in category of τὸ πρὸς τι 316f.
- ἡ κατ’ οὐσίαν τε καὶ οὐσιώδης καὶ  
ἐνυπόστατος ἔνωσις 164; cf. 444
- ἔνωσις καθ’ ὑπόστασιν 520
- ἔνωσις κατὰ σχέσιν 166
- μέγα μυστήριον τῆς ἐνώσεως 380
- τελεωτάτη ἔνωσις 552
- ἐπίνοια 288–92
- as distinguished from ἐνέργεια 290
- ἐπουράνιος ἄνθρωπος (Apollinarian  
phrase) 564
- εὐδοκία (as mode of divine  
indwelling) 454–6
- θεοδόχος ἄνθρωπος (referring to  
Jesus) 516
- θεοτόκος (title for Mary) 484, 512
- ἰδιώματα (ιδιότητες)  
οὐσιωποιοί 308–10, 318,  
324
- κρᾶσις 552
- μέρη 160–2
- μεσίτης 506f.
- μίξις 172
- οἰκονομία 296
- ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἡμῖν (of  
Christ) 324, 328, 542–6
- does apply to flesh of Christ and  
Father 546
- does not apply to flesh of Christ and  
Father 528, 534, 538
- παθητικαὶ δυνάμεις (of soul) 142
- παθητόν (of Christ’s humanity) 364
- παράδειγμα (Christ) 380
- περιγραφή (of soul, Logos) 140
- πρόσωπον as focus of union in Christ for  
Theodore 466–8
- σάρκωσις (of Word) 532, 554
- συγκατάβασις in Incarnation 300
- σύγχυσις 168, 292–4
- συμβεβηκότα 308
- σύνθεσις implies genuine plurality 282,  
318–20, 332–5
- συνουσίωσις 512

σχέσεις (defining the hypostasis and  
natures of Christ) 146-50  
σωτηρία in Christ 346

τρόπος τῆς ἐνώσεως 162-8, 300-5,  
442-4

τρόπος του ὅλου τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν  
μυστηρίου 442

φθάρτος (of Christ's humanity) 340, 364

φιλαληθῶς (applied by Leontius to  
himself) 340

φυσικὰ πάθη of Christ 376

φύσις 130f.

φύσις ἀνυπόστατος 130f.

φύσις ἐνυπόστατος 132f.

φύσις σύγκρατος 566